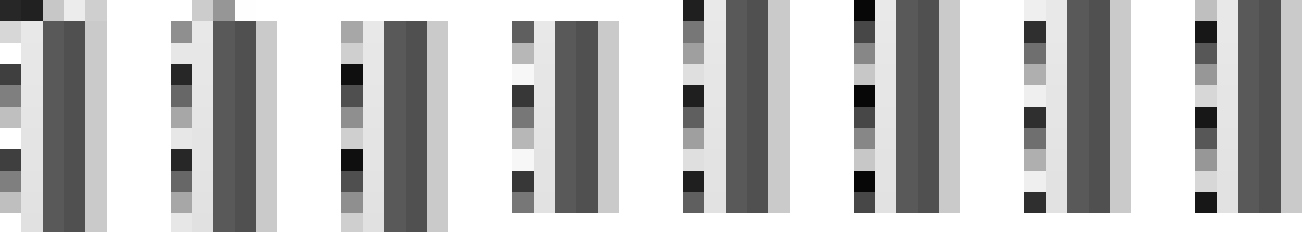




RAMCHANDRA AND THE SQUIRREL

By Kanu Desai

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



REVIEW

JULY, 1931

The Ship of Flowers

By SISTER NIVEDITA

Now, the place on my desk where the little ship of flowers has been all day. But out on the chill Ganges, as darkness comes on, it lies drifting, hither and thither, undetermined yet betwixt us as we, with a few of the monks, touched it, an hour ago. It was when we went down to the river and as we turned away, but one boat arrived, besides ourselves,—a boat of eleven or twelve,—to send it out to the Great Unknown. A while there and watched her fully removed the sacramental birch-bark bowl, and set in a little light, and then floated it upon the waters. And after all could we do but stay, and watch with breathless interest, even the star shone clear in the night, that we knew, with the tide, would reach the main. Would it be carried far out to sea? A frail fleet of little nameless boats on ponds and rivers, in all parts of Bengal tonight, each with a twinkling lamp into the all-dark, how like ye are to death!

Is this the last day of the Bengali year? It is the old time day

for pilgrimage to Gangasagar where the river meets the sea. Than this, it is the day of the travellers, all wanderers from all whose footsteps at night lead to their own door. It was in the street this morning, as I passed a small bazaar, that I noticed the hurrying feet of many men hastening to carry to those who sell of flowers. They were round little ships, that I, too, bought a spoil of loving thought. Together, they were made into a white case of the plantain-leaf and arched from stem to stem of bamboo, run through the leaves of mango and marigolds. Here and there a man made feint to imitate the sails and cordage of the ocean. But for the most part they were suggestions, glistening vessels of hearted flowers.

Mere suggestions, truly. Can we not see the quietude absorbed before the symphony of loading it with offerings—the consecrated fruits, and with each fresh gift for so that through the coming year amidst whatever tide that

somewhere threaten it, it may be less safe home? Have we not here today the perfect picture of Humanity,—man battling on the distant frontier-line of toilsome life; and woman—for love's sake, not for gold's—holding fast to prayer?

One thinks of the cry of the Jew, sonorous through the ages, the Jew who loved not the sea, but lifted his eyes to the hills, to find his help, and lost himself between "I" and "thee" in an inflood of blessedness—"The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in from this time forth, and even for evermore." One thinks of the churches of Brittany, and the small model of a ship, "barque de ma vie," that hangs before every altar, and in every private oratory. And there comes back the echo of the sailor's cry, amid surr and storm, "Sainte Anne ! Sainte Anne !"

Here too, in Bengal, we have a maritime people, once great amongst the world's seafarers, and here, on the last day of *Paus*, we celebrate the opening of the annual commercial season, the old-time going-forth of merchant-enterprise and exploration. It was a traffic cut off from that of Phœnicia, and all the well-omened peoples of the Middle Sea, but unmistakably great in the East. China and Japan, Cambodia and Burma have welcomed the coming of the Bengal mariners to their ports, being glad to win honour and wealth thereby. Fa-Hian, Hsien-Tsang and I-ching are but three names, out of countless hosts, to whom they belonged, who sought the shores of India or left them

in the name of the Lord, that she had power to favour peoples. But so far back? It is a hundred years ago, that was famous through the wooden shipping the small countries of the East is almost all discredited building and of its should these Eastern renown, if the merchant India had not been given

All day long, from my desk, the marigold sanctuary-lamps, have and stirred a maze, and memories, in the Lord bless—the Lord coming in—even to not stand even so life, and watch the souls into the perils seas, yea, into the face death? Yet hold we, a star, they carry at distant so ever be that not pass beyond the and prayer, nor break barriers of the Heart

* This unpublished late Sister Nivedita, in "Indian Studies," has to us by Srijut Gar—Editor. *M. R.*



The Constructive Influence of the French Revolution

By GEORGE GORDON ANDREWS

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PERHAPS it may be said more truly of the French Revolution than of any other great movement in history that, like the rôle undertaken by Saint Paul, it has been "all things to all men." Portrayed by some as the veritable abyss of ignorance, folly, and crime, it has been ascribed by others to the noblest and loftiest motives: while still others, less inclined to the use of superlatives, have placed it somewhere between these extremes. When the gathering flood of liberal reform at last rushed over the dikes of absolutism and privilege, the very foundations of society were shaken. The gravity of the crisis brought out the best and the worst in men. Much of the veneration and conventionality of civilization was swept aside, and elemental passions in all their naked reality swayed the contending factions. In short, the Revolution reveals in high relief all the qualities of man, stark, intense, and unrestrained. Love and hate, intelligence and ignorance, honour and venality, faith and doubt, virtue and vice, compassion and cruelty, heroism and cowardice, are all there in every conceivable degree and combination. It rises to the heights; it descends to the depths. No matter what you seek, you can find it in the Revolution, and the writer who chooses to reject that which is contrary to his own notions has little difficulty in making his case.

But why place exceptional emphasis upon the French Revolution, the great revolution of 1789, for France has had other revolutions and they have occurred in many countries? In fact the phenomenon is not entirely unknown in the Western hemisphere. Why select the French Revolution of 1789 and pass over cases nearer home? A partial answer to this question may be found in the words of the late Professor Aulard: "The French Revolution differed from other revolutions in being not merely national, for it aimed at benefiting all humanity." As an illustration of this attitude it may be said that Frenchmen were unwilling in 1789 to define their rights alone. They preferred

instead to base their claims upon rights which were common to all men and, with superb assurance, they proceeded to declare what those rights were. How important their task was and how well they performed it, is indicated in the assertion of the English historian, G. Lowes Dickinson, that "the axioms of the modern democratic State were formally and precisely enunciated in the Declaration of Rights." And H. A. L. Fisher has characterized the revolutionary programme as "The most seductive cause which has ever been placed before a great multitude of men."

It is also evident that the universal significance of the movement was understood from the first by leading contemporaries. "Whoever regards this Revolution as exclusively French," wrote Mallet du Pan, "is incapable of passing judgment upon it." Friends and foes alike recognized the power of its appeal, and men like Burke and Paine, Kant and de Maistre, who agreed in nothing else, were convinced that the problems which it raised concerned the whole of mankind. A most striking tribute to the predominant influence of France at the time is found in Metternich's bitter comment, "When France has a cold, all Europe sneezes."

There are three phases of the Revolution in which dramatic interest is in quite inverse proportion to real importance. In a word these may be stated as (1) excesses, (2) destruction of abuses and outworn institutions, and (3) reconstruction. To the average person the name French revolution, is almost synonymous with the Reign of Terror. He sees the heavy tumbrils loaded with victims jerking over the rough pavements towards the "Place de la Revolution." He watches as the doomed are bound under the knife and the heads drop into the basket while the drums roll and the crowds cheer or remain silent as their mood seems to dictate. This same average person may have also heard of the September massacres and of the march of the women to Versailles

He may have even heard of the chant of these Paris fish-wives who brandished their heavy knives as they marched along and uttered dire threats of what they would do to the Austrian woman (Marie Antoinette) if they ever got their hands on her.

To another group of persons less numerous and better informed, other episodes stand out which, if slightly less dramatic, have had a greater influence upon the course of events. These persons are aware of the fact that before a new structure can be erected it is necessary to tear down and remove old encumbrances from the site. Their interests centre, therefore, around the destruction of the old regime of which the fall of the Bastille serves as a symbol. They know of the overthrow of the old municipal governments, of the "Great Fear" in the provinces, of the attacks on the Church, of the famous night session of August 4 and the abolition of feudal rights.

It is to a small minority, however, that the Revolution appeals and is known for its constructive work. This is perhaps to be expected. Construction is a difficult, laborious process and when it is extended over a considerable period of time it ceases to stir the imagination. Destruction, on the other hand, may be sudden and spectacular, while extremes and excesses are usually most sensational of all. Such episodes may arouse the imagination to a much higher pitch than their real significance justifies. It is necessary, therefore, to take a rather long view of the Revolution in order to understand its constructive achievements and it is toward these that I would direct the reader's attention.

To the student of the Revolution one of the most striking characteristics of the movement was the spirit of optimism which preceded and accompanied it. The very atmosphere seemed so charged with hope that there were few indeed to whom the future did not appear full of promise. The past with all of its darkness and gloom was to be forgotten in the light of the new day that was dawning. This attitude is shown in contemporary writings such as the *cahier* of the third estate of Draguignan which declared that "France is going to begin a new life." Evidently old things were to pass away.

The origin of this optimism, the unlimited confidence in the future, is doubtless to be found in 18th century philosophy. Newton's work had greatly facilitated the growth of

the conception of natural law and from Locke had come the idea that man is largely a product of his environment. From these beginnings the doctrine of the perfectibility of man had been developed. Improve the environment of man, bring his institutions into harmony with nature and natural law and he will respond by gradually rising to the fulness of the stature of a perfect man. Thus was started the idea of progress which has had such a mighty influence in the 19th century and is still with us. Day by day in some unknown way man and his world are growing better. The attitude toward the future has been quite revolutionized by this idea. Admitting freely the truth of Pope's line that "Hope springs eternal in the human breast," I venture to assert that this hope is more widespread and deeper because of the prevalence of the idea of progress.

Closely associated with the spirit of optimism was another influence like unto it. The French Revolution was vibrant with idealism. It gripped the highly imaginative French mind and influenced every phase of life. Truth, unity, reason, justice, virtue, liberty, equality, fraternity, became words to conjure with and the spirit behind them was in no small degree responsible for the remarkable conquests of both revolutionary ideas and armies. The use of such words may occasionally have been carried to the lengths of absurdity, but these cases only indicate that even the uneducated were not unaffected by them. The *Moniteur* of October 14, 1793, reports as follows an amusing petition presented to the Council of the Commune of Paris: "A citizeness presents to the council a child named *Liberty* (the king), and begs that this horrible name be changed to that of *Unity*. This petition is received by the council who order it entered on their records and granted."

A discussion which might have done credit to medieval scholastics was precipitated in the Convention when, in dealing with the five additional days to complete the year of the revolutionary calendar, it was proposed that the first should be dedicated to a festival of "Genius." Robespierre opposed this, demanding that "Virtue" be placed before "Genius," and succeeded in carrying an amendment to that effect. It may strike some of us as anti-climax that "Virtue" be placed before "Genius," but the very controversy involved is an

indication of the serious consideration given to such matters by legislators. The idealistic attitude of the intellectuals is revealed in the following characteristic observation of the Abbé Sieyès: "The French have something better to follow than history: they have principles." Much of the idealism of the 19th century can be traced back to these beginnings. Indeed, the influence of political and social idealism emanating from the Revolution is a most potent factor contributing toward the present organization of society.

Politically, the central principle of the Revolution was the sovereignty of the people. The old doctrine of Divine Right of Kings was breaking down and enlightened despotism was coming into fashion. It was a decided improvement over its predecessor, but as a system enlightened despotism failed because the work perished with the worker. What the benevolent despot attempted, the French Revolution achieved.

Through constitutional government the French sought to make the sovereignty of the people a reality. The influence of the constitutional experiment of 1789-91 was far-reaching. The demand for a constitution at the outbreak of the Revolution was well-nigh universal. It grew out of dissatisfaction with the structure of the government and the legal uncertainties of the old regime. The example of America also had its effect. By 1788 there was so much talk about a constitution that the Swedish Comte de Fersen characterized it as a "delirium." Such general and outspoken public opinion could not be ignored by the government and the impression that the king intended to grant a constitution was strengthened by the preamble to the letter, convoking the States General in 1789. "We have need," declared the king, "of the meeting of our faithful subjects in order to aid us... in establishing, according to our wishes, a constant and invariable rule in all branches of the government which concern the happiness of our subjects and the prosperity of our realm." And Mounier, when reporting for the Constitutional Committee in July 1789, felt no hesitancy in asserting that "a constitution which should precisely determine the rights of the monarch and those of the nation would be as useful to the king as to his fellow citizens."

In such an atmosphere and with such an urge, the constitution of 1791 was completed. That the French nation has become thoroughly committed to the idea of a written constitution is abundantly evident from their subsequent history. Since 1791 ten other constitutions or charters have been drafted by the French, all but one of which have been put into actual operation. Certain provisions in these documents were decidedly unacceptable and had to be changed, but there were no political groups nor combinations of influences sufficiently strong to bring about the abandonment of the constitutional principle.

Nor was this influence in any sense restricted to France. While the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, was still held a prisoner by Napoleon, the liberal Cortes drafted the famous constitution of 1812. The document was thoroughly saturated with the principles of the French constitution of 1791. Suppressed by Ferdinand upon his return to Spain in 1814, it was restored as a result of the revolution of 1820. Professor Chapman says that it "became the war-cry of the democratic faction in Spain for years to come," and came "to be regarded as if it would be the panacea for all the ills of mankind." It was demanded by the Italian revolutionists of 1820-21 not perhaps so much because of any real understanding of its nature as because of its reputation and that it possessed the advantage of being ready-made. In the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, constitutional government was certainly a predominant issue and it continued to be one of the most insistent demands of the liberals of the 19th century. The whole modern trend toward constitutional government was thus set in motion by the example and influence of France.

Not only was constitutionalism an issue in the Revolution but the question of law in general was raised. Laws under the old régime were in the utmost confusion. It has been estimated that there were nearly 300 different kinds of law operating in the various parts of the kingdom, whose origins might be traced back either to the old Germanic or Roman law. What was perfectly legal in one locality was often unlawful in another a few leagues away. Frequently only professional lawyers were able to ascertain

what the laws were. The need for reorganization was imperative.

The uncertainty of the law was further increased by the old conception that the king was the source of all law. Law was a matter of the king's pleasure and might be revoked, modified, or added to as he desired. It was phrased in the old maxim, "As wills the king, so wills the law." To the revolutionists this situation was intolerable and their views were well expressed by the journalist Le Hôdey, when he proposed to reverse this "absurd principle" and to say, "As wills the law, so wills the king." Their meaning was further amplified in the first article submitted by the constitutional committee. "There is no authority in France superior to law. The king rules by it alone; and when he does not command in the name of the law he cannot exact obedience."

From these beginnings there developed on the continent a new conception of law as something stable, abiding, definite, and too sacred to be changed or infringed at the whim of any potentate. And before this law all men were to be equal, regardless of birth, position, or wealth. It is another proof of the idealism of the time. The politician of today may laugh in his sleeve at the idea of there being anything sacred about law or that all men are equal before it, but he pays these principles eloquent lip-service and it would be hard to imagine one so reckless in the face of an election as to denounce them publicly. Their influence is sufficient to establish limits beyond which it is not wise to venture. Flagrant violations usually receive general condemnation.

The vital force of nationalism was also set in motion by the Revolution. From the stress of those days charged with common hopes and fears there emerged the idea of the people-nation. The conception was quite different from the older notion of the king-state, in which the nation found its unity and incarnation in the person of the king. Making Frenchmen of Bretons, Provençals, Gascons, and all the rest was a notable achievement of the Revolution. The different elements were more solidly welded together by the armed intervention of Europe, but the movement was well under way before the war. It appeared in the federations of 1789 and 1790. These federations began in the

outlying provinces and reached their climax in the great national federation on the Champ de Mars, July 14, 1790, the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. Comparatively few of those who participated in this festival were as cynical as the officiating bishop, Talleyrand, who whispered in an aside to Lafayette, "Don't make me laugh." Delegates of the national guards from all parts of France joined with the assembled throng in an oath "to be for ever faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king;" to maintain the constitution; and "to remain united to all Frenchmen by indissoluble bonds of fraternity."

The conception of a state as a territory subject to a certain authority was at an end so far as France was concerned. In the struggle which followed, Europe was amazed by the spectacle of the French nation thinking and acting independently of its government. As the French rolled back the invading armies of the coalition and began their career of conquest during the Revolution and later under Napoleon, they did not realize perhaps that they were tempering their enemies with that same fire of nationalism which they themselves had found so potent. In Spain, Italy, Germany and Russia it appeared and greatly contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon. Nationality was condemned by the statesmen at Vienna; but the idea had taken root and the decisions of the Congress which violated that principle were the first to be undone.

So catching was the spirit of nationalism that movements developed all over Europe—in Greece, Serbia, Belgium, Poland, Italy, Hungary, Germany. While nationality united Italy and Germany, it shattered the old Austro-Hungarian Empire in the world war and raised Poland from the dead. We still hear a great deal about the "right of self-determination" among peoples and probably will for some time to come. The influence of the spirit of nationality has continually widened and there can be little doubt that the recent movements in Egypt, Syria, and India are lineal descendants of the French Revolution.

The greater part of the constructive work of the Revolution was accomplished by the first or National Assembly. Much was done in the way of social and economic reform—the suppression of the feudal system, the emancipation of the serf, and the abolition of the greater division of landed property.

the privilege of noble birth to the attainment of equality. The task of this achievement is thus summed up by Professor James Harvey Robinson. "The National Assembly had taken somewhat more than two years to carry out its tremendous task of modernizing France. No body of men has ever accomplished so much in so short a period. The English Parliament, during an existence of five hundred years, had done far less to reform England; and no monarch, with the possible exception of the unhappy Joseph II, has ever even attempted to make such deep and far-reaching changes as those permanently accomplished by the first French Assembly."

The National Convention has been so completely identified with the sensational Reign of Terror—with the work of the Committee of Public Safety, the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the Deputies on Mission—that its more lasting and important activities have been largely obscured thereby. Many well-known historians accord them scanty treatment and by some they receive but mere mention. In justice to the Convention, then, it is only fair to stress this phase of its work.

Its achievements were perhaps most far-reaching in the legal field. The famous Civil and Penal Codes of Napoleon owe more to the Convention than is generally conceded, for they are based upon its work. The confusion of laws existing under the old regime has already been indicated and legal procedure was no better. That something would have to be done about it was apparent to all intelligent people from the first and a beginning was made in the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. The Convention, however, gave more attention to the problem. Under the leadership of Cambacérès, the Legislative Committee presented the first draft of a civil code on August 10, 1793. The scheme for a penal code was brought forward by Merlin de Douai. It is true that it took the driving power of Napoleon to carry the undertaking to completion, but, in the words of a well-known historian, "It may be doubted whether the existing French codes would have ever taken their present shape at all, and it is quite certain that it would have taken many more years to draw them up, had not the Legislative Committee of the Convention broken the ground and prepared the way."

The formative influence of the Convention

was continued under Napoleon through the personal work of Cambacérès, who, as Second Consul, was readily available with his great legal experience and ripe judgment. The result of this combination of circumstances was to restrain somewhat the despotic tendency of Napoleon. In surveying the finished product, a recent scholar says that "the Codes preserve the essential conquests of the revolutionary spirit—civil equality, religious toleration, the emancipation of land, public trial, the jury of judgment. Original they were not, but rather a hasty amalgamation of royal and revolutionary legislation governed by the genius of Napoleon." From this developed the improved legal system which now prevails in France, one of the greatest benefits of the Revolution.

Nor were the French the only ones to profit from the use of the Code of Napoleon. Wherever Napoleon's power made itself felt the new laws went with it, and although at a later time France was forced to relinquish her conquests, these laws remained a lasting tribute to her former greatness. In Italy, Holland, Belgium, and the Rhenish region their effect was both direct and lasting. Indirectly the Code has exerted an immense influence upon the legislation of central and southern Germany, Prussia, Switzerland, and Spain. Even in the Central and South American States many of its salient features have been borrowed.

Another solid accomplishment of the Convention was laying the foundation for a system of national education in France. The history of this work is yet to be written, but the basic material for it is to be found in the "Official Record of the Committee of Public Instruction" which fills three huge tomes in the collection of *Documents inédits*. It is true that the committee dealt with other matters as well, but its handling of the problem of education was important and substantial. Following lines laid down by Condorcet in his great report before the Legislative Assembly in April 1792, a system of national education was outlined which was enacted into law the day before the National Convention came to an end. It provided for a primary school in all places with from 400 to 1,500 population. In each school the teacher was charged to instruct the pupils "in the branches of knowledge necessary to citizens in order to exercise their rights, to discharge their duties and to administer their domestic

affairs." There was also to be established throughout the Republic central schools "for instruction in the sciences, letters and arts." They were to be distributed on the basis of population, one school for 300,000 inhabitants. Further provision was made for special or technical schools and the *Ecole Normale* was opened in Paris to train teachers. Crowning this elaborate system was the National Institute of the Sciences and Arts, which was divided into three classes—physical and mathematical sciences, moral and political sciences, and literature and fine arts. The Institute was expected to improve the sciences and arts by uninterrupted researches, by the publication of discoveries, and by correspondence with foreign societies. That the scheme was not immediately successful in providing public instruction, as the term is generally understood, was due to a variety of causes, chief among which was the lack of trained teachers, the opposition of Catholic parents, and the influence of local authorities in the establishment and control of schools. It was, nevertheless, upon this foundation that Napoleon and later governments built up the present system.

Not the least important work of the Convention was the establishment of the metric system of weights and measures in 1793. It was based upon decimal reckoning and has come to be accepted by almost all civilized nations save the English-speaking peoples. Nor should the social reforms of the Convention be overlooked. Several were included in the draft of the code prepared by Cambacères and the Committee on Legislation. Of these, the principle of the equal distribution of property among children or heirs, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the protection of the property rights of women were the most noteworthy.

On February 4, 1794, the following decree was passed: "The National Convention declares that negro slavery in all the colonies is abolished, in consequence, it decrees that all men, without distinction of colour, who are domiciled in the colonies are French citizens and shall enjoy all the rights guaranteed by the constitution." With the widening of the bounds of human freedom it was impossible for slavery to be tolerated. The grounds upon which it was opposed were not always the same. The English abolitionists were largely actuated

by religious feeling, but the French approached the problem from the point of view of human equality. The Society of the Friends of the Negro was organized early and was doubtless responsible in large part for the declaration of the Constituent Assembly that slaves in French possessions were citizens of France. The decree quoted above was the logical outcome of this movement thus started.

Abolition may have been retarded in some countries by the fear of Jacobinism, but its ultimate triumph owed much to the world-wide currency of French ideas. Denmark had the honour of first doing away with slavery in her dominions in 1792. The United States and England prohibited the slave trade in 1794 and 1807 respectively. The Powers of Europe put themselves on record against the traffic at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Slavery was abolished in the British Empire in 1833, and in the United States during the Civil War. If France was indebted to America for her example in pointing the way to constitutional government she paid her debt by showing America the real solution of the slavery question. It must be admitted, however, that the French were more prompt in following our example than we were in following theirs.

The Revolution also marks a turning-point in the history of women. It is true that a petition for women's suffrage was rejected by the Constituent Assembly, but the conception of equality could not fail to lead to the demand that women be given equal treatment and equal opportunities with men. Reformers such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Condorcet, Bentham, and others pleaded their cause, and most of the legal and social changes that have been effected were foreshadowed in their writings.

Again, the principle of equality gave an immense impetus to socialism. In the early revolutionary literature the nationalization of the land frequently appears, and with the conspiracy of Babeuf, socialism ceased to be merely a speculative doctrine and became a political programme. But perhaps more important than any direct advocacy was the effect of the sudden changes of ownership and the attack on the idea of the sacredness of property. It is in the socialist movement that the operation of the ideas promulgated by the Revolution is most clearly traceable today.

An illustration or two of the influence of France on her eastern neighbour may not be out of place. Particularly in the west and south of Germany, the Revolution left an enduring mark on both persons and institutions, and men of a later generation looked back upon it as the beginning of a better day. Welcker wrote: "My birth and childhood synchronized with the Revolution, before which nobody thought of a constitution. The proclamation of liberty and reform delighted Klopstock and Kant, and all men sound of mind and heart: later excesses never, thank God, stole from my father the warm and abiding love of right and liberty." For a generation after Waterloo the liberals of the south and west looked to Paris for their inspiration, as the liberals of the north looked to England, and spoke more of the French occupation than of the Wars of Liberation.

The Revolution and Napoleon further cleared the ground for the construction of modern Germany in the 19th century. When the French Republic annexed the left bank of the Rhine, Gries wrote his celebrated "Obituary" which begins thus: "On December 30, 1797, at three in the afternoon, the Holy Roman Empire, supported by the Sacraments, passed away peacefully at Regensburg at the age of 955, in consequence of senile debility and an apoplectic stroke." The sledge-hammer blows of secularization, foreign domination, and consolidation under the Confederation of the Rhine fashioned a different Germany by 1815. The number of states was materially reduced but unification was not yet possible due to the influence of Austria and the prevalence of states rights feeling. It took the force of a militarized Prussia under the guidance of the Iron

Chancellor to achieve the desired unity, and an opposing France had to pay for the triumphs of Jena and Auerstadt in 1806 with the humiliations of Sedan and Metz in 1870.

In conclusion I shall quote from two well-known historians regarding the significance of the Revolution. The first is from the pen of the brilliant French historian, Albert Sorel.

"France did more than conquer Europe," he writes: "she converted her. Victorious even in their defeat, the French won over to their ideas the very nations which revolted against their domination. The princes most eagerly bent on penning in the Revolution saw it, on returning from their crusade, sprouting in the soil of their own estates, which had been fertilized by the blood of French soldiers. The French Revolution only ceased to be a source of strife between France and Europe to inaugurate a political and social revolution, which in less than half a century has changed the face of the European world."

The second quotation is from the eminent English historian, Dr. G. P. Gooch:

"The French Revolution is the most important event in the life of modern Europe. Herder compared it to the Reformation and the rise of Christianity; and it deserves to be ranked with those two great moments in history, because like them it destroyed the landmarks of the world in which generations of men have passed their lives, because it was a movement towards a complete humanity, and because it too was a religion, with its doctrines, its apostles, and its martyrs. It brought on the stage of human affairs forces which have moulded the thoughts and actions of men ever since, and have taken a permanent place among the formative influences of civilization. As Christianity taught man that he was a spiritual being, and the Reformation proclaimed that nothing need stand between the soul and God, so the Revolution asserted the equality of man, concerning individuals as partakers of a common nature and declaring each one of them, regardless of birth, colour, or religion, to be possessed of certain inalienable rights."



Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore

By SUDHIR KUMAR CHOWDHURI, B.A.

II

W E have discussed at some length the first dominant idea in Tagore's poetry, his cult of the wayfarer, his own theory of evolution. We now come to his idea of all-pervading, everlasting Joy, that carries forward in a swaying dance of ecstasy this eternal flow of evolution, of ever-repeating creation.

Ananda is essentially a thing of harmony. Where there is conflict, discord, antithesis, it is all struggle and misery. To enter into the greater harmony of things, to be a partaker of the *Ananda* that is in the Infinite, one must be able to transcend all single delights and single pains. One must be able to say with Shelley, "All things together grow through which the harmony of love can pass." One cannot afford to be a snob. There is such a thing as a spiritual snobbery, an attitude of exclusiveness that ever cries for purity in experiences. That rears walls of adamant on all sides, splitting up and labelling the things of the world as godly and satanic, spiritual and material, worldly and other-worldly, and then, raising the banner of partisanship, enters into the conflict. *Ananda* is not for such. There is such a thing also as spiritual cowardice, a weakness now in evidence in some modern Indian and American thought movements, that seeks to deny the existence of evil in the scheme of the world, a sort of self-deception that argues only towards things that are most agreeable to finite sensibilities. a philosophy of the Pleasant: but Pleasure is not *Ananda*. It is not enough to know with the protagonists of these movements that somehow through God's mysterious dispensation the good persists in and through the evils which are only apparent. If what they say is true, it is a very small part of the truth. For, one cannot fail to see that if evils are only apparent, so must also be the good. But they are, perhaps, two aspects of the same reality, as Tagore will tell us. In that greater unity of *Ananda* all opposites shade off and merge into one another. evil into good, death into life

darkness into light, the finite into the infinite. When Gandhari, the queen of the blind king Dhritarashtra, asks him to renounce their son Duryodhana the unrighteous, the king asks in amazement, "What will remain to us after that?" Gandhari replies, "God's blessing." Dhritarashtra asks again, "And what will that bring us?" To which the reply is, "New afflictions." Such is God's blessing, and such is *Ananda*.

This intuitional faculty of dispelling antitheses, the power of contemplation that can adapt itself to all things and taste their harmony, forms the basis of all transcendentalism. And it is a characteristic of Tagore in a truce sense than it was of Shelley or of Emerson. Shelley's transcendentalism was chiefly lyrical, an immediate resultant of his emotional intensity. It is possible to measure the amount of pleasurable sensory excitement necessary to make an individual of a sensitive nature cry out, "So sweet that joy is almost pain;" or in the opposite direction, to exclaim, "Weeping till sorrow becomes ecstasy." But this is, nevertheless, the transcendentalism of a poet, and Tagore abounds with similar expressions and sentiments.

"My joy to-day seeks a pretext to melt into tears."

As Tagore says in his *Creative Ideal*, "To detach the individual idea from its confinement of everyday facts and to give its soaring wings the freedom of the universal, this is the function of poetry." Shelley does it, mostly in the region of emotions, and there is no truer emotional poet than Shelley.

Emerson stands at the other end of the same road. His transcendentalism is almost exclusively intellectual. He looks at Nature 'from two removes'. He deals mostly with ideas and has a wonderful capacity for abstract thought. Tagore's transcendentalism forms a bridge between Emerson and Shelley and covers the entire region of thought and emotions and still appears to transcend their bounds. He is never content with less than All.

"All things that lie scattered in my
 life and in my death, let my song
 pour like oblation at thy feet."

If his conception of God as the way-
 rarer and his cult of the way was the result
 of a process of slow realization, he seems to
 have been born with this capacity for trans-
 cendental thought and feeling. Even when
 a young man and probably a lover, he
 writes,

"If there be a stray flower for me,
 I will wear it in my heart."
 "But if there be thorns"
 "I will endure them."
 "Yes, yes, I know you modest medicant,
 You ask for all that one has."

In the warmth of his heart the contend-
 ing facts of everyday world melt "into one
 sweet harmony," and are fused into greater
 truths of unity. Pleasure and pain are thus
 only the love sports of his Celestial Beloved

"I love this game, O Lord, this game of
 laughter and tears"
 "Misery knocks at thy door and her mess-
 age is that thy lord is wakeful and he
 calls thee to the love tryst through the
 darkness of the night"

His love transcends the line that super-
 ficially divides separation and nearness

"Because I have grown to believe that my
 love is only near, and have forgotten
 that she is also far, far away"
 "The question and the cry, 'O, where'
 met into tears of a thousand streams
 and deluge the world with the assurance,
 'I Am'."

Where love is, distance and proximity
 come closing together and are united in
 wedlock.

"It is the most distant course that comes
 nearest to thyself, and that training is
 the most intricate which leads to the utter
 simplicity of tune"

"Lying you have left behind you the great
 sadness of the Eternal in my life....
 Clasped in your dear arms, life and death
 have united in me in marriage bond"

And the outer and the inner

"The traveller has to knock at every alien
 door to come to his own, and one has to
 wander through all the outer worlds to reach
 the innermost shrine at the end"

The souls of two lovers cannot touch
 each other unless they touch each other in
 the Infinite. Music fills the infinity between
 two souls, this becomes muffled by the mist
 of our daily habits.

"On shy summer nights I sit up in my bed
 and mourn the great loss of her who is
 beside me. I ask myself, 'When shall I
 have another chance to whisper to her
 words with the rhythm of eternity in them

Wake up, my song, from thy languor, rend
 this screen of the familiar, and fly to
 my beloved there in the endless surprise
 of our first meeting."

Infinity is thus the only suitable setting
 for a love in which form and the formless
 may unite to the best advantage.

"I dive down into the depth of the ocean
 of forms hoping to gain the perfect pearl
 of the formless.....
 Into the audience hall of the fathomless
 abyss where swells up the music of tune-
 less strings, I shall take this harp of
 my life."

And the familiar can come smilingly
 forward to introduce the unfamiliar. Because
 he loves this life, he knows he shall love
 death as well. For the same Unknown will
 appear in death as one ever known to him,
 just as she had once appeared in the form
 of his mother and had taken him in her
 arms at his birth.

In the presence of that Infinity the
 greatest of one's personal sorrows fade into
 insignificance, even as the sorrows of child-
 hood.

I remember a day in my childhood I
 floated a paper boat in the ditch. It was
 a wet day of July. . . . Suddenly the
 storm clouds thickened, winds came in
 gusts, and rain poured in torrents. Rills
 of muddy water rushed and swelled the
 stream and sunk my boat. Bitterly I
 thought in my mind that the storm
 came on purpose to spoil my happiness,
 all its malice was against me.

The cloudy day of July is long today
 and I have been musing over all those
 games in life wherein I was loser.

I was blaming my fate for the many
 tricks it played on me, when suddenly
 I remembered the paper boat that sunk
 in the ditch."

The barriers of personality itself break
 down, and those of births and deaths.

"There is a looker-on who sits behind
 my eyes. It seems he has seen things
 in ages and worlds beyond memory's
 shore, and those forgotten sights glisten
 on the grass and shiver on the leaves."

"I often wonder where lie hidden the
 boundaries of recognition between
 man and the beast whose heart knows
 no spoken language. Through what
 primal paradise in a remote morning
 of creation ran the simple path by
 which their hearts visited each other."

The finite finds scope to be commensurate
 with the Infinite when the glory of love
 touches it.

"Is it then true that the mystery of
 the Infinite is written on this little
 forehead of mine

"Thou hast made me endless, such is thy pleasure. This frail vessel thou emptiest again and again and fillest it ever with fresh life."

"Infinite is your wealth, but it is your wish to receive it in small measure, to receive it through me, from my little hands."

Because, if that was not so, if even for love the Infinite had not had to come abegging at our doors, God's infinity would have been like an affront to the finite creature. Our finitude would have been an unbearable shame to us

"Thou, who art the king of kings, hast decked thyself in beauty to captivate my heart."

We have need of unlimited space, as we must attain to infinity, and that is why He had to be infinite. Our needs are endless, that is why there is no end to His wealth. Tagore embodies this superb idea in that fine symbolical poem of *Gitanjali*, a poem which has all the simplicity and beauty of a parable. The Beggar had sighted the King and felt that the luck of his life had come at last, when

"Of a sudden the King holds out his right hand and says, 'What hast thou to give me?' Ah, what a kingly jest was it to open thy palm to a beggar to beg!"

From his wallet he took out a little grain of corn and gave it to the King. When at the day's end the Beggar goes back home, and empties his bag, lo, there is a least little grain of gold in the poor heap. Bitter were the tears that he shed when he realized what would have happened had he had the heart to give the King his all. Thus is it, that He gives only to take, and takes only to give.

One has heard much about Tagore's spiritual outlook on life, and it is really a *yogi* and not a poet who says,

"Thy sun and stars cannot hide thee from me for aye..."

But then look at this:

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight. No, I shall never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch shall bear thy delight."

Senses are glorified and accepted when the sensuality is gone from them, when they no longer exist solely for the ego, when the glad renunciation of the self in a larger self is complete. When we dedicate our body to God and exist for Him, all the pleasures of the senses become holy and divine.

"What divine drunk wouldst thou have, my God, from the overflowing cup of my life? My poet, is it thy delight to see thy creation through my eyes and to stand at the portals of my ears silently to listen to thine own eternal harmony?"

And then finally and together,

"Let all the strains of joy mingle in my last song,—the joy that makes the earth flow over in riotous excess of the grass, the joy that sets the twin brothers, life and death, dancing over the wide world, the joy that sweeps in with the tempest, shaking and waking all life with laughter, the joy that sits still with its tears on the red lotus of pain, and the joy that throws everything it has upon the dust and knows not a word."

How is an individual to enter into these harmonies? What is the secret alchemy that gives him that miraculous power? With Bergson, it is Intuition. With Tagore in his own words, it is his

"*SARVABHUTHI*" (सर्वभूति)

literally, All-Feeling, and in the words of his talented critic, the late Ajit Kumar Chakravarti, it is his *Vishvabodha*, or Realization Universal.

What is the nature of this realization? Tagore himself has a reply to this question in his *Creative Unity*:

"The quality of the infinite is not the magnitude of extension, it is the *Adhutam*, the mystery of unity. Wherever our heart touches the One, in the small or in the big, it finds the touch of the infinite."

So the Infinite is not realized by multiplying experiences, nor is that realization synonymous with that universality of the intellect that can comprehend the totality of things. "What do you see, Walt Whitman?" The great American poet asks himself, and then goes on to reply that he sees the far and the near, the past and the future, the pleasures and the pains, the mournings and the festivities, the doubts and problems, the cultures and the barbarities, the virtues and the vices of the whole world before his eyes. That he sees life in its entirety in all its manifestations, as a great panorama passing before him. This really is of the nature of a stupendous realization of what Tagore calls, the infinite magnitude of extension. It is not realizing "The smaller than the infinitely small, larger than the infinitely large," the *Advaitam* of our *Rishis*, the One in the many. Whitman has no conception of that larger unity of things through which the

harmony of love can pass." He has no clear conception of God. He has a Universalism, but his universe is almost always an aggregate. The difference between the universalism of Tagore and that of Whitman is somewhat analogous to that existing between the Superman of Nietzsche and the Man-in-God of the *Upanishads*, the difference between power and love, strength and harmony.

The philosophy of Hegel, with its conception of the universe as a single process of evolution in which vice and disease are transient perturbations, comes nearest to that of Tagore. Hegel, as is well known, is the nearest European ally of Hindu Monism, but his Monism differs from Tagore's *Sarvanubhuti* in this that, while the one is arrived at by an intellectual contemplation of the cosmic whole as a unity in evolution, the other is a mystic realization of the universe as a unity in joyful evolution. Hegel, with all his optimism, is a sad Tagore, as he misses the principle of Joy, of *Ananda*, of *Lila* or playfulness in life.

CONCLUSION

So these are some of the ideas which Tagore has bequeathed to the new consciousness of India. It will be seen that the philosophy of Tagore, or rather, the philosophy that we can build up from Tagore's most predominant, frequently occurring ideas, is a sober as well as an inspiring philosophy. It is a philosophy of free action and unlimited good hope. It is also a philosophy of abounding Joy, and what is more needed for India today than Freedom, Hope and Joy?

It is fortunate that Tagore's philosophy is not a doctrinaire's philosophy. It is of a nature that ought easily to have a profound influence on our lives, since it is essentially a philosophy of life, a philosophy of personal life. Bereft of its relation to individual life, philosophy has no meaning for the poet. Then his philosophy reflects the real illumination of India, the India of the *Upanishads*, an illumination which he has revitalized in an astounding manner. In its collective aspect it is India's synthetic cosmopolitanism, and attitude of the open mind characterized by a love of the universal, which is in view today in the great humanizing tendencies of our politics, in the neo-Romantic movements in our literature and art, in the various religious movements

that are based on a comparative study of the world's religious systems, and in the outlook on life among the younger generation generally.

Tagore's cult of the open way, by denying design in the movement of the world, denies the possibility of prediction, and thus asserts a freedom of the human spirit that India had for several centuries forgotten. It will not easily be realized what this declaration of freedom of the human spirit means, and what wide and far-reaching changes it ultimately may effect in our national character. Today we are being hampered at every step by a sense of doom, of subjection to a Fate inexorable which lies like a pall on the consciousness of our people and does not permit the free light of the skies to enter there. The comatose condition of callousness, of insensibility to pain and pleasure, that breeds stagnation and crystallizes into innumerable *Achalanayatanas* of habitual misery on every side in our life, has at its root a want of faith in life itself and of a love for the way for its own sake. Our whole faith is placed instead on our forefathers, on our leaders, on the gods of our mundane, and the God of our eternal destiny. This has become inevitable for a people who have been put to the test of unmitigated suffering during several centuries. It requires an optimism as vast as that of Tagore to be able to say,

"Misery knocks at thy door, and her message is that thy lord is wakeful, and he calls thee to the love trust through the darkness of the night."

But this is exactly what we must say in the face of death, disease and degradation, if we must carry on, if we must live. Not to be reconciled to our fate, to drown our sorrows in forgetfulness and to wear a smile when smiling is a crime, but to derive from failures inspiration to greater efforts for success, from the one extreme of darkness and death to draw the initiative of force to swing on to the other extreme of light and life.

There is no doubt that Tagore's philosophy with its message of undying hope and faith ought to go a long way to soothing the paralysing wounds sustained by our nation in its peculiarly unfortunate career through the ages. It ought to instil new life and vigour into limbs that have become lifeless through a long and

continuous practice of depressing auto-suggestion. By releasing life and action from the prison of the mortal self, he is helping to release them from the influence of such auto-suggestions, and by supplying the inspiration of joy or *Ananda* that both liberates the spirit and accompanies the liberation, he is working and will continue to work the regeneration of India to a measure undreamt of by the most daring of our political aspirants.

Even his political utterances are going to be of a far more abiding value than is usually the case with such utterances. He, in the midst of millions, has never for a day from the very beginning, seen politics as divorced from life and its greater issues, but has seen it as a contributing tune to the great organic harmony of the entirety of human achievements. It may even be possible to prove that the great love of truth and justice that drew him into the arena of practical politics of his country in his younger days, has naturally and inevitably led up to his present attitude towards Nationalism and narrow patriotism, that the ideas of a human brotherhood that are rapidly gaining ground against all odds of reactionary forces are the direct derivatives of his great philosophy of life as embodied in his poetry and as has been roughly outlined in this essay, his philosophy of Love, of Joy, and of the Open Way. Distractions may and will come, but the freedom for which India is destined will be greater than the freedom which is

allowed to move and breathe freely within a particular geographical limit.

The political struggle, the struggle for the removal of social inequities, the struggle for bare existence will go on, but they will be judged at every step by their contribution to the prevailing tonal key of that universalism, and they will all derive their inspiration from this stupendous source of ideas and will ever be guided and nourished by them. Nationalism, it is the firm belief of many, will ultimately profit by the breaking up of its own limits. Perhaps the way to such a breaking up does not lie through a denial of Nationalism, or perhaps it does, but the day is not far away when that breaking up will be complete and through the darkness of ages the light will shine forth, the light, the illumination which is the real illumination of India. In the darkest of nights, even perhaps not fully conscious of what she is doing, the soul of India will secretly pray

"Where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high, where knowledge is free, where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls, where words come out from the depth of truth, where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection, where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit, where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action,

Into that Heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake!"

And in this way, secretly, silently, imperceptibly, a greater India will be made and is being made.



The Indian College at the University Of Montpellier

By PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES

THE location of the Indian College at the University of Montpellier has been selected, after very full consideration, as on the whole the most suitable among European universities and cities for Indian students, and especially those of intellectual ambitions, scientific, humanistic or agricultural, and with purpose of educational and social service. And these either for introduction to their period in Europe, or in their final year or two, for further continuance of their studies, as by the preparation of a research thesis for the doctorate of the University or of the State, and also for the clearer orientation of their studies, towards more comprehensive view, and for effective application in subsequent career.

The "Sir Ratan Tata Wing" of the college building (thus named owing to a substantial donation by his Trust) is now ready and in use for library and for research purposes. Until its central residential block of study rooms can be erected, material accommodation is as heretofore in the adjacent Scottish College; and it is also available in boarding-houses and lodgings not too far away.

The college anticipates and seeks to provide for the advancing future of Indian higher education and this for various reasons. First, the attractiveness of its general Mediterranean climate, essentially that of the Riviera; and thus the healthiest, since driest and most sunny of the temperate zone: and in its immediate surroundings, of exceptional variety and beauty, from grounds, gardens, and extensive heath, to the Mediterranean shore, and with mountains north, west and east—Cevennes, Pyrenees and Alps at easy excursion distance. And next, as offering within more immediate range, the most comprehensive of introductions to the main history and civilization of Europe, from the earliest times to the present.

I HEALTH ADVANTAGES

So marked are the health advantages of Montpellier alike for its natural situation

and for the outstanding and illustrious practice and emmence of its medical teaching—still substantially continued and maintained—that until nineteenth century fashion moved to the creation of the Riviera pleasure towns, Montpellier was the centre for visitors from northern countries, and especially from Britain whence the name of "Montpellier," so frequently given to some new and healthy quarters in its cities, as from Edinburgh to Cheltenham, London to Brighton. These health advantages are no less preventively important for visitors from hot countries, since affording moderate acclimatization before exposure to northern winters. The college especially provides the best of conditions for this: alike by its immediate situation just outside the city with its extensive gardens, and adjacent heath: also by the provision of a holiday country-house, the Chateau d'Assas, at easy distance, and even a neighbouring cottage-sanatorium, so far usually empty, yet on two past occasions urgently useful, with its trained nurse, and with leading physicians and surgeons within immediate reach or call. It may be noted here that while the college must thus provide separately for any case of actual illness dangerous to others, the officer of the High Commissioner for India in London, who is entrusted with the care of Indian students in British Universities, informs us that he will henceforth recommend those whose health risks suffering from first experience of the northern winter, to spend at least their first in Europe with us at Montpellier, as a precautionary measure of acclimatization.

II ENGINEERING

Montpellier is the capital of an agricultural province not an industrial one; hence the University has no Faculty of Engineering, so that after their year or two of preparation in mathematics and in the physical and chemical Institutes, students of technical purpose go to Lyons or Paris, or others, to English or Scottish Technical college facilities.

III. EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND ADVANTAGES—MEDICAL EDUCATION

Among all existing Universities, Montpellier has been the earliest in the progress of the art of medicine; and also the most initiative and influential towards its teaching, from which the botany, pharmacy, anatomy, etc. of all other schools are historically starved. It still maintains a high level of instruction, yet for this very reason the School of Medicine is at present so overcrowded by medical students, beyond present accommodation for them, that only preliminary studies, or final visits to hospitals, etc., can at present be recommended by the Indian College, until the large extensions of buildings now in progress are completed and with correspondingly increased teaching staff.

IV. ADVANCED STUDIES IN SCIENCE

For advanced studies of science, however, as for research in Chemistry, Physics, or Physiology, facilities are very good. These in Zoology are particularly excellent, with access to a conveniently accessible marine laboratory. As to Botany, Montpellier has not only taken the most active lead since early times, with the repeated lead of its famous old Botanic Garden, whence those of Oxford, Edinburgh and others. Now, and indeed more than ever it is attracting research students from all countries. This notably by its "Mediterranean and Alpine Geo-Botanic Institute," which has lately removed from the University Institute of Botany to more ample accommodation, in the library gallery of the Indian College, until its future separate building can be realized; and this extra library space comes to be needed by the College itself. The methods and merits of this Institute of Research Department—thanks to the distinguished efficiency of leadership—are so widely recognized as also leading in the science, that last summer, we had the visits of the professors of Botany of Prague and Amsterdam, and even Berlin and other German Universities, as also those of Jerusalem and Chicago, and other experts from Cambridge: and all after satisfying themselves by this direct inspection, have promised to send research students. Thus also are offered facilities to Indian students (already beginning to be utilized) for a thorough training, towards investigation and understanding of the yet more varied regional

vegetation of India, and which is nowhere else so fully obtainable.

V. AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

The Montpellier School of Agriculture is also the foremost in the Mediterranean, so that the numbers of its students are limited to prevent overcrowding. A few Indian students can however be accepted for training, and others for research, as in economics, botany or entomology, and for meteorology, etc. Practical training here in warm temperate Europe, is naturally more adaptable by Indian students than that of the cold temperate north, excellent though that is also. And somewhat similarly as regards Forestry.

VI. HUMANISTIC STUDIES FRENCH LANGUAGE ETC.

Next as regards Humanistic studies; and first as regards the learning of French—this is here rapidly acquired. The University has a comprehensive and well-staffed "*Institute of French Studies for Foreign Students*" and this is alike frequented for ordinary requirements, and also by those training as teachers, of French. The Scots and Indian Colleges also share resident and other excellent tutorial instruction: and also enjoy those varied social contacts with University and City which are so necessary for facility, and for cultural interests. Thus our students can soon follow the regular University courses, even in French language and literature which are of full range and distinguished value.

VII. HISTORY

The department of History is very comprehensive in its range and variety of teaching, and also eminent in research, ranging from Greek and Roman times, through later periods, to modern times; and from regional and French history to European and general. Several of these University courses arrange excursions to the many places and cities of historic interest, as do also our college students for themselves.

VIII. ARCHAEOLOGY

They often participate also in the very ably conducted spring and autumn excursion vacation courses, arranged by the Scots College, for Pre-historic Archaeology and History in Dordogne; which afford direct experiences ranging from earliest cavern life, and throughout all periods up to to-day and

country life of today we can find in the country so complete even when attempted at all

IX. SURVEYS, INTER-RELATION OF STUDIES : INDIAN AND OTHER.

Our colleges are also fortunate in similar experienced tutorial leadership in its regional and civic survey of and around Montpellier, of which the educative value, naturalistic and historical alike has long and increasingly been appreciated by students, and also yearly excursions from British Universities, etc. These studies are also in intimate touch with the university departments, of geography, geology and biology on the one hand, and of regional and general history on the other. The head of University Geographical Institute has lately produced the leading work on India in French, if not indeed in any language, so that Indian students are here especially welcomed. As regards Indian languages, however, the University has as yet no department, even of Sanskrit, though this is looked forward to, indeed the Indian College may come to provide this. It already has friendly relations with the very eminent department of Professor Sylvain Levy at the University of Paris, to whom our students go, as also to pursue such studies in British Universities thus provided, *e.g.* London, Oxford, Edinburgh, etc.

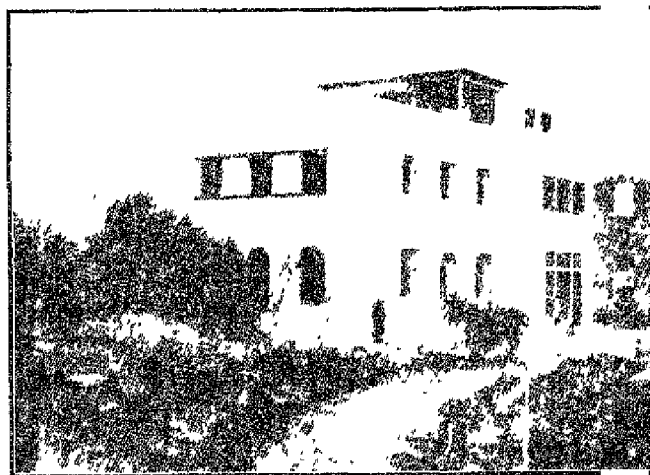
X. EDUCATION

As to education the University Department has been found of much value by Indian and other students, as uniting very able psychological and pedagogic training and with comprehensive laboratory training in examination of the children of the city's schools; as also advances in intelligence tests, etc.

XI. SOCIAL SCIENCES

As to the Social Sciences, a recent meeting of professors and leading citizens at the Scots College has initiated the

Social Society of Montpellier the Director of the latter the newer Indian College as its and with deposit of its books in spacious library of the latter for the time is deposited for his Town Planning Exhibition (well known in India in past visits to the leading capitals) thus providing a nucleus for the library now beginning. Several Indian Colleges have presented volumes, as notes of the Archaeological Survey of the Deccan: so, thus has arisen co-operation with the large general of the University, and various departmental ones. The Indian Library in London also kindly books, through the University



The Indian College—Montpellier

for loan to Indian research requiring these. The beginning in progress towards a centre co-operation Indian and European

XI. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The director of the College experienced of Britain, American Continental library arrangement and research uses, was invited to the first Congress in Europe of the Union of Educational Associations at Edinburgh in 1925, to prepare on Bibliography; and thus is publication, and of service ready for it

EXTENSION AND UNION OF COLLEGES AS CITÉ UNIVERSITAIRE

The initiative of this incipient group of colleges—first Scottish and next Indian, (as also with beginnings of Palestinian), has also American, Scandinavian, and others, on plan or in project. It has also aroused the like provision—and naturally on much larger scale of a collegiate hall of residence for French students, opened lately for 120 students, and on a not too distant site, and this is shortly to be doubled by another of equal magnitude. Our general conception however is not mainly of such large scale groupings, corresponding with those of the immense and growing Cité Universitaire of Paris, which attracts too great numbers. Some forty-five years' experience of University Halls in Edinburgh, and also of the like in London, has brought out the advantage of very moderate groupings. Thus 25 or so are found enough for any one house and around its table, since a sufficient number for conversation and intellectual comradeship. For as numbers increase, a high level is less readily aroused and maintained, since the intellectual minority too readily fall from leadership into separateness, if not solitude. Collective libraries and laboratories, country-house and excursions, and sports field (in preparation) are found to be the agencies which best bring members of all houses together, rather than too large collective dwellings. Hence throughout the present scheme, with its national initiatives and purposes, each student's house is open to receive students of other nationalities so far as these desire and vacancies permit—a method at once economical, sociable and friendly.

MONTPELLIER AS MEETING-PLACE

Were the preceding explanations all that can be given, the situation chosen for this Indian College would thus be well and fully justified. But the whole present scheme has a yet deeper-lying origin, and more ambitious purpose. The peculiarly illustrious past of Montpellier—from the very dawn of renewing higher studies in Europe after the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and through Medieval and Renaissance thought and culture (witness Petrarch and Rabelais for single salient examples) and thence to correspond-

ing productivity up to and in modern times is associated with its most favourable of non-political frontiers, and so as the nearest meeting-place of the Mediterranean parent-civilization with that of Northern Europe. So now, by cultural as well as climatic conditions, Montpellier is becoming realized as an almost correspondingly advantageous point of intellectual and educational contact with and for India also: and to mutual advantage. For such meeting of East and West is here free from any touch of economic stress, or of political, racial or other strain. In short, then, this old meeting-place of Mediterranean with Northern Europe is also well adapted for East and West as well.

UNIVERSITY PROGRESS IN GENERAL

A further interest lies in the bearing of all this upon the progress of Education, and of Higher Education especially. Primary education in Europe has long had a succession of initiative minds, such as Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel, and now Montessori and others: and secondary education though more tardily, increasingly, has active pioneers, and towards advance accordingly. Universities are multiplying, all the world over: as hardly ever before, and increasing in specialized and technical departments of every kind. Yet it has long been increasingly felt that the time has come, indeed is long overdue, for critical stock-taking of their manifold studies. So far there have been accumulating throughout their history, and more than ever anew. But as yet nowhere are these in their especial faculties and curricula, and still less as a whole, being adequately organized to their full possible educational efficiency as regards their students. Still less are they at present reaching adequately towards philosophic unity, orchestrating their teaching, towards harmony of ideas and ideals.

Many of their members practise their needs, the problem is how to realize them. Harmony amid all best forms and levels of culture has always been the desire of higher education; and now increasingly. However more substantial contributions are still needed to this. What is to be done towards advancing them?

Such ambitions too often appear "Utopian" to the "practical man" who has no time for reflection beyond his immediate

task, industrial or pecuniary. But the term Utopia is itself a subtle jest, hatched between Sir Thomas More and his friend Erasmus, the foremost scholar of his age; since the Greek, as they well knew, is either—Ou-topia, i. e. nowhere, (the sense in which cynics mistake it) or Eu-topia; i. e., with each place and its people at their best; and thus of beauty and well-being, so far they make it so. Thus Eutopia is ever being realized as in every thoughtfully designed and well-tended garden, every bettered village, town and city, in proportion to its advancing citizenship; and so also in every University and collegiate progress: so why not in those here in question.

Such considerations thus only appear sentimental and unreal to discouraged academic minds, and those of routine administration, yet none the less they correspond to facts. Thus how explain the success of the late Dr. Stiesemann—who got on so much better with the Allies than any previous German statesman and negotiator, and thus did far better for his country also. Since

at once a man of education and action and of aspiration towards unity in both; thus a good European as well as German? Much light is thrown on this when we learn of his having spent part of that "wander-students life"—which has long been a main feature of the German Universities' advantages over ours—at Geneva, a centre of French language and culture, then as now, only second to Paris itself. (And so in turn, he has given his own son and daughter an international education.)

Here again is the kindred value of our Montpellier college. Though eminently suitable for the Indian student beginning his University studies in Europe, he is advised, after the first year or two, to continue his studies elsewhere, and helped to find where best to do this. The graduate or advanced students is here guided to research, so usually towards an original thesis; after which he usually returns to India, but can also be introduced to departments and teachers in other universities, according to his particular requirements.

The Round Table Conference

By SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

WITH reference to the conclusions reached by the Indian Round Table Conference, three facts appear to be worthy of note at the outset. These are, first, that although the decisions of the Conference are of great importance, they are of a provisional nature; secondly, that there are many matters of vital importance which still remain unsettled; and thirdly, that the Irwin-Gandhi settlement which has been accepted by the Indian National Congress, makes it possible that in certain crucial matters agreement on more liberal and progressive lines may ultimately be reached. In view of the agitation that has been set up in England to prevent any modification of the so-called safeguards mooted at the Conference, and to defeat the objects of the Irwin-Gandhi settlement, it is essential to bear these facts in mind. The Conference, in fact, concluded its session in London with a resolution which, among

other things, expressed the opinion that its report was of a provisional nature. Further the Prime Minister in his concluding speech at the Conference admitted that although some of the conditions essential to the working of a constitution such as was contemplated had not been finally settled, His Majesty's Government believed that as a result of the work done by the Conference they had been brought to a point which encouraged the hope that further negotiations to be undertaken thereafter would be successful. In the declaration made on the occasion on behalf of His Majesty's Government Mr. Ramsay MacDonald stated that the precise form and structure of the new constitution must be determined after further discussion with the Princes and representatives of British India. No part of the discussions of the Conference could in such circumstances be regarded as sacrosanct

Among the problems that the Conference considered, those relating to the application of the federal principle to the future constitution of India, including the Indian States, were of more outstanding importance than others. The trend of opinion among the British Indian public had so far generally been that so long as the Governments of the Indian States were not reconstituted on a popular basis and brought into line with the Government of British India no formal union of British India with the Indian States was possible. The subjects of Indian States had for sometime been asking persistently for constitutional reform closely approximating to that of British India. The Princes as a class, however, seemed to fear that such a change would eventually bring the days of their undiluted autocracy and absolute irresponsibility to a close. The British bureaucracy in India were not only averse to any constitutional change that might have the effect of bringing British India and the Indian States into relations of mutuality and friendliness but were anxious to tighten further their control over the governmental policy in respect of the latter. The recommendations of the Statutory Commission, the report of the Butler Committee and the last despatch of the Government of India on constitutional reforms leave no room for doubt in this regard. In fact, there were people who were anticipating with eager expectancy that this part of the Indian problem would serve as a rock on which the Indian Round Table Conference might, in the very beginning, be made to split.

The situation had thus become one of very great complexity and difficulty when the Indian Round Table Conference was summoned. But when at the outset representative Indian princes along with British Indian members of the Conference one after another declared that a federation embracing British India and the Indian States was likely to prove an effective solution of the Indian problem, this really came as a surprise to all—pleasant to some and disagreeable to others.

It will readily be admitted that very great credit belongs in the matter to those among the Indian princes and their advisers who advocated the idea of federation for a united India. They further demonstrated their patriotism by making it clear that they were not less enthusiastic in their insistence

that the new federated India should have an equality of political status with the rest of the self-governing parts of the British Empire than in their demand for a federation of their states with the British Indian provinces. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald did not indulge in any exaggeration in the eloquent tribute that he paid to the Indian Princes for the signal service rendered by them in this matter. "As regards the form of the constitution," the Prime Minister said in his speech, referred to above, "all the speakers have said that it has been determined that it is to be a Federation. Your Highnesses, I can add nothing to the tribute that has been paid to you by previous speakers regarding the magnificent part that you have played in making that possible. Before you came the situation of the Indian constitution was in doubt. Many people, as was said this morning, were doubtful, as to whether British India alone could bear central authority. You came. You made your declaration. You showed your patriotic interest in Indian affairs and your very wise vision regarding the future and your words made it possible for us to build up a constitution and to put political weight upon it. This has been a great achievement for which India and Great Britain are grateful to your Highnesses."

We thus find a complete change in the situation brought about by a fundamental transformation in the outlook of the parties concerned. The scope and sweep of the change will be realized when one considers how inconsequential were the proposals made by the Simon Commission in this regard and that the Government of India in their last despatch on reforms published simultaneously with the assembling of the Conference, had declared that a federation of all-India was a distant ideal and the form which it would take could not then be decided.

That the Indian princes showed great courage combined with true foresight in coming to the decision that they made in regard to the question of federation cannot, I think, be disputed. But the problems of a Federal India in which the Indian States are to be component parts along with British Indian provinces are not settled simply by declarations made in favour of such a solution. When details arising out of the question of application of the principle of federation to the future constitution of India began to be discussed at the Conference

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

the many difficulties that confronted such a course became apparent.

A notable feature of the more important among the existing federal constitutions is a declaration defining in general terms the form of government to be adopted by the constituent States. The constitution of the United States of America, for instance, contains a provision guaranteeing to every State of the Union a republican form of government. Similarly according to the terms of the Swiss Constitution the Cantons are required to demand from the Federated State its guarantee of their constitutions. This guarantee must be accorded, provided, among other things, they ensure the exercise of political rights according to republican forms, representative or democratic. The new German Constitution provides that each state constituting the republic must have a republican constitution.

In India it is proposed to have a federation of British Indian provinces and Indian States. The form of government of a British Indian province may, it appears, be expected to approximate to a modified form of responsible government. The Indian States, on the other hand, are more or less irresponsible autocracies, personal rule being their dominant feature. There is no indication justifying the expectation that anything approaching even the elements of democratic rule is likely to be introduced in the Indian States in the near future, unless the authorities concerned are forced by the stress of circumstances to follow such a course. A federation of such incongruous elements cannot but be regarded as a curious political phenomenon, under these circumstances.

While acknowledging that the scheme of a Federation as outlined, though roughly, by the Conference, is a commendable enterprise, it cannot, at the same time, be denied that it is full of risks for those who have so far been asking for the introduction of a form of government based on democratic principles and shaped on popular lines.

British Indians have already indicated their resolve, and that in no uncertain manner, to evolve a constitution that will approximate to those of other modern self-governing states. The British Government are now committed to confer on India "the status of a Dominion amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations" coupled with "the pride and the honour of responsible government." It is at once of place to

refer in this connection to the basic principle of the constitution of the British Empire as enunciated by the Imperial Conference of 1926. That Conference declared that the constituent states were autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another, in any aspect of their domestic or internal affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown.

The question that naturally arises in the minds of people in British India at this juncture is, is the price that they have been asked to pay for the proposed federation commensurate with the advantages that are likely to accrue from it? A discussion of the implications of the proposed federation, however brief or imperfect such discussion might be, is needed for a proper understanding of the question.

As is well-known, the princes and their spokesmen have urged with all the emphasis at their command that the fundamental condition of any scheme of federal constitution must, from their point of view, be a recognition of the fact that in matters relating to the constitution of States they must be allowed complete freedom. The people belonging to these States have, however, so far been almost completely ignored both by the British Government and the Rulers of the States. They have neither been formally consulted nor their viewpoints appear to have been formally taken into consideration. The aggregate population of the Indian States comes up roughly speaking to about one-fifth of the entire population of India, which is equal to about one-and-a-half times the total population of Great Britain and Ireland. It does not appear that the interests of the subjects of Indian States, who constitute so large a proportion of the whole population of India, have received even anything like a cursory consideration at the Round Table Conference. Their point of view is reflected in the observations made by *The Week* in a recent issue. While referring to the likely results of a Federation, such as that outlined by the Conference, the journal says: "The result would be that the subjects would be handed over bound hand and foot to their rulers. If these rulers were at least high-minded, public-spirited men, wholly devoted to public weal, it would not matter so much. But the reality falls so far short of the ideal that safeguards—to use that blessed word!—may on no account be dispensed with. We

hope that Mr. Gandhi... will make this quite clear to representatives of the princely order."

The people of British India have enjoyed a system of administration which whatever its defects it cannot be denied is far in advance of that existing in the Indian States. That is not all. They had further been promised a status not inferior to that enjoyed by British subjects in other parts of the British Empire, enjoying responsible self-government.

A constitution framed on the lines of the recommendations made by the Indian Round Table Conference will give us a number of autocratically governed States joined to British Indian Provinces, clothed in a democratic garb, enjoying a modified form of responsible self-government, as component parts of Federal India. And while British Indians cannot be expected to exercise any effective influence over the affairs of the States, these autocratically governed States through their nominees will enjoy an influence and power, much in excess of their relative importance in points of population, area and resources, over British Indian policy and administration.

Can it be said by even the most ardent among the advocates of the scheme of a Federal India as it has been outlined, that it contains any guarantee to the people of British India that there is no risk of the forces of reaction prevailing in the near future when questions of changes in the constitution or questions on constitutional aspects are brought forward for discussion and settlement in the Federal Legislature, and of the Federation and its units straying into undemocratic paths?

It may not be inappropriate to examine in this connection the means suggested by the Conference for securing stability for the central executive. The Federal Structure Sub-committee recommended, and the Conference endorses the recommendation, "that Ministers should not be compelled to resign save in the event of a vote of no confidence passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the two Chambers sitting together." When one finds that important parts of the field of Central administration will be kept reserved for the Governor-General who is to be entrusted with special and emergency powers to carry on the work of Government not only in the reserved but in the non-reserved spheres also, and then notes the nature of recommendations relating to the

composition of each chamber of the federal legislature; the methods whereby representatives from British India and the Indian States are to be chosen; and the constitution, character, powers and responsibilities of the federal executive etc., one comes to realize the nature and extent of the risk that British Indians have been asked to take in the matter. The watchwords of democracy are progress and reform. Is there anybody who has the hardihood to say that these objects can ever be achieved by stabilizing backwardness and unenlightenment and by clinging to retrogressive and obsolete methods?

The position may now be summed up thus: The introduction of the principle of federation in the Indian constitution appears to be a wise course, in the present circumstances, for achieving the goal of a United India. But the fundamental point to be remembered in this connection is the fact that such a constitution if it is to be acceptable to the people of India must be based on a democratic foundation. In order that this may be so it is essential that there should be a declaration of fundamental rights. The constitutions of the more important among the modern States which have written constitutions safeguard the rights and liberties of their subjects by such a method. The Indian National Congress has, at successive sessions, demanded this as a part of its scheme of constitutional reform, and it is well-known that the Nehru Report includes such a declaration in the scheme formulated by its authors. Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao, one of the members of the Indian Round Table Conference, presented a well-written memorandum on the subject to the Conference. He invited pointed attention to the inclusion of analogous provisions in some of the older federal constitutions such as those of the United States of America and Switzerland as also of some of the new states that have been brought into being after the war. Sir Mirza Mahommed Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, who represented that State at the Conference, in his scheme of reforms of a Federated India acknowledges the desirability of including such a provision in the Indian Constitution. It does not appear that the matter received from the Conference the attention that its importance demanded that it should. No effort should now be spared to secure a careful consideration of the matter with a view to the inclusion in the

future constitution of Federal India, adequate provision for safeguarding the rights and liberties of subjects in both British India and the Indian States

Further it should be provided that the constituent States should adopt a popular and democratic constitution and that all vestiges of personal and autocratic rule should cease. While in the case of the British Indian provinces such a condition is to be adopted forthwith, in view of the peculiar position of the Indian States, they may be allowed time to adapt themselves gradually, and of their own accord, to the spirit of popular rule. Unless and until there is some such arrangement there are grave risks of reaction owing to the powerful position and influence that the princes and their nominees are likely to exercise over the counsels of the Federation. That the danger to which I refer is not an imaginary one will be apparent from certain observations made not long ago by one of the most prominent among the British journalists in the British press. While referring to certain aspects of the recommendations of the Round Table Conference Mr. Garvin wrote in the *Observer* thus: "Fundamental to Federation is stability. The constitution once adopted cannot be changed except by very exceptional majorities after very deliberate processes. In the case of this incalculable experiment on a scale unknown to history before the Federal Statute must not be alterable at all for some definite period, nor alterable afterwards except by the concurrent decision of three-fourths of the Legislature and three-fourths of the Princes voting separately. Statutory security of this kind is absolutely essential, both to the Princes, and the Moslems, as well as to Britain. Otherwise in a few years everything would be thrown into the melting-pot and the last state would be worse than the first."

The implications of Mr Garvin's thesis are obvious. It will be supported only by confirmed reactionaries and irreclaimable obscurantists. The spirit underlying the suggestion is entirely repugnant to the spirit of popular government and of progress; and the proposal will, therefore, be rejected without any hesitation by informed public opinion in India. For it is in the essence of things that a democratic government must grow and develop with the improvement and advance of the people concerned and should always

be able to adjust itself to their particular needs and interests and the changing conditions of time.

The future constitution of India, if it is to fulfil the purposes of a free constitution, must satisfy two essential conditions. In the first place, it must be modelled on pure, genuine, democratic lines. It should further be in consonance with the genius and traditions of the Indian people. Thoughtful Indians desire that the government of their country should be constituted on democratic lines because that is the only way in which people in other advanced countries have achieved real progress and liberty. It is true that the expectations that the advent of democracy had aroused in the minds of people advocating its establishment have not been fulfilled. It is, however, the view of progressive thinkers that whatever the defects or shortcomings of democracy, as it has so far been worked, democratic governments have been found to render greater service and greater good to the people concerned than those they have superseded. As an American writer says, it is hardly to be denied that the principle of democratic rule has now become a permanent or essential factor in political institutions and that it alone can form the basis of the states of the future.

It appears that if in place of large areas as units of government, we have smaller areas with local councils endowed with adequate powers and with villages or groups of villages as the basis of administration, it is possible to avoid many of the evils and abuses of government that have become apparent. By an all-round and extended application of the principle of federation it is possible to frame a constitution which would meet the needs of the situation admirably. The example of some of the Western countries with small areas support this view. Among the many writers who have discussed the Indian problem, Mr. G. T. Garratt, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, in his excellent book, *An Indian Commentary*, advocates a similar reform. "For many years," he says, "the Indian electorate will have very little say in the preliminary choice of candidates, a most important part of a well-founded democracy. It is of little advantage to have a vote if it means putting a mark against one of several unknown names; the lucky winner then disappearing to a distant capital where complete oblivion covers his deeds and

actions. This is a weakness of all democracies but it can be minimized by having small provinces, so that constituencies are of a reasonable size and never too far removed from the seat of government. A constitution such as this will be entirely in harmony with the genius and traditions of the Indian people.

The present system of government in India is a highly centralized one. Such a system has everywhere been seen to have the tendency of not only retarding the growth of the spirit of self-government but it further encourages the growth of predatory and exploiting interests and "bossism." These evils may be checked effectively only by the creation of small areas of government. It is true that the suggested system at the outset is likely to give rise to parochial feelings but this tendency may be countered by the introduction of the principle of federation along with a sound system of national education. This will have the additional advantage of affording proper training to a larger body of people in the principles and practices of a genuine system of popular government by enabling them to learn the art of self-government by participating in the work of government, and thus make democracy a reality to the people concerned. Under such a system it is possible to reduce the present high cost of administration and the funds thus released may be utilized for the uplift and welfare of the general body of people. In this connection the example that Switzerland has set ought to be a lesson to our constitution makers. As James Bryce says while referring to the advantages of small units of government: "It was in small communities that Democracy first arose: it was from them that the theories of its first literary prophets and apostles were derived; it is in them that the way in which the real will of the people tells upon the working of government can best be studied, because most of the questions which come before the people are within their own knowledge."

Vigorous and persistent efforts are being made to defeat the objects of the Indian Round Table Conference by supporters of vested interests who demand that the decisions on certain proposals which were sprung upon the Conference at the last moment should be treated as final. Nothing could be more preposterous than this. These people find it convenient to

forget that the decisions to which they refer are of a provisional character and that there are many matters of vital importance on which no decision has yet been reached. As the Report on the Conference says: "Many points have necessarily been left open which will have to be settled later after public opinion both in India and in England, had an opportunity of expressing itself upon them in order that the completed constitution may be based on the largest measure of public approval in both countries." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in his concluding speech also emphasized this view. He said: "Now we have gone as far as we can go at this moment. You have to go back to India, we have to go back to our own public opinion. You have spoken here subject to reconsideration, subject to the reaction which your public opinion will show to your work; we, Government and Parliamentary representatives alike, have spoken in the same way, and we must also listen to reactions. We must also explain and expound and defend, we must also make ourselves the champions of our findings; and do our best to bring our people along with us in our pilgrimage of hope to their conclusion." Since Lord Irwin returned to England both he and the Secretary of State for India have said enough to show how absurd is the position of those who demand that before the Conference proceeds any farther with its work some of its recommendations which are manifestly of a provisional nature should be declared to be inviolate and inviolable.

There are reactionaries both in England and in this country who find in the probable introduction of the rule of the people an end to the special powers and privileges that small groups of people have so long enjoyed. These opponents of progress and reform do not mean to remain indifferent or be inactive; in fact, they are utilizing the boundless resources at their command for propaganda and are straining every nerve for the final acceptance of their views by the powers that be. The other danger, not less serious than the one to which I have just referred, is the assumption of a dictatorial and pontifical attitude by influential political leaders in this country. In such circumstances it is of the utmost importance that Indian publicists all over the country should put before the bar of public opinion their case for a free and unfettered constitution for their Motherland. It must be remembered that at such

perhaps those who are disorganized are bound to go to the wall. It will thus be seen that much, very much, yet remains to be done by Indian publicists and political workers if the future constitution of India is to be framed in such a way as to fulfil

the purposes of a free constitution. This makes it plain that the most difficult part of the work of the Conference still remains to be done.

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Syed Djamaluddin Al-Afghani

By S. ZULFIQAR

DJAMALUDDIN Al-Afghani, Al-Sayid Muhammad B. Saïder was one of the most remarkable figures in the 19th century. Endowed with a keen intellect, great personal magnetism and abounding vigour, Djamal had a stormy and chequered career. He was—in the opinion of Prof. Browne—at once a philosopher, author, orator and journalist, but above all, he was a politician regarded by his opponents as a dangerous agitator. He was a great traveller, knowing intimately not only the Muslim world, but Western Europe as well. A dynamic personality, this extraordinary man exerted profound and lasting influence wherever he went. Hans Kohn rightly calls him "the inspiring genius of all the Muhammadan countries."

LIFE AND CAREER

Djamal's family traced its descent through the famous traditionalist 'Ali Al-Tirmidhi from Hussam b. 'Ali. This entitled his people to bear the title 'Syed'. They followed the Hanafi law. According to his own account, Djamal was born at Asadabad near Kanar in the district of Kabul in Afghanistan in 1838-39. But there are others who say that it was at Asadabad near Hamadan in Persia that he first saw the light. Djamal, according to them, wished to escape Persian despotism by crumbing to be an Afghan subject. Whatever that be, it is certain that he spent his earliest childhood and youth in Afghanistan. Till his 18th year he studied at Bukhara all the higher branches of Muhammadan learning. At the same time he devoted his attention to the study of philosophy and the exact sciences in the traditional fashion of the Muslims. He

then came to India and spent here over a year; made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1857, and on return to Afghanistan entered the service of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan whom he accompanied on his campaign against Herat. After the death of the Amir he offered his services to Muhammad Azam, who succeeded to the throne. Djamal served him as a minister. But Muhammad Azam's rule was very brief. A dynastic civil war led to his fall and Djamal on pretext of again undertaking a pilgrimage (1869) left Afghanistan. After a short stay in India and Cairo, where he came in contact with the Azhar circles and held private lectures in his residence, he turned his steps to Constantinople (1870). A great reputation had preceded him there and the welcome was very cordial. Sultan Abdul Hamid II showered favours upon him because of his pan-Islamic views. He was soon appointed professor at the Anjuman Ul-Ilm, the Academy of Science. His lectures before this Academy and at Aya Sofia and the Ahmadia mosque—where he addressed public gatherings—astonished people by their erudition. A lecture on the value of the arts, however, gave the Sherk-ul-Islam, Hassan Fahmi, who was jealous of his growing renown, an opportunity to charge him with revolutionary views, and he was obliged to quit Constantinople and betake himself to Cairo in 1871. There he remained for eight years and became, in the words of Hans Kohn, "the trinitizing genius and teacher of Young Egypt." The Egyptian Government granted him an annual allowance of 12,000 Egyptian piastres without binding him to any official duties. He was free to instruct young men in all subjects. But, for his revolutionary activities he was

he joined the Indian in 1860. He was at first detained in Hyderabad and afterwards in Calcutta. During his stay in Hyderabad he wrote his *Reputation of Materialism*. From India he went to America. In 1883 he is found for a brief period in London. Soon afterwards he went to Paris with his friend and pupil, Sheikh Muhammad Abder, who afterwards became the Grand Mufti of Egypt, where he devoted his literary activities to political propaganda against European colonists' intervention in the affairs of the East. Most prominent and influential papers of Paris opened their columns to his essays. To this period also belongs his polemic with Ernest Renan. Renan in his Sorbonne lecture on "Islam and Science" stated that Islam did not favour scientific activity. Djamal sought to refute this in an article which appeared in the *Journal des débats*. His time in Paris was mainly occupied by the Arabic weekly, *Al-'Awwal al-awliha*, which appeared with the French sub-title *Le Lion Indissoluble*. Muhammad Abder was the actual editor of the paper. It is a fact to be noted that this paper was published mainly at the expense of some Indian Mussulmans. Of all the countries in Europe Djamal felt most at home in France for its atmosphere of freedom and spirit of republicanism. In 1886 he received a telegraphic invitation to the court of Shah Nasiruddin of Persia. He was on his arrival in Persia given a distinguished reception and high political offices. But his increasing popularity made the Shah uneasy and fearful of his presence. On the plea of ill-health Djamal, therefore, left Persia to save his life and went to Russia. In Russia he entered into very important political negotiations. What, however, was the nature of these negotiations we do not know. On the occasion of his visit to the Paris Exhibition of 1889 he met the Shah, who was then in Europe, at Munich and was induced by him to accompany him to Persia again. During this his second stay in Persia he came in contact with many notable leaders of thought there, and his influence spread rapidly. This made some noblemen of the Shah's Court jealous, and the Shah ultimately at the instigation of these people imprisoned Djamal. On release he went over to England, and there he conducted a great agitation in

lectures and articles against the reign of terror in Persia. Shortly afterwards (1890) he received through the Turkish ambassador in London, Rustom Pasha, Sultan Abdul Hamid's written invitation to settle permanently in Constantinople. He accepted the Sultan's favour not without reluctance. The Sultan granted him a handsome pension and a very beautiful house with gardens attached to it at Nishantash, where he inspired people through his brilliant talks. Here he spent the last five years of his life in comparative ease, but always surrounded by the intrigues of the Sultan's court.

HIS INFLUENCE ON MUSLIM COLLECTORS IN GENERAL HIS PART IN THE REGENERATION OF EGYPT

Djamal is rightly regarded as the originator, the awakener of the modern political consciousness in Islam. He stands at the head of all the reform movements in Islam in the 19th century. He has left traces of his influence in almost all the Eastern countries. But his influence went deepest in Egypt and Persia.

He spent considerable time in India. But it is difficult to say how far he was connected with the beginnings of the reform movements in Islam here. That his influence did not go altogether unfelt is, however, certain. Or else those Indian Muslims would not have helped him with money in conducting his Arabic weekly in Paris. It is a fact that at the present day Djamal has a great hold on the imagination of young Indians as a great pioneer in the field of reforms. In Calcutta on the occasion of his first or second visit, we cannot say—the Muslim public were trying to get him to speak to them at the Calcutta Madrasah, but some of their leaders intervened and the meeting was never held. This prompted some enlightened Hindu gentlemen to invite him to Albert Hall, where he addressed a mammoth gathering in Persian. Evidently his political views were much too advanced for the Muslims of Bengal of that epoch. In the person of the late Aga Mounir Islam, passed away the last of Djamal's direct disciples in Calcutta.

In Egypt men like Arabi Pasha, the leader of the military Fellahin movement, and Sheikh Muhammad Abder, the renowned reformer and Grand Mufti of Egypt, came under his influence. The latter remained a staunch friend and devoted disciple of Djamal through

and Aditya Panigrahi, a political crisis, knowing not what to believe and what to do, when Djamal came into his life and showed him the right path, and thus followed the efforts to effect reforms in Islam—otherwise known as Islamic Modernism in Egypt—which emanated from the famous centre of Muslim learning, El-Azhar University. Djamal delivered a series of lectures at the El-Azhar University which Adib Ishaq, the young Syrian revolutionary and poet, who sided with Arabi Pasha during his residence in Egypt, published in his journal *Misr*.

In the field of politics Djamal influenced those around him in the doctrine of a nationalist revival and liberal constitutional institutions. His influence is clearly noticeable in the nationalist movement which came to a head in 1882 and led to the bombardment of Alexandria, the battle of Tel-el-Kebir and the English occupation. His activities roused the suspicions of the authorities and, as already stated, he was, early in 1879, deported to India. It was, however, too late.

It is impossible to over-estimate Djamal's influence on the political and religious reform movements in Egypt. It was during his activities there that the cry, "Masr li'l Masriyin" (Egypt for the Egyptians) was heard for the first time. We entirely agree with Dr. Stoddard when he says, "It is not too much to say that he (Djamal) is the father of every shade of Egyptian nationalism."

HIS INFLUENCE ON THE REFORM MOVEMENTS IN PERSIA

During the reign of Shah Nasiruddin Djamal exercised from abroad, a great influence and kept alive, at least in a small select circle, the idea of a Persian awakening and liberal reforms. When away from Persia he used to be in correspondence with influential people there. During his two brief stays he succeeded to a degree in propagating his ideas and these, according to historians like Pictet Browne, led ultimately to the reform movements and revolution in Persia. In short, he was in a way the father of the Persian revolution as well.

We have seen that after his second stay in Persia, Djamal went to England and from London carried on an agitation against the misrule in Persia. He was politically most active during this period of his life in

England. The force of his activities may well be gauged from the fact that his agitation against the misdeeds of the Shah Nasiruddin led to the Shah's murder in 1896 (11th March) by one Mirza Abd. Riza, a young Persian revolutionary. When this assassination took place, Djamal was in Constantinople and the Persian Government demanded of the Turkish Government that he should be extradited. But only three of his friends were extradited and executed, whilst Djamal died during the lengthy negotiations. One of the men to be executed was Mirza Aga Khan, a scholar who had advocated pan-Islamism in his writings and especially the union of the Shi'ites and Sunnites. Another friend of Djamal who was executed wore a signet-ring bearing the words: "I am a defender of Islam's unity. Ahmed Raza is my name."

HIS TEACHINGS

In the field of reforms in religion Djamal taught that reforms were necessary and quite compatible with Islam, and that scientific activities were not at all contrary to its spirit. Science and religion, he preached, were sisters and should never be in conflict. He believed in the increasing adaptability of Islam and relied on reason. In a possible conflict between reason and tradition he would follow reason and not tradition. It is no exaggeration to say that most of the reforms that Sheikh Muhammad Abder afterwards introduced—such as, the lawfulness of taking interest on money and the rejection of the subtleties of *fiqh* and the greater emphasis on *Itihad*, etc. were in no small measure due to the influence of Djamal.

But Djamal did not concern himself much with theology, devoting himself chiefly to politics.

He is sometimes considered to be the father of the pan-Islamic idea, and there is quite good evidence to support this view. But it was Sultan Abdul Hamid II of Turkey who tried to translate this idea into practical politics.

In spite of his pan-Islamic leanings, there are distinct nationalist tendencies in Djamal's teachings. That is why some writers think him to be philosophically the connecting link between pan-Islamism and Moslem nationalism.

Dr. Stoddard summarizes his chief political teachings as follows:

"The Christian world, despite its internal differences of race and nationality, is, as against the East and especially as against Islam, united by the destruction of all Muhammadan states."

"The Crusades still subsist, as well as the fanatical spirit of Peter the Hermit. At heart, Christendom still regards Islam with hatred and contempt. This is shown in many ways, as in international law, where when Moslem nations are not treated as equals of Christian nations."

"Christian Governments exercise attacks and humiliations inflicted upon Western states by citing the latter's backward and barbarous condition; yet these same Governments scuffle by thousand means, even by war, every attempted effort of reform and revival in Moslem lands."

"Hatred of Islam is common to all Christian people, not merely to some of them, and the result of this spirit is a tacit, persistent effort for Islam's destruction."

"From all this, it is plain that the whole Moslem world must unite in a great defensive alliance to preserve itself from destruction; and, to do this, it must acquire the technique of western progress and learn the secrets of European power."

His Works

In spite of his scholarly command of Muslim theology and philosophy, Djamal wrote little in these fields. His pamphlet on *Refutation of Materialism*, which appeared in three languages, may be mentioned; he also wrote a short sketch of Afghan history entitled *Tahimmat al-Bayan*. He contributed an article on the Babis to Barus al-Bustani's *Dabrat al-ma'arif*. His activities were mainly devoted to publishing inflammatory political articles which were uncommonly effective in those days. In addition to *Al-urwat al-wathika* he was (1892) joint-founder and industrious contributor to the bi-lingual (English and Arabic) monthly *Diya al-khankaini* "splendour of the two hemispheres" in which under the name "Al-Sayyed" or "Al-Syed al-Hussain" he directed the fiercest attacks on the Shah, whose deposition he always urged, his ministers and their abuse of power.

From this scanty production it seems that his strength lay more in personal teaching and suggestions than in authorship. But the fact also remains that most of his writings were suppressed by the unsympathetic Governments of his time. As for his journalistic productions they were classics in their way.

LAST DAYS AND DEATH

As has been said above Djamal finally settled in Constantinople (1892). But this does not mean that henceforth his was a life of retirement or reclusion. Active to

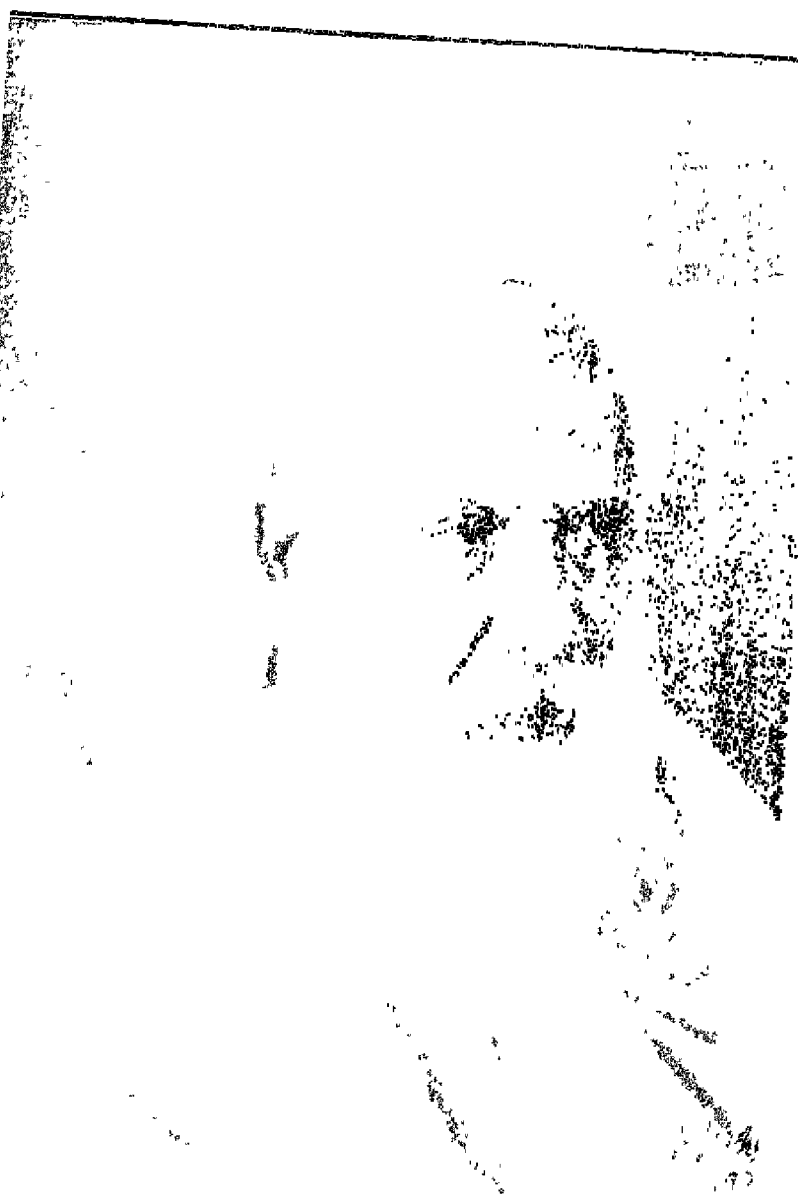
the last, his services were to the cause of pan-Islamism were invaluable. In fact, he and some writers who think that even the success of Abdul Hamid's pan-Islamic mission was due to his untiring zeal and activities. The Sultan was not slow to recognize it and rewarded him accordingly in the whole course of his conduct, not less so in this was the period when he got within his reach every means of creature comforts through the munificence of the Emperor, but peace and happiness were not for him. As before, his fame made him many enemies, chief among whom was the notorious Abul Huda, the most influential ecclesiastic at the Sultan's court, who had the monarch's ear. When Djamal died, on March 9, 1897, of a cancer, which began in his chin and gradually spread, it was freely suspected that his fatal illness was due to poisoning at the instigation of Abul Huda. So ended the life of "the first harbinger of the New Orient."

It is difficult at this distance of time, and with all these changes about us, to appreciate fully the solitary grandeur of Djamal's selfless character or to visualize the often loneliness and mental agonies he must have gone through. He alone in all the Muslim world realized the impending peril that threatened the Eastern countries and like a Hebrew prophet of old moved ceaselessly from place to place, indifferent to thoughts of ease and comfort, warning people in a thundering voice.

To conclude this brief article we find no better words than those of Junji Sardan, author of *Masha hawa-She-Sheik*, which Hans Kohn quotes in his brilliant *History of Nationalism in the East*.

"The goal towards which all his (Djamal's) actions tended and the pole around which all his hopes revolved was the unity of Islam and the union of all Muslims in all parts of the earth in a single state and the protection of the Sacred Caliph. To this ideal he devoted all his energy; to this goal he sacrificed all his worldly ambitions, and renounced wives and domestic comforts and all material possessions. He died without leaving a written record of his ideas and aims, except for his essay on the *Refutation of Materialism* and various separate letters and pamphlets on a number of questions. But in the hearts of his friends and disciples he awakened a living spirit, he kindled their energy and gave point to their pens, and the East profited greatly, and will continue to profit by their labours."

Djamal found his last resting-place in the cemetery at Nishantash.



RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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The Indian States

By KAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

(This is the English version of the presidential address read at the third session of the All-India Indian States' Peoples' Conference, held in Bombay on the 9th and 10th June, 1931.)

LIKE the British school of political thought which considers that India is Britain's domestic concern, in which it would be impertinence for foreign outsiders to meddle, there is a kind of sentiment among some Indian Princes which prompts them to think and sometimes to say openly that, if anything has to be done in relation to their States, they will themselves do it, if and when they think it necessary. It would not be relevant to discuss on this occasion any notions which any British school of political thought might have. But it is necessary to offer some observations on the sentiment of the Princes referred to above. Even if the people of the Indian States and the people of British India were such utter strangers to one another as, for example, the Abyssinians and the Eskimos are, we might have taken some interest in the affairs of our Indian States' neighbours on the principle of the saying of the Roman author Terence, "I am a man. I deem nothing that relates to man a matter foreign to myself." (*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto*). Or, we might have gone to our ancient sages for counsel and tried to shape our conduct along lines suggested in the maxim,

नमो निरः परेदिति गणना नयुक्तेनमः ।

अपराधितानामन्तु बन्धुवैदं कुटुम्बकम् ॥

Only little-minded persons think, "This man is our own, or this man is a stranger", but to noble-minded persons the whole world is kin."

But it is not really necessary for us to run the risk of being ridiculed for professing to follow the high precepts of Indian or foreign teachers. For, the people of British India and the people of the Indian States are not strangers to one another like the Bantus and the Peruvians, for example. The division of India into British India (I am sorry I shall have to use this

humiliating term repeatedly) and Indian India is political and administrative, not a geographical division, nor a natural division in any other sense. For India is one

Englishmen themselves, when they do not write as imperialist politicians, recognize the unity of India. I refer particularly to them, as most of them are interested in denying the oneness of India. Mr James Ramsay MacDonald, the present British Prime Minister, writes in his book on *The Government of India*:

"India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, is naturally the area of a single government. One has only to look at the map to see how geography has foreordained an Indian empire. Its vastness does not obscure its oneness; its variety does not hide from view its unity. The Himalayas and their continuous barriers frame off the great peninsula from the rest of Asia. Its long rivers, connecting its extremities and its interior with the sea, knit it together for communication and transport purposes; its varied productions, interchangeable with one another, make it a convenient industrial unit, maintaining contact with the world through the great ports to the East and West.

"Political and religious traditions have also welded it into one Indian consciousness. This spiritual unity dates from very early times in Indian culture."

According to the historian Vincent A. Smith (*Early History of India*):

"India, circled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such, rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of the social, religious, and intellectual development of mankind."

William Archer declares in his *India and the Future* that Indian unity is "indisputable."

Some opinions, expressed by others who are not British imperialists, may also be quoted.

Dr J. T. Sanderland of America wrote in *The Modern Review* for April, 1928:

"The truth is if there is a real nation in the world, a nation with a unity of spirit and so deep (the growth of) that it has become a part of the very intellectual and moral fibre of the people, an ingredient of their

very life-blood that nation is India. Compared with the unity of India that of every American and European nation is superficial and ephemeral.

That India's unity is made up of variety, that many constituent elements enter into it, has been beautifully expressed by her eminent poet, Rabindranath Tagore, in the following well-known lines:

We are one all the more because we
are many.
We have made room for a common love,
A common brotherhood through all our
separateness.
Our unlikenesses reveal the beauty of a
common life deeper than all.
Even as mountain peaks in the morning
sun
reveal the unity of the mountain range
from which they all rise up their shining
heads."

The late Miss Margaret Noble, known and respected as Sister Nivedita, wrote as follows as one who had adopted India as her Motherland:

It requires a foreign eye to catch the wonders of Indian solidarity. It was Englishmen who first saw that our unity was so great, and our ignorance of that unity so universal, that an immense harvest might be reaped from administering our affairs and taxing us as a unit. In this sense then, the lesson of our unity has been taught us by our English teachers. As in one of the higher organisms, no limb is a mere repetition of any other, but the whole is served in some special way by each, so here also no one province duplicates or reveals the functions of any other. The Maratha serves the Bengali and the Bengali the Maratha, the Hindu and the Mohammedan find themselves complementary to one another, and the Punjabi and the Madras are both equally essential to the whole in virtue of their mutual unlikeness not their resemblances.

It is unnecessary to quote other testimonies to India's oneness. This oneness embraces both Indian India and British India. Men of the same races, castes and creeds dwell in the Indian States and the parts of British India which lie in their vicinity, and there is every kind of social intercourse and of social relationship between the same groups dwelling near one another. The same languages are spoken in the adjoining regions of British India and Indian India. At each succeeding census British official linguists have managed to discover new languages spoken in India. According to the census of 1901 the number of our languages was 147; by 1911 it had increased to 220; and in 1921 it stood at 222. It is not yet known whether at this year's census any more

Indian languages have been discovered. But there is one consoling feature in the record of a wilderness of languages, viz. that the British official linguists have not yet told the world that they have discovered a language or languages spoken in the Indian States, which are entirely distinct from and unlike any languages spoken in the neighbouring tracts of British India.

In foreign relations British India and Indian India are treated as one unit. The Indian Delegation to the League of Nations includes some Indian prince or other, thus showing that the two are not separate entities. The disabilities suffered abroad by Indians are suffered both by British and Indian States' subjects.

India being thus one, it is natural to those who live in Indian India and British India to be interested in one another's affairs and to seek to share one another's weal and woe and promote mutual good.

The Indian National Congress has been since its birth, the most important and most representative political organization in India. Until recent years the members of the Congress and its leaders had, for various reasons refrained from expressing any opinion on the administration of the Indian States and their general condition. But fortunately this is no longer the case. At the last Calcutta session of the Congress, on January 1, 1929, a motion made by Mr. Moulal Kothari and seconded by Mr. Satva-murthi asked for the introduction of responsible government in the Indian States and urged their rulers to make declarations guaranteeing to their subjects the elementary rights of citizenship, with a view to making India a homogeneous nation. This motion was carried. This resolution gives a clear indication of the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards the Indian States.

I have already referred to the existence of the sentiment among some Princes that, should it be necessary to do anything for the States, they would themselves do it. That is admittedly a natural sentiment. Prince or peasant, plebeian or patrician, no one likes to be compelled to do even a good thing, a thing of advantage to himself. And if the Princes would themselves do what would really conduce to the enlightenment and prosperity of their people and at the same time consolidate their own power thereby, no one would be better pleased and feel more proud than the political workers of the

and We could lead our roads high, if we could decide that our Princes had set an example to the British Indian Government in various directions. In the directions a few progressive Indian States have already set such examples, and we are proud of them.

Every Indian Prince would be able to set such examples, if he would become of his own choice a limited or constitutional ruler, governing according to laws made by a popular legislature. It must be plain to every intelligent prince that, whatever the power and wisdom of a benevolent autocrat, they must be limited, as the power and wisdom of even the greatest of men are limited. It should also be plain to him that in no country and state can a succession of benevolent, powerful and wise autocrats be ensured. And even if it could be assured, it is a great defect of autocracies, even of a benevolent type, that in a benevolent autocracy the autocrat himself is practically the only patriot and that, therefore, the power to do public good possessed by all the other possible patriots in the state or the country remain undeveloped and unused. This is a great loss to the state and to the world. On the other hand, in a state having a representative form of Government, there is a possibility of every adult becoming a worker for public good. I have argued on the assumption that autocrats are benevolent, which unhappily is seldom the case. Irresponsible power generally leads to abuse of power and oppression and waste.

For these reasons, and also because the people of a state are its most important factor, the princes of all states should make the people their co-workers. I hope it will not cause any surprise even to princely ears to be told that the people are the most important element in a state. To those who are accustomed to think on such subjects, it is self-evident, because it is the people who create the wealth which makes the rulers rich, it is the people who die to defend crown and country. But those to whom it is not so, may be reminded of two facts. One is that from ancient times there have been in every age many states which had no Emperors, Kings or Princes, but there has never been and there can never be any state consisting only of its Emperor, King or Prince and their family and servants. This shows that it is the people who form the indispensable element of a state, not the

hereditary ruler called emperor, king or by any other name. The second fact is that, if we count all the civilized independent countries of the world, large and small, we find that the majority are at present republics. Taking up a recent book of reference, I find that of the seventy independent countries of the world, forty-five are republics. Of the remaining states, the kingdoms of Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Hungary, Netherlands, Norway, Rumania, Sweden, Japan, Afghanistan and Persia have representative legislatures. Besides these, the Irish Free State, the Union of South Africa, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, etc., have parliamentary institutions. This shows that in most of the independent countries of the world, the will of the people is supreme, and in the majority of the remaining countries the will of the people is a powerful factor to reckon with. The latter part of the previous sentence is partly an understatement. For, the most important kingdom of the world, Great Britain, is practically a hereditary republic, where the king reigns but does not rule, and the self-governing dominions of the British Empire are practically republics.

The most powerful autocrats in the world—the Czar of Russia and the Kaiser of Germany, for example, thought in their day that their will must prevail for all time as against that of their peoples. But history has shown that they were mistaken. The most powerful kingdom to-day is Great Britain, and that is because there the power of the monarch is broadbased on the affection and will of his people. The Princes of the Indian States owe and profess loyalty to His Majesty King George V as their suzerain. Just as imitation is the sincerest form of admiration, so may it be said that imitation of the suzerain would be the sincerest form of demonstration of our Princes' loyalty to His Majesty. And it may be safely presumed that His Majesty would not appreciate the loyalty of the Indian Princes less than he does now, if the exhibition of their loyalty took this particular practical form, that is, if they made their states limited monarchies.

But just as the British rulers of India and the British people have all along shown unwillingness to recognize the fitness of India and the Indians for self-rule and free representative institutions, using (of course, mistakenly) as a reason for their reluctance that India has never known and been used

representative government and that Indians appreciate only benevolent paternalism, similarly our Princes, at least the majority of them, perhaps also think that it would go against Indian political traditions if they became constitutional rulers. But it is a mistake to think that the principal ruling religious communities of India never knew in any age or country any other kind of government except absolute monarchy. The three religious communities which ruled India in pre-British days were the Hindus (including the Buddhists and the Jains), the Mussalmans and the Sikhs.

As regards the first community, I gave extracts from the works of different British and other historians, like Rhys Davids, Vincent A. Smith, etc., twenty-one years ago in *The Modern Review*, to prove the existence of republics in ancient India, and came to the conclusions that republics existed in India, that they existed at least as early as the days of Buddha and Mahavira (sixth century B. C.) and as late as the reign of Samudragupta (fourth century A. D.), and that they were situated in the extensive tract of country stretching from the Panjab to Bihar and from Nepal to the southern borders of the Central Provinces. So the republican form of government had a duration of at least one thousand years in ancient India. I do not know of any other country, ancient or modern, where democracy has prevailed for a longer period. The ancient Indian republics were, no doubt, small. But so were most ancient republics in other countries. In ancient Italy the republic of Rome lasted for five hundred years. In ancient Greece the republic of Athens lasted for a little more than three hundred years. And these countries, which in ancient times were dotted over with small republics, are certainly not as extensive as the parts of India which in olden days could boast of many republics.

I do not mean to suggest that in times past India did not have absolute monarchies. It certainly did. But there was also constitutional monarchy of different kinds with popular and other assemblies, there were elected kings, there were prescribed methods and ceremonies for deposing bad kings, etc. In fact, in ancient times the Hindu race made perhaps at least as great a variety of experiments in systems of government and political machinery as any other race. As this address is not meant to be a treatise on ancient

Indian polity, I have no space to set out any of the statements I have made. They can be easily found in books on the subject.

Regarding the question whether Muslim political thought favours democracy or absolutism there is fortunately no need to turn to ancient times for an answer. At present most of the Muslim states of the world have political institutions of a more or less democratic character. I shall draw attention to many of these, as the subject has not generally received the attention which it deserves.

The most powerful modern Mussalman state is the republic of Turkey. According to its Fundamental Law, all sovereignty belongs to the people and all power, both executive and legislative, is vested in the Grand National Assembly, as being the sole representative of the people.

Persia has a National Assembly or "Majlis." Each term of the Majlis lasts two years.

The Government of Afghanistan has been, since 1922, a constitutional monarchy with Legislative and State Assemblies and a cabinet presided over by the king himself.

According to the constitution of 1918 Albania is a democratic, parliamentary, independent monarchy, without any state religion and with only one elected Chamber. Moslems form the vast majority of its inhabitants.

The constitution of the kingdom of Hijaz in Arabia provides for the setting up of certain advisory councils, comprising a Legislative Assembly in Mecca, Municipal councils in each of the towns of Medina and Jeddah, and Village and Tribal councils throughout the provinces.

The government of the hereditary monarchy of Egypt is representative. Egyptians have equal legal, civil and political rights, irrespective of race, language or religion. Liberty of the individual and of religious belief is guaranteed, and compulsory elementary education is established for both sexes free in Government schools. All powers emanate from the nation.

The Mandated Territories of Syria and Lebanon are republics.

The Organic Law of Iraq provides for a limited monarchy and a responsible government. The legislative body consists of a senate of 20 nominated 'elder statesmen,' and the Lower House of 88 elected deputies.

Bashkir, Tartar, Kirghiz and Dagestan are autonomous republics. Bokhara and K. a

are socialist republics. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan are socialist soviet republics. Azerbaijan is also a socialist soviet republic.

I mention these facts to show that in most of the countries of which Moslems form the bulk of the population the system of government is more or less democratic. My object is merely to remove the wrong impression that Moslem mentality everywhere or generally favours despotism. Its exact opposite would appear to be true.

As regards the Sikhs, the late Dr Leitner wrote in his *Indigenous Elements of Self-government of India* that "all their affairs, secular and spiritual—were regulated at the four great 'Takht's—literally Boards, Platforms or Thrones—of Akhalghar, Anandpur, Patna, and Abchalnagar, where every Sikh, great or small, had a voice. ..."

As the rulers of the Indian States are either Hindus or Moslems or Sikhs, I hope the facts I have mentioned will convince them that, if they gave their subjects responsible government and if they governed according to more or less democratic constitutions, that would be, not against, but entirely in accord with Hindu, Muslim and Sikh political tradition and sentiment.

I do not, of course, assume that it is the wrong belief that Indian political traditions and sentiment favour autocracy which has stood in the way of most of our princes giving responsible and representative government to their people. I gladly recognize that in a few states the rudiments of representative government exist and their rulers probably are thinking of developing them further. But in the vast majority of states reluctance to part with irresponsible power is the chief, if not the only, obstacle to the introduction of free representative institutions. It would be good if their rulers understood that representative government and the reign of law would be good both for themselves and their subjects.

I have shown in previous portions of my speech that, in the modern civilized world, republics of some kind or other and constitutional or limited monarchies with more or less democratic constitutions are the order of the day. It is true that democracy has not yet fulfilled all the expectations of its advocates. But it is equally undeniable that, in spite of a certain amount of evil, democracy has produced greater good than autocracy. And even dictators have ruled and are

ruling, not in their own right as autocrats, but, professedly at least, in the name of the people. So democracy is bound to win. The latest triumph of the popular will has been in Spain. Those rulers of the Indian States who are wedded to autocratic ideas should take the lesson of history to heart. I am not in love with the violent methods of Bolsheviks or of Communists. I condemn them. But I am convinced that the best means of staying off the inroads of Bolshevism or communism into any country or state is to promote public good and concede civic and political rights to as great an extent as those "isms" claim to do.

By far the larger section, the autocratic section, of the Indian Princes depend on the British Power for the maintenance of their autocracy. And among the various motives which may have prompted British political officers in India to safe-guard autocracy in the states, the principal ones were perhaps to use the states as a foil to set off the comparative excellence of British Indian rule by contrast and also to use the states for fighting Indian Nationalism, if need be. But, if India, or at least British India, obtains self-rule by being rid of British domination, it would not be necessary to put the Indian States to either of the above uses.

But supposing things remain as they are, no earthly power is strong enough to resist the Time-spirit. It can and will make itself felt in India, as it has done in other parts of the world. Newspapers or no newspapers, thought-waves will travel and knock against the bulwarks of medievalism, feudalism and autocracy with irresistible force.

The Indian Princes set much store by their Treaties. But they may rest assured that, just as other peoples of the world have obtained their rights in spite of treaties, so will the Indian States' people.

Most Princes do not, in practice, appear to bear in mind that some of their treaties contain express provisions laying on them the obligation of continued good government of their states with a view to the promotion of the happiness and welfare of their people. Such provisions are to be found, for example, in the treaties with Travancore, Patiala, Kolhapur, Pratapgadh, Rampur, Kuch Behar, Jhind, Kapurthala, Nabha, Ajaigarh, Bejawar, Bilaspur, Chamba, Charkari, Chatarpur, Faridkote and Mandi. These provisions in the case of most states have hitherto remained useless, because the Paramount Power has

of dissolving it is due to the state of the people, and there is no other sanction to compel the princes to govern well except pressure exerted by that Power, as it has made the application of the time-honoured remedy of rebellion on their part impracticable. Apart from express provisions in treaties, British viceroys and other British statesmen, like Lord Salisbury, Lord Northbrook, Lord Curzon, Lord Reading, etc., have authoritatively stood on various occasions that to insure good government in the Indian States is one of the implications of British paramountcy.

The urgency of the attainment of free citizenship by the people of the Indian States has become plainer than before owing to the recognition given to federalism in the Indian Round Table Conference. It is not necessary here to discuss the comparative merits of federal and unitary systems of government. In the present condition of India, it is only by a federation of the provinces and states of India on a democratic basis that the whole of India can be made free.

It is to be regretted that at every step, leading directly or indirectly to the federal idea, the existence of the people of the Indian states has been almost entirely ignored. It is not necessary at this stage to criticize the personnel, terms of reference, conclusions and the like of the Butler Committee. But it must be stated that it was a wrong and an injustice to the people of the states that they were not allowed to give evidence before that Committee. Then, again, though some of the Princes and some of their officers were invited to attend the Round Table Conference, the people of the States were almost entirely ignored. This injustice can yet be remedied. Ten years ago the total population of the States was 72 millions in round numbers. Now perhaps the figure stands at 80 millions. This is twice the population of France, twice the population of Italy, almost twice the population of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and thirty per cent more than the population of Germany. Not to allow such a large population any voice in shaping its destinies is a very grave injustice of an unheard of character in this twentieth century of the Christian era.

Some Princes have put forward the claim that they are the representatives of their people. There may be, and I believe there

are, a very few Princes who are entitled by their beneficence and their democratic temper to speak for their people. But even they cannot be taken to be representatives of their people. The coming of the Labour Party into power in Britain was a revolution. The royal house of Britain, with His Majesty King George V at its head, has thoroughly adapted itself to this radical change. But even such power of adaptation on the part of royalty would not reconcile the British people to any attempt to deprive them of the right of choosing their own representatives from among themselves, if such an attempt were made. The British king is British by birth; English is his mother-tongue, like that of his subjects; like most of them he is a Christian; and he conforms to the popular will and makes the people's good the sole object of his public activities. Yet he does not arrogate to himself the position of the representative of his people. Let our Indian Princes, whose suzerain King George is, learn from his example.

All the problems of a federated India cannot be discussed here. But I shall advert to a few.

The Princes and their officers who represented their view at the Round Table Conference, have made it plain that they want to enter Federated India with all their autocracy maintained as at present, so far as the internal affairs of their states are concerned. In any case, they want complete freedom to change or not to change the form of government of their states. If most of the States be governed, as at present, according to the will of the ruler, and if, as is hoped for, the provinces have a somewhat democratic constitution with elected legislatures, then Federated India will present the strange spectacle of an assemblage of parts dissimilar and opposite in structure. This is not the case with any other federation at the present day.

A notable feature of some of the important existing federal constitutions is a declaration laying down in general terms the form of government to be adopted by the states forming parts of the federation. For example, the constitution of the United States of America contains a provision guaranteeing to every State of the Union a republican form of government. Similarly, according to the terms of the Swiss Federal Constitution, the Cantons are required to demand from the Federated State its guarantee

of their constitution. This guarantee must be given provided, among other things, they ensure the exercise of political rights according to republican forms, representative or democratic. Likewise, the new German constitution provides that each state constituting the republic must have a republican constitution.

The reason for such provisions is quite plain. To make the working of a federal system smooth, nay, even tolerably practicable, its constituent parts must not contain discordant elements, having different political ideals and therefore pulling in different directions. In a federated India the provinces are to have a more or less advanced form of representative government. Such should also be the form of government in the States. If their rulers cannot make this change all at once, let them take time and do it in the course of, say, six or nine years, or five or ten years. More time cannot be necessary.

Similarity of forms of government in the states and the provinces is not demanded for the sake of artistic symmetry or of merely following the American, the Swiss or the German precedent, though it is obvious that there must be political wisdom in the provisions made by peoples who have been self-governing for a long time. Even such a diehard as Lord Winterston has written in the *Fortnightly Review* that the Indian states should be democratized to some extent at least. I have already shown from more than one point of view why the States' people should have free representative institutions in their interest. But it is necessary in the interests of the provinces also that the states people should have citizens' rights. I cannot here dwell on all the reasons for making this observation. Let me state one.

Though the decisions accepted by the Round Table Conference and its Sub-Committees are stated in the Report to be provisional, British public opinion seems to treat them as settled facts. It is likely, therefore, that some of them will remain unaltered. Here is one. The Federal Structure Sub-Committee recommended and the conference approved of the recommendation that "Ministers should not be compelled to resign save in the event of a vote of no confidence passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the two Chambers sitting together."

Now the Princes have demanded on

behalf of their states a certain proportion of the seats in the Federal Legislature. They may not get all that they want. But it is probable that, on the combined basis of the area and the population of the states, they will get not less than one-third of the seats—particularly if Burma be separated from India. And the princes have also demanded that the members representing the states in the Legislature should be their (the Princes') nominees. Now the nominees of autocrats will naturally have a mandate to support the British bureaucracy on the tacit understanding that the bureaucracy will not interfere with the autocratic ways of the princes. Thus a Ministry which is favoured by the bureaucracy and the princes will be sure of the support of at least one-third of the members of the Federal Legislature. Out of the remaining two-thirds, the European group and some narrowly selfish Indian members also may be expected to support such a ministry. Hence, it would be difficult to drive such a ministry out of power.

Apart from the question of dismissing ministries, so many safe-guards and reservations have been proposed and the Governor-General has been proposed to be invested with such special and emergency powers to carry on the work of government, not only in the reserved but in non-reserved spheres also, that, without the help of States' members elected by their people, it would be extremely difficult to make the Federal Assembly anything but useless for the common weal or anything but a tool in the hands of Indian autocrats and British bureaucrats. There is also the risk of the constitution retrogressing under combined bureaucratic and autocratic influence, instead of evolving along progressive lines.

I urge, therefore, that the constitution of the States should be like that of the Provinces, if not immediately, in any case in the course of a definitely fixed short period.

It is not necessary for my purpose to examine the motives of the Princes in proposing a Federal constitution for India. Nor is it necessary for me here to ascertain whether any sacrifice on their part is involved in their agreeing to form part of the Federation. Let them have all the credit they want and have been given. Some of them have declared that they have every sympathy with the political aspirations of the people of British India. Some princes

undoubtedly have such sympathy, and are entitled to praise for the same. Let them have that, too. We are not concerned to take away an iota from anybody's due meed of praise. Our concern here is to safe-guard and promote the interests of the people. There is no necessary antagonism between the good of the rulers and that of the people. If the Princes are working in the interests of a Federated India, we earnestly request them to complete their beneficent activities by conferring on their subjects the boon of responsible government and by guaranteeing to them the fundamental rights of citizens.

It has been said by a Prince, acting informally as it were as the spokesman of his brethren, that the States had agreed to form part of an Indian Federation on the condition that there was to be responsibility in the centre. May not the people of British India, in their turn, be permitted to make the stipulation that they could agree to such a federation only if the princes gave responsible government to their people? It cannot be a logical and consistent proposition that the Federal Government of India should be responsible, among others, to the Princes or their nominees sitting in the Federal Assembly, but that the Princes themselves, within their States, should be responsible to nobody. The Federal Government cannot logically and justly be asked to be responsible to those who are themselves to be irresponsible in their "domestic concerns."

If by the constitution of Federated India the people of the Indian States are not given the same brand of citizenship as the people of British India, if the former are given an inferior political status, it would be the duty of the latter not to touch such a constitution.

The governments of both the Provinces and the States must be responsible to their people through their elected representatives in council assembled. That is an implication of democracy. The constitution of Federated India, in order that it may actively promote the welfare of United India, must be based on a democratic foundation. That requires, among other things, a declaration of fundamental rights. The constitutions of the more important among the independent countries old and new, which have written constitutions safe-guard the rights and liberties of their citizens by such declaration of fundamental rights. The Indian National Congress as

repeatedly asked for such a declaration as part of its scheme of reform. The authors of the Nehru Report included in it such a list of fundamental rights. Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, one of the members of the R. T. C., presented before it an able memorandum on the subject. Sir Mirza Muhammad Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, the representative of that State in the Conference in his scheme of a federated India, admitted the desirability of including such a provision in the Indian Constitution. But nothing further was done in the Conference. It is of vital importance that when the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and the Round Table Conference as a whole meet next, the utmost attention should be given to this subject in order that the fundamental rights and liberties of the people of both the Provinces and the States may be safe-guarded by including the requisite provision in the future constitution.

In the memorandum which was presented on behalf of the Indian States' People's Conference to the Working Committee of the Congress three months ago, it was strongly urged,

(1) That paramountcy should not be divided and that it should ultimately vest in the central federal government;

(2) That paramountcy may, if thought necessary, be included in the reserved subjects during the transition period;

(3) That during this transition period, the Princes should so adjust their governments as to establish responsible government in the States and undertake to bring about progressive realization of the same;

(4) That the states should be admitted into the federation only on condition that the standard of government in them is of the same type as prevailing in those of British Indian units;

(5) That this condition alone will approximate the states to the British Indian Provinces and would accelerate the growth of united India; that this condition alone would enlarge the number of federal subjects and consequently diminish the number of provincial subjects, and this process alone will lead to the full development of a real A. . . .

(6) That the states should be represented in the federation only through the elected representatives of the people and that the nominees of the Princes should on no account be permitted to sit in any House of the Federal Legislature

(7) That federal laws relating to federal subjects must directly be operative in the states and that administration of federal subjects must be entrusted to the federal executive and that any violation of federal laws or any vagaries in the administration of federal subjects committed within the limits of the Indian states must be cognizable by the federal supreme Court

5 That until responsible government

established in the states, and until an independent judiciary comes into existence and until the rule of law prevails in the states, the judiciary in the states must be linked to the federal supreme court ;

(9) That the declaration of fundamental rights of the people must be embodied in the federal constitution and these rights must be guaranteed to the States' people and the infringement of the same must be cognizable by the federal supreme court ;

(10) That the people of the States must be enabled to send their representatives to participate in the future conference convened for shaping the Indian constitution.

These demands are all worthy of support.

What the motives of the Princes are for maintaining that their treaties were entered into with the Crown of Great Britain and for insisting that, even after a United India has got a federal constitution, they must have direct relations with the British Crown through his Viceroy, I need not examine. Not being a lawyer myself, I cannot pronounce any opinion of my own on the matter. But I have read the opinions of some eminent Indian lawyers on the subject. Among them I quote the following from Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's learned and thoughtful work on *Indian Constitutional Problems* :

'As regards the question with whom the Indian princes have entered into treaties, it is not correct to say that the treaties were entered into with the Crown irrespective of the sovereignty of British India the Crown acted not in a personal capacity or in the capacity of sovereign of England but in the capacity of ruler of British India .. The treaties ... impose obligations on the rulers for the time being of the Indian States in favour of the authorities for the time being in charge of the Government of India ... the (Government of India) Act contemplates the existence of political relations between the executive government of India and the Indian States. The executive government of British India is fully empowered to transact business with the Indian States. One provision which clinches the matter beyond doubt is the provision in s. 20, cl. 2, according to which the revenues of India include all tributes in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of, the East India Company, if the Government of India Act of 1853 had not been passed. There is surely no clearer proof .. of the nexus with the Government of India than the payment of tribute to the credit of the revenues of India The contention that the sovereign of a country who enters into a treaty does so on his personal capacity and not as the sovereign of that country is too absurd to be maintained in the twentieth century The matters governed by the treaty relate to persons and things in India and arise out of the relations of the princes with the sovereign of British India, and it would be an unthinkable constitutional absurdity that the right to enforce the treaties should vest not in the authorities for the time being charged with the administration of India, but in some other authority

The opinion of the great Indian lawyer expressed in this passage appears to us laymen to be quite sound. The Indian States' tributes referred to by him continue to be paid to the Government of India.

It has been asserted by more than one Maharaja: "We and our people will not tolerate for an instant British-Indian dictation." But nobody wants to bring the Princes and the States' people under the authority of the Provinces. Federation means that the States and the Provinces are in some matters of common interest to obey the authority of the whole of which they themselves are to be parts. It is quite easy to understand the humiliation of being dictated to. But those persons who have had to tolerate the dictation of foreign political officers might have saved themselves the trouble of assuming airs of superiority in relation to their own countrymen.

Whatever the Princes think, we the common people of India feel a pride in saluting our Motherland which we do not and cannot feel in being compelled to salute even the greatest of foreign countries because of its armed might.

One of the gravest complaints against the Indian Princes generally is that far too much of the revenues of their states is spent for the upkeep of their household and their personal pleasures. The states are not their personal property. Even private individuals who spend too much of their personal incomes for self-gratification and too little for the common good are blamed for falling below the ordinary human ideal of conduct. The Princes are, therefore, expected to cut down their personal and household expenditure and spend much more on what are known in the Provinces as nation-building departments, *eg.*, education. The British sovereign's civil list, that is, the sums assigned for the expenses of the sovereign and the royal household, ought to be instructive to our Princes. The total amount of the British King's civil list is £ 576,000 and the total ordinary British revenue for 1929-30 was £ 734,188,748. So the King and his household get about 08 per cent (or eight per ten thousand) of the British revenues. The actual amount of the British civil list in Indian money at the present rate of exchange is Rs. 76,80,000. I am sorry I do not have before me the administration reports of all the Indian States which print the cost of them shun

the light of day. Therefore, it will not be proper for me to mention the names of the two progressive States whose latest reports are before me and from which I shall take the figures for comparison with the British civil list.

In one state of which the total revenue receipts for the year was only 240 lakhs, the expenses of the royal household amounted to Rs. 29,00,000. This works out at a little less than 12 per cent of the total revenues. In another state the total ordinary receipts amount to Rs. 247,23,000 and the palace expenses amount to Rs. 18,07,000, or 6.54 per cent of the total revenues. This latter state spends 20.12 per cent of the revenues on education. Therefore, its palace expenditure must be considered as moderate, though comparatively not as moderate as that of the British royal household. Of course, on account of the immense revenue receipts of Great Britain, its civil list appears very small in proportion. But considering that King George is the head of the largest, far-flung Empire, the actual amount assigned for the expenditure of his household must be considered very moderate compared with even the amount spent for the palace of the last-mentioned of the two Indian States, which are very small in comparison with the British Empire. These, as I have said, are progressive states. There are states where the Princes spend more on their stables, their garages and their kennels than for the education of their subjects. There are Princes who are alleged to be in the habit of smuggling some of their personal expenses into some heads of public expenditure.

Whatever other things our Princes may or may not care for, I am sure they would be pleased if the income of their states increased. That increase would depend on better development and utilization of the natural resources of their states. Such development and utilization would be possible if only their subjects grew more healthy, and received adequate general, vocational and technical education of the right kind. It must also be evident that the increased production of wealth in their territories would depend not only on the increased physical working capacity, knowledge and skill of the people, but also on the increase in the labour force and in the directing force available in their territories. In other words, there would be greater wealth if the health conditions were better, facilities for the

right kind of education were increased and the number of capable workers increased by the increase of population. Briefly, there must be better workers and more workers. The improvement I have in view would benefit both the people and the princes. At present large numbers of states' subjects sojourn or permanently settle in British India and grow wealthy there, showing that they have enterprise and brains. These can be equally utilized for developing the resources of the regions where they were born or have their ancestral homes.

Some people may think that, in speaking of the need of increased population for the States, I am overlooking the danger of over-population. I am not. The average density of population in British India is 226 persons per square mile, and in the states only 101 per square mile. The only regions in the states which can be said to be densely populated are the Madras States Agency, with 511 persons to the square mile. Other regions are sparsely populated. How sparsely, will appear from the fact that the total area of 711,082 square miles of the states has 71,939,187 inhabitants, whereas the total area of 1,394,701 square miles of the Provinces has 247,603,293 inhabitants. That is to say, the area of British India is about 56 per cent more than that of the states, but the population of the former is more than three times that of the latter.

This difference will appear still more striking if we leave Burma out of British India. Then the area of British India will be 860,593 square miles and the population 235,781,101, as compared with the area of 711,082 square miles of Indian India with a population of 71,939,187. Leaving out Burma, the density of population of British India is 271 per square mile, as compared with 101 per square mile of the Indian States.

It may be that British India contains a larger proportion of cultivable and fertile land than the Indian States. It may also be that the Provinces are comparatively richer in mineral resources than the states. Exact data are not available for arriving at a definite conclusion on these points. It has also to be borne in mind that the best harbours and the largest number of harbours belong to British India, giving it facilities for maritime commerce which the states, mostly inland, do not possess. But making every allowance for the superior advantages

assured to be possessed by British India. In all the above mentioned respects, they do not appear to me to be such as to account entirely for the immense difference between British India and Indian India in density of population. It seems to me that other causes must have been at work for some appreciable length of time to produce such difference. These causes may relate to utilization of the resources of the regions, nutrition; sanitation; facilities for medical relief; education, facilities for trade and agriculture; the comparative presence or absence of the reign of law, personal liberty, and security of life and property, independence of the judiciary; and freedom of speech, association and of the press. Vital statistics for the Indian states as a whole are not available. Perhaps a few states are equal to British India in education and in some other matters, a fewer may even be superior in some respects. But on the whole, it must be admitted to our shame, that at present Indian India is inferior to British India in all or most of the respects I have mentioned. There is a dwarfing of the mind in the Indian states as a whole. It has been well said that in the universe there is nothing greater than man and in man there is nothing greater than mind. If in any region, only the material welfare of the people were well looked after but the mind was dwarfed, it would after all be like a well-managed cattle farm. Nothing can compensate for the stunting and atrophy of the mind of the people. But it cannot be said that in Indian India as a whole even the material welfare of the people is cared for.

It gives me pain and makes me ashamed to have to point out the defects of the Indian states in general, because their rulers are our countrymen; but duty compels me to do so.

I had a mind to compare some of our states with some foreign countries similar in climate, material resources and geographical situation, in order to bring home to my audience their difference in material and intellectual condition. But it is almost impossible to find two countries in the world which are exactly alike in those respects. Nevertheless some comparisons may be instructive.

Let me take Kashmir and Switzerland. Both the countries are mountainous and cold, have a healthy climate and have no sea-coast. The intellectual achievements of Switzerland's greatest sons and her struggles

for liberty have made the Swiss famous for all time. That Kashmiris are a gifted race is proved by the intellectual superiority of those of them who have settled in the Panjab and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Kashmiri settlers are lovers of freedom also, as the political activities and sufferings and sacrifices of their prominent men and women testify. But what is the intellectual achievement of home-keeping Kashmiris? What political wisdom and heroism have they displayed? Is not the difference between home-keeping Kashmiris and Kashmiri settlers due to the different political conditions under which they live? In the whole of United India Kashmir occupies the lowest place in point of literacy. It has considerable mineral resources, which have not yet been fully surveyed even.

The area of Switzerland is 15,940 square miles, and the population, over forty lakhs. The revenue in 1929 was £13,180,000 (Rs. 17,57,83,823). Kashmir has an area of 84,258 square miles (more than five times that of Switzerland) and a population of 33,20,588 (less than that of Switzerland). The revenue of Kashmir in 1927-28 was Rs. 2,39,00,000, or about one-seventh of that of Switzerland.

Like Hyderabad in India, Czechoslovakia in Europe is an inland State. Both these countries are rich in mineral resources. But in Hyderabad all these have not yet been successfully developed. Both have mountainous, picturesque and wooded tracts, as well as well watered fertile soil in plenty. Hyderabad has an area of 82,808 square miles and a population of 1,24,71,770. In 1928-29 its revenue was estimated to be Rs. 793 lakhs. In point of literacy, in the whole of India it is slightly superior only to Kashmir. The area of Czechoslovakia is 54,207 sq. m.—much less than that of Hyderabad, but the population is greater, namely, 1,36,13,172 in 1921. The revenue of Czechoslovakia is at least eighty crores of rupees. The people of that republic are highly educated. There are practically no illiterates.

Czechoslovakia has produced many men distinguished for statesmanship, heroism and intellectual achievement. In Hyderabad, the bulk of the inhabitants are Telugu-speaking, Marathi-speaking and Kanarese-speaking. In modern times, among the speakers of these languages in British India, there have been men distinguished for intellectuality, statesmanship and heroic struggles and sacrifices.

for liberty. Where are such men in Hyderabad among their linguistic kindred?

It would be tedious for you to listen to similar comparisons in the case of our smaller states. So I stop.

I have referred to freedom of speech and meeting and freedom of the press as necessary for material and intellectual progress. These are in modern times among the fundamental rights of civilized peoples. Unfortunately, generally speaking these do not exist in our states. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent any state's subject being bundled out of it at any time without any trial or charge. In civilized countries the Press exists not merely for ventilating grievances and exposing acts of injustice and tyranny. It exists for remedying social abuses also, and for the dissemination of useful information relating to all subjects. It is an educative agency. Hence its growth ought to be encouraged in all our states; but unhappily that is not the case. Most states have no newspapers at all.

From the fact that there are many newspapers in British India and few in Indian India, some people may hastily conclude that newspapers are necessary only when a country is under foreign subjection. That assumes that newspapers exist only for writing against the evils of foreign rule. But taking it for granted that criticizing the government and its officers is the only or main function of newspapers, it must be pointed out as a fact of history that indigenous rulers and governments have been also to blame. That is the reason why there have been revolutions even in countries ruled by kings belonging to the same race as the peoples of those countries.

Our states are ruled by persons who are Indians. But their governments are not perfect. In fact, there is believed to be misrule in the great majority of them. Hence, there ought to be newspapers there in order that they may improve. The existence of newspapers and progressive government are interrelated as cause and effect, and *vice versa*. The more a country is free and well-governed, the larger is the number of well-conducted newspapers there, and the larger is the number of high-class newspapers in a country the freer and better governed it is likely to be.

Not realizing this truth, and certainly also being afraid of criticism and exposure, the rulers of the Indian States, speaking generally,

have managed not only to prevent the growth of the Press in their territories, but have occasionally banned the entry into them of some Indian papers published in British India. They have not stopped there. They have got the Government of India to pass a Prince's Protection Act, which has made it rather risky to criticize the public conduct of a ruler or the administration of his state (which are often synonymous) effectively and in detail. The very idea that the Princes require protection from the people of British India must make the gods laugh. Are we such terrible oppressors? At the worst we can only use hard words, and hard words break no bones. And if the Princes could condescend so far as to entreat the Government of India to give them protection by legislation, why could not they, why cannot they condescend to sue us in British-Indian courts for offences committed by us against them?

As for their subjects, the Princes do not require protection from them; it is the people, who require protection from those princes who are oppressors.

As some Princes have insisted that "British India and the Indian States are two entirely different entities," I wonder whether any criticism of the administration of any Indian State may not come under the operation of the recent law enacted to prevent the creation of hostile feelings between British India and any foreign state!

I shall perhaps be expected to say something on the recent speech of Sir Manubhai Mehta, Dewan of Bikaner. Sir Manubhai is not an ignorant man but a well-informed statesman. I have not been able, therefore, to understand definitely why he spoke as he did.

As he is a member of the Round Table Conference, he had every opportunity to tell his colleagues what he now says, namely, that "the federation likely to be accepted by the Indian Princes would tend more towards confederation for specifically defined subjects of joint interest than towards unity or union." Sir Manubhai need not have raised the bogey of unity or union. Nobody has suggested that the states should lose their identity or individual existence. As for confederation, Webster defines it as "A body of independent states more or less permanently joined together for joint action in matters, especially in foreign affairs, which affect them in common." Neither the Provinces of British

India nor the Indian States being independent their combination cannot be called a confederation. Americans consider federation and confederation to be things of such opposite character that the states forming the federation of U. S. A. are forbidden to enter into any confederation.

In a confederation, the component parts do not form a new state. The states forming a confederation retain their sovereignties unimpaired. In a federation, on the other hand, the combination of the component parts results in the formation of a new state, in which the sovereignty is divided between the central state and its component parts. That is the kind of political organization proposed at the Indian Round Table Conference.

Sir Manubhai has further observed that "to suggest that the Supreme Federal Court of the future India ought to entertain appeals from decrees of the highest judicial tribunals of the Indian States was to import the incidence of complete union where only federation for a few scheduled subjects was contemplated." It were much to be wished that even an appreciable number of the Indian States had any properly constituted judicial tribunals at all. But that is by the by. Sir Manubhai undoubtedly knows that it cannot be said that no federation in the world possesses a final court of appeal. The Federal Tribunal of Switzerland, for example, besides performing other duties, acts as a Final Court of Appeal. That is rightly not considered a breach of the sovereignty of the Swiss cantons, which are the component parts of the Swiss federal system. The Supreme Court of the U. S. A. is in many respects a court of appeal. Moreover, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Great Britain has a jurisdiction which includes appeals from colonial courts of law. That is not held to be an interference with the sovereignty of the colonies. In Sir Manubhai's opinion, no doubt, the Indian States are *sui generis*; but surely that does not mean that everything relating to them must be such as never was or is on land or sea or sky.

I shall have to notice briefly some other passages in Sir Manubhai's speech. He declares that

"To suggest that the subjects of Indian States would hereafter be the subjects of Federal India, and would, accordingly, require a declaration of

similar fundamental rights as the subjects of British India, was to ignore altogether the natural laws of allegiance. Indian Princes did not want their subjects to have divided allegiance, as they were anxious to have their internal sovereignty altogether left alone and intact."

Supposing that, as Sir Manubhai demands, the States' people remained the subjects only of the Indian States, would it not even then be necessary to guarantee to them such elementary rights of civilized men as liberty of the person, liberty of speech and writing, liberty of meeting, liberty of the press, security of property, freedom from any kind of punishment except after open trial according to a duly enacted and promulgated law, and the like? The States' people have not got these rights now, and, federation or no federation, they must have them. Does Sir Manubhai desire that the States' people should for ever remain, like slaves, completely at the mercy of their rulers? They cannot agree to do so.

There is a way in which the Princes' sovereignty, *such as it is*, may be preserved and the demand of their people may also be met. On a recent occasion H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner said with reference to the demand for a declaration of the fundamental rights of the Indian States' subjects:

"We shall know how and when to adjust our system to any changing conditions, but we will do it in our own way, free from external interference."

Let His Highness and his brethren at once concede to their subjects the elementary rights of citizens voluntarily and generously, thus destroying even the possibility of external interference in this respect.

What does the Dewan of Bikaner mean by the natural law of allegiance? It is a curious phrase. Does he mean that there is an unalterable law giving to the Princes the exclusive right to the loyalty of their subjects, like the physical law of gravitation? In British India, after the birth of a federated India, we shall be loyal both to our respective provinces and to India as a whole—we shall obey the provincial laws as well as the federal laws. We shall be the respective citizens of Assam, Bihar, etc., as well as of Federated India. Would it be impossible for a particular State's people to be similarly loyal both to that state and to Federated India, to obey both that state's laws and Federal laws to be citizens of that

State of Federated India. It is of the essence of a Federation that its component parts part with some of their powers to the federated whole. If the princes really want a federation for the whole of India, how can they have in their States "their internal sovereignty altogether left alone and intact?" Perhaps it is this anxiety of Sir Manubhai's master and his brother princes to continue to enjoy their undiminished autocracy which has led the Dewan, on second thoughts after his return from England, to speak of 'confederation' instead of federation.

Sir Manubhai thinks that "it was only in the domain of the joint interest of the subjects of a common concern, like defence, external relations, railways, customs, post, telegraph, currency, and exchange that their subjects would claim to sit in the Federal Legislatures, and contribute their thought towards the shaping of the common policies of the country."

It was very good of the speaker to propose to allow the States' subjects to sit in the Federal Legislature (as nominees of the Princes?) for shaping the common policies of the country, and also, I presume, for making laws relating to federalized subjects. But will not the States' subjects have to be loyal to those policies and laws relating to federalized subjects which they will help to shape and make? Will not that make their allegiance divided? And is Sir Manubhai quite sure that the federalized subjects will not include some over which the states at present have entire or partial jurisdiction? Will the federalization of these subjects leave the internal sovereignty of the Princes quite intact?

The question has been raised as to who should be vested with the residuary powers. I have not the least doubt that the Central or Federal Government should have these powers. The U. S. A. Federal Government has got all residual powers and even many provincial powers concentrated in its hands. The most vital concern of the States and the Provinces of India should be the preservation of the integrity and freedom of Federated India against internal dissensions and secessionist, fissiparous and rebellious tendencies, as well as against external hostility. This alone would make it necessary for the Federal Government to have residuary powers. Such powers are also necessary to co-ordinate the legislation and administration of the States and Provinces

and to arbitrate and settle disputes among them. To begin with subjects will no doubt be classified as federal and non-federal. But in course of time new and unclassified subjects may crop up. The best arrangement is to have a provision that these are to be automatically treated as within the jurisdiction of the federal government.

It should be the cherished hope of all Indians, whatever their station in life, that India would soon begin her pilgrimage to the goal of our aspirations. At such a time the utmost harmony and co-operation should be the rule. Such being my conviction, criticism has been to me a painful duty. But I hope my criticism has not been merely destructive. And I hope that where it has been destructive, my object has been to remove what was injurious, effete or rotten, in order that something better, something more serviceable, may take its place.

It is a proud privilege to be a worker. And a worker is a servant. It is our aspiration to be such servants of the Motherland. The greatest among us, by hereditary rank or by intellectual and spiritual stature, or both, need not be ashamed of being called servants. The Pope of Rome exercises undisputed spiritual sway over millions upon millions of his co-religionists all over the world. And he styles himself *Servus Servorum Dei*, "Servant of the Servants of God." When ex-king Amanullah Khan declared himself the servant of his people, he earned praise by speaking the truth. Gopal Krishna Gokhale founded a society of the Servants of India, himself being the first servant. Mahatma Gandhi considers and calls himself a servant of the people.

Not to speak of elected kings and limited monarchs of other kinds in ancient India, even so-called absolute monarchs were, according to *Dharma* and tradition, expected to serve the people. The very derivation of the word *raja*—'राजः राजयतीति राजा,' "a *raja* is so called from keeping the people contented," shows the underlying idea. This is made clearer still in the line from Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* "तथैव मोक्षमूढमवर्षो राजा प्रकृतिञ्जनात्" "He became literally a *raja* from having gratified the people." Of a king of the solar race it is said in the same epic :

"प्रजानामेव भूत्यर्थं स ताम्यो बलिमग्रहीत् ।

सहस्रगुणमुत्तमं दत्त्वा हि रसं रवि

"He took taxes from the people for their welfare alone, as the sun sucks up moisture to pour it down a thousandfold."

That the king was the servant of his people was not a figure of speech in ancient India. It was a clearly enunciated principle of ancient Indian politics. In proof, I need quote only one *sloka* from the *Sukranitisara*

"स्वनायामृत्या दाम्यत्वे प्रजानां च ह्यः कृतः ।

ब्रह्मणा म्कामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥"

"God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the people, getting his wages (sustenance) in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth."

Let us pray to the Lord to make all of us true children and true servants of the Motherland.

Youth Believes in Friendship

By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY

"May all the gods unite our hearts,
And may the waters them entwine."

—*Rig Veda*

I have wandered through Indian village after Indian village and found friendliness everywhere. There is a youthful curiosity which transcends the natural dislike of a foreigner—a foreigner being one who may come from a village only two miles away. Even where a smile must take the place of any spoken language smiles are returned in full measure. The people of the Indian villages are friendly. And the Indian village is *India*.

To me this is a most significant factor in the growing development of India. If such an attitude *can be maintained* India will learn from the experience of other countries which have struggled with the problems of developing their leadership. And the fact of friendship easily found is still a characteristic of the strange chaotic India we find about us.

Stand with me at the entrance of Howrah where the tides of men go by. The men who are good, the men who are bad; as good and as bad as I Howrah is, for many, the entrance to a great city. To many it means the beginning of misery. To still others it means a chance to buy in shops like those in Europe or America. To me it represents vital, resentful, happy, incongruous, meaningful life. For Howrah stands at the gateway of that great city of the Orient—Calcutta.

Calcutta huddles and crawls and strangles

and welcomes with all the vociferousness of a clanging, commercial centre. The corners of India, the ends of the earth are here; all tied up together in a welter of teeming humanity. No pretty pink bows are in evidence. The sight of water-buffalo carts laden heavily with steel girders, of rickshaw men, of smart American fashions, of English swagger sticks, of *rajahs* and *ryots*, of coolies and clerks, of *sanyasis* and *fakirs* give a glamorous touch of international colour. The call of the East is here.

The call is a strange mixture of impelling, repelling force. The dirt, and dust, and smoke, and foul air; the shuffling, surging inanity of the slow-moving populace fascinate. In the bazars of inimitable varieties, the absorbing thoughtfulness of the passing throng, the patience of the drivers and pedestrians, the streaming to and fro in disorderly ranks of the herds of cows, a glimpse of the smoke wreathing skywards from a *hookah*, a grinning grimace in the semblance of a *Salaam*, we have with us the call-me-back essence of the Orient.

"Come, I will show you the corners of India," my friend of the great Newmarket Bazar says in low, modulated tones—speaking a strange and wonderful mixture of Hindi and Bengali and English—, "What shall I show you today?" "I know," he goes on, "it will be a product of the hills." At once there appears from its many-folded swaddling clothes a string of charming Tibetan jade. It rests before me as opalescent as a certain summer sea in the early

morning glory along the shore of the far-away land of America. But what is this? The *Memshahib's* eyes light with the longing of years. Here is the purest white ivory carved in exquisite fashion like the full-blown petals of the *golap*—the rose. A head like any other flower could never bring such admiration.

An embroidered blouse of hand-woven silk catches the rays of the sun. The patterns move and scintillate with a glow fashioned by the age-old art of skilful fingers. My friend brings me gold—gold of bracelets, of chains, of settings where pearls and garnets dwell. The workmanship of India is spread before us.

Carved ivory elephants proceed in stately march over an ebony bridge. Seven marvellous balls, one within the other, revolve and prove their nicety of movement and carving. A gong sounds, and Burma comes to the door.

Let us stand for a few minutes again at the entrance and exit of Howrah. A murmur comes, the shuffling grows, the padding of bare feet in the cement corridors is nearer at hand. Bundles, and boxes, and *sarracs*, and *gunlas* (earthen jars) burden a jostling throng. The up-country provinces are spilling over. The tradesmen are coming to town. Some are in rags, and some are with tags. But none is in velvet gown. The *chamars* have come down to do the leather work. Men have come to repopulate the hovels of the jute workers.

"Downward the voices of Duty call—
Downward to toil and be mixed with the man.
The dry fields burn, and the mills are to turn."

There is a great gathering at the river—the river Hooghly. The brown, bare feet of the Indian carries India to defeat or success.

For India will never be saved by cities alone—not by might nor by power, but by the leadership of her villages will India become what she is to be. These men at Howrah come from the villages scattered across the face of this triangle of the earth's surface. If they are strong then the cities

will be strong. If they have left adequate young leadership to grow up with the village and to serve it then all will be well. But if they send only money back the vital ties are broken. Unless the money is to help to provide leadership among village youth India's day is done. For industry drives. But it does not promote fellowship. Not as yet, at any rate, in India.

Industry is great. Education is great. But unless Young India can feel the throbbing pulse of friendship for all, among all, the greatness of the land will depart, unity will never come, the sun's rays of the new morning will be clouded by strifes and bitterness.

The tides of the world are set toward humanity's welfare. Where the competitions of men rule the day the ends of the earth may meet and strangle, and the battle-fields of the new world will be thick with wasted lives. But where the corners of India and the ends of the earth meet in India and find understanding, and sympathy, and leadership there shall the life of the new world find its fruition and the ages to come will call the name of this land "Blessed."

The rivers of men sweep down in seemingly relentless might. But we are learning to use our might. The efforts of men are being directed toward irrigation and not flood. Destruction is giving place to the building of men. Life shall go on and upward even as the sparks from a new-lit fire speed their illuminating way. Together we stand, divided we fall.

Watch no longer with me at Howrah. Live with me in the lives and actions of young India. Serve and work and build and continue to dream. Then shall the life of India find an outlet—an outlet that will help us to drown misunderstanding and competition in an ever-flowing river that forges its way down to the open sea. Then the Hooghly or the Indus, or the Ravi will sweep us beyond our depth. And in faith shall we be free.

Meeting of the East and the West

UNDER the auspices of the Discussion Guild and the India Society of America, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was honoured on December 1, 1930, at Carnegie Hall, New York.

Extending welcome to Dr. Tagore, on behalf of the Discussion Guild and the America Society, Mr. M. S. Novik in the course of his speech said:

It is indeed a pleasure to welcome you all here to-night. We are aware of the honour and the privilege which is ours and were indeed proud to act as platform hosts to the beloved poet of the Far East.

We are starting a few minutes late only because we were trying our utmost to take in as many people as is humanly possible within the walls of Carnegie Hall. It ought to be said, and I hope it brings comfort to the poet, and to all friends of India, that there are just as many people trying their utmost to get in, but we have fire rules, and they must be lived up to.

We have invited the most outstanding woman connected with a University in the United States, and we are fortunate, indeed it is a privilege for us to have as presiding officer one who certainly can be called the Dean of the University women of America, the President of Mount Holyoke College. It is a pleasure to present to you as presiding officer, President Mary E. Woolley.

THE SCHOOL AT SANTINIKETAN

President Mary E. Woolley said:

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Tagore, and the members of this audience, I am sure that our guest of the evening needs no introduction. I feel that he hardly needs a word of welcome. The fact that so many hundreds of people are delighted to have this opportunity to pay their respects to a man who holds the respect of the world at large is in itself the greatest of welcomes.

It is very difficult to select any phase of the work of our guest, especially to emphasize any one phase. He has done so much in so many different ways. Surely no one has done more, or is doing more, to help in solving India's problem than our friend here to-night. He has emphasized in his

educational work the importance of the individual. And he has emphasized the ideal of peace.

More than twenty-five years ago he started in far-off India a school for children, of which I think many of us (who are but 'children of a larger growth') would have been glad to have been a part. Because the theory underlying that education was the development of the individual child by giving to him the freedom to grow. He had no sympathy with machine-made lessons. And consequently in the Poet's institution, lessons are given under the shade of trees in the living presence of nature, plays are acted, there is dancing, there are songs of the spring, songs of the rain, which are composed and set to music by the Poet himself for such festive occasions.

Freedom and progress were the two educational watchwords in that school. There was an atmosphere of culture. Learned men who could give much came to talk to and interest the children. There was freedom also, as far as caste and race and nationality were concerned. And liberty, the spirit of liberty is in their lives, the spirit of adventure, which Tagore felt is so often destroyed by the theory of education usually imposed upon the child.

AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

But that school for the children has grown into something very much more significant even than that group, with all the joy in living and the joy in thinking and the impressions that arose from the things of beauty by which they were surrounded. Soon there will be the tenth anniversary of the University which was established as the outgrowth of the smaller school. It is a cultural meeting-place between the East and the West, and its object is "to study the mind of man in its realization of the different aspects of peace from diverse points of view, and to bring into more intimate relations with one another the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity; to approach the West from the point of view of such a unity of life, to seek to realize in Asia a common fellowship of study, and the meeting of the East and the West and thus

ultimately to strengthen the final conditions of world peace through the free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres."

Truly a cultural meeting-place between the East and the West. And I suspect that if you and I were to visit that International University, we should find many things that would be surprising from the practical side as well as the idealistic side. There are, for example, experimental farms, with growing vegetables; there are spinning-wheels, looms and work along other practical lines. A practical visionary at work. I sometimes wonder whether the real visionary, that is, the man with vision, is not after all the most practical of all human beings. A practical visionary at work. From dream-land to reality,—for in this effort to build up a school, a University representing Indian culture at its highest, it was thought well to develop the practical as well as the ideal. An institution based upon the ideal of spiritual unity of all races. That is the underlying thought.

And so to-night I have the honour to present to this great audience our visitor, our guest, who needs no introduction; rather it is for this audience to welcome our guest of honour and our speaker,—a man who is poet and philosopher, teacher and friend of humanity: Rabindranath Tagore, who is going to speak to us on "The Meeting of the East and the West."

DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Dr. Tagore then spoke as follows:—

I have felt the meeting of the East and the West in my own individual life. I belong to the latter end of the nineteenth century. And to our remote country in Bengal, when I was a boy, there came a voice from across the sea. I listened to it. And it would be difficult to imagine what it meant for me in those days. We realized the great heroic ideal which had been held in Ancient Greece and that art which gave expression to its greatness. And I was deeply stirred, and felt as if I had discovered a new planet on the horizon.

And it was the same feeling which I had when I listened to those in my family who recited verses from English literature and from the great poets of those days. Then also I felt as if a new prophet of the human world had been revealed to my mind.

You all know it was the last vanishing twilight of the Romantic civilization of the West. We had been in the atmosphere of the lyrical literature of those poets like Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, and we know what inspiration they had within them. And what it was for the rest of the world. There was an upheaval of Idealism. In Europe, the French Revolution had not died out, and people were dreaming of freedom, of the brotherhood of man. They still believed in the human ideals that have their permanent value, ultimate value in themselves. And it moved my heart. I cannot express how it did move my soul.

I remember as a boy how a friend who had just read some poet came running to me in the night when I was asleep and awakened me, saying, "Have you read this?" And he recited a line to me, and it stirred us deeply. It was that atmosphere, that human aspect of the Western civilization, it was the humanity of the West, it was not anything mechanical. It did not represent any physical or material quality. Ah, no. That great message from the West in those days touched us deeply in the East.

And the West at that time believed in freedom of personality. We heard about Garibaldi, about Mazzini, and it was a new revelation, an aspect of humanity with which we were not quite familiar—the great ideal of the freedom of man, freedom of self-expression for all races and for all countries. And we had great reverence for the people who were dedicated to that dream, through their literature, and also through their practical life.

Those were the days of Gladstone. I remember once when I heard that wonderful voice, my heart was filled with admiration—not for his political wisdom and intelligence, but for the spontaneity of the words from his heart. As I say, in those days it was the humanity of the West that touched us.

THE CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCE

I may tell you what I think is the characteristic difference between the East and the West. We in the East do believe in personality. In the West you have your admiration for power. And whenever our heart is touched with something that is perfect in human nature, in its completeness, in the spiritual aspect of it, it goes deep, and we bow our heads

before it. We have a feeling of reverence for the divine in man. We revere it. And I thought that this human aspect of civilization which I saw and which I realized in the West when I was young, was something permanent that would help to save the whole world.

There are times when some people come to us as messengers of humanity. They come to rescue human relations from all kinds of fetters of ignorance or moral degradation and despair and weakness of will. It is an admission of something deep. We thought this age belonged to the West, that they had come to save us, to save the whole world from all forms of weakness and degradation. For we had in our minds the other great revelations of history. We knew what India herself had done in olden times. We knew what Greece had offered to humanity, and which still remains inexhaustible; and all these great civilizations had the effect of redeeming the minds of men from fetters and narrowness, from sluggishness and stupidity.

And it is evident that this day, this age does belong to the West. You have the illumination, and we have been waiting for long that it should reach us in the East. And we hope that you would come to us with a message which was universal, which had nothing provincial or exclusively national in it, and in a language that was not ashamed to have itself surrounded by an atmosphere of beauty,—a beauty that pleaded to all humanity and had very obviously something which had a universal appeal.

And I say as an individual that the West and the East did meet in India in those days. But how short was that twilight of a vanishing age! Of chivalry! Of idealism! Which is higher and which is greater than one's nationality. That age came to an end, and you know in what a great clash and conflagration of war and misery all over the world.

THE MENACE OF POWER

And to-day what is the harvest that you reap? What is the harvest of your civilization to-day? You do not see from the outside. You do not realize what a terrible menace you have become to man. What a menace? We are afraid of you. And everywhere people are suspicious of each other. All the great countries of

the West are preparing for war. For some great work of desolation that will spread poison all over the world. And this poison is in themselves. They try, and try to find some solution, but they do not succeed, because they have lost their faith in the personality of man.

They do not believe in the wisdom of the soul and they think that the East can be served by some political machinery. Their minds are filled with mutual suspicion and hatred and anger, and yet they believe that something, some machinery will do, and they try and they try. They do this and that, for what? Nothing comes of it. They ask for disarmament but it cannot be had from the outside. They have efficiency, but that alone does not help. Why? Because man is human while Science is impersonal. Machinery is impersonal. Men of power have efficiency in outward things. But the man is lost. His personality is lost. You do not feel it, the divine in man, the divinity which is in humanity.

And we think it, I have felt it, and I have said to myself, I have repeated that song. "Where shall I find him? Man the Great? The supreme man?" Not in the machinery of power and wealth shall I find the humanity of the world. If he is not in the heart of a civilization where is he? He is the message. And they are conspiring some great devastation and disaster. The great man, the harvester, the music-maker, the dreamer of dreams, where is he? You know, and I know. The load of it crushes our minds.

Almost every day in spite of it all I feel my heart go back to my own country, to the personal, the dreamer, the believer in God. I seek Him, and I want to go back to my own country. I have my school there. Do not think that it is an ordinary school. I enjoy the wealth of human relationship there. Those boys and girls, they are my children. There is something that is indescribable in that school. Our relationship is spiritual—and I may not merit the epithet, but I know that they do reverence MAN in my own person, not the schoolmaster, but something higher than that. And it was not their superstition. In the East we believe in personality which is above all things.

You fight against evil, and that is a great thing. I often think that you should

come to help us but in those difficulties, these material evils, from which we suffer. We have been praying that, for centuries, the West would really come to us, that their chivalry would help us in our trouble. We are unfortunate. We have much need, for our injuries are great. We had formerly our own system of education—that has vanished. We had our industries to help to eke out the income of those dependent upon agriculture for their livelihood, and all those industries have vanished like the autumn leaves. And we prayed that the West would come to us as a member of a common humanity. We claim it from you who have wealth which is overflowing and we are in the direst and deepest shadow of poverty and distress on our side of the world.

GANDHI'S SPIRITUAL POWER

We have been waiting for the Person, the Personality of Mahatma Gandhi (applause). It is only possible in the East for such a man to become a great personality. He has neither physical nor material power, but through his great influence people who have been in subjection to all kinds of tyrannical power have stood up; and he is the strongest spiritual power in this world to-day. Not by any political prudence, but it is his spiritual influence, the people believe in him, and they are ready to die for their faith. They are ready to suffer. It is a miracle that these people, down-trodden for centuries, these people are coming out, and without doing any injury to others; they suffer and through suffering, conquer.

And our women,—only the other day they were secluded in their own inner apartments. They have come out to follow this MAN, this leader. Not an association, not an organization, not a politician, but a Man! And his message goes deep into our veins. He attacks the enemies that are within us. Not like the political machinery which you have that attacks from the outside and that

tries to work through the external. But he attacks the inner man. They believe in him, in this man who is not a Brahmin, for he belongs to a class who are money-makers and who have been despised for centuries.

When times were dark, there came a MAN in other days to people who were seeking salvation, emancipation, from evil. He came to their door. The babe who was born centuries ago, brought exaltation to man. Not machinery, not associations, not organizations, but a human babe, and people were amazed. And when all the machinery will be rusted, he will live.

I have felt that the civilization of the West to-day has its law and order, but no personality. It has come to the perfection of a mathematical order, but what is there to humanize it? It is the Person, he is in the heart of all beings. When you follow the atoms, you come to something which has no form, no colour. It is all abstraction, it is reduced to some mathematical formula. But these people and their ideal, they have gone beyond the heart of those atoms. I have seen, I have known it within me, in the depths of my feeling. And I know that only when you come to Him will there be peace."

Mr. Novik said :

"The Poet feels that he has given his message to us. I wondered as I sat here what he would feel from this audience if each one of us were able to speak to him and to tell him what his message has meant to us. Probably for many of us there will be new inspiration in our individual living. After all, what we shall be as persons depends not upon chance but upon ourselves. And I think new inspiration has come to us in these moments. And may be as he goes back to the East, he will carry our message to India, our hope that the day is not far distant when the East and the West shall meet indeed, when each may contribute to the common good of humanity."

India and League of Nations Minorities Treaties

How far India, as an Original Member of the League of Nations, is bound by its Scheme of Minority Protection.

BY RADHAKUMUD MUKERJI, M. A., Ph. D.

THE extent of India's responsibility and commitment in the matter of the scheme of minority protection, which the League of Nations has been authorized to enforce in so many states of post-war Europe, will be evident from the literature of the League bearing on the subject. It will appear that India's responsibility or commitment in the matter is deep and definite.

In the first place, India counted as one of the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers" who, as victors in the great war, took upon themselves the responsibility of building up the structure of peace on stable foundations. As was stated by President Wilson on 31st May 1919, at a plenary session of the Peace conference :

"Nothing, I venture to say, is more likely to disturb the peace of the world than the treatment which might in certain circumstances be meted out to the Minorities. And therefore, if the Great Powers are to guarantee the peace of the world in any sense, is it unjust that they should be satisfied that the proper and necessary guarantee has been given?"

In accordance with this position, the minorities guarantee treaties were devised by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the Great Powers of the world for their acceptance and signature by the states of reconstructed Europe. Such signatory states now number nearly twenty. Turkey is one of them. And India, as one of the principal Powers, has taken an active part, her full initiative and responsibility at every stage of these transactions from the conception and inception of these treaties to the framing of their final form and provisions, and to their enforcement in different sovereign states of Europe in the interests of world peace.

In the second place, besides being one of the contracting parties and signatories to the treaties, India has taken her responsibility for the position that the stipulations contained in those

treaties "constitute obligations of International concern." This means that questions concerning Minorities were no longer to be treated as the domestic concern of the states bound by these treaties.

In the third place, India has consented to the position that the enforcement and working of these treaties and their provisions should be entrusted not to the particular group of Powers inaugurating them, but to the entire comity of Nations called the League of Nations as the most impartial, detached, disinterested, and dignified tribunal, incapable of encouraging or exploiting for its own ends any minority disputes.

In the fourth place, India has been a party to the decision reached in the first Assembly of the League of Nations that the membership of the League should depend upon the acceptance by the applicant state of the League's scheme of minority protection.

The question is, are these international stipulations and transactions merely one-sided? Are they meant to bind down only one party to the contract comprising the defeated Powers like Turkey to whom its terms were dictated by the other party not bound by it, the victorious Powers comprising the United States of America, the British Empire (with its constituent units like India counting separately), France, Italy, and Japan? Is it to be implied that states like India or England who had invented this remedy for world peace were not to apply it for their own ills?

The question came up naturally before the League of Nations where it had been hotly discussed in several full dress debates. It was raised as early as May 31st, 1919 at a plenary sitting of the Peace Conference, prior even to the establishment of the League of Nations, by the representatives of states who were called

upon to sign the minority treaties. They then "declared that their states were ready to assume such obligations if all the States Members of the League of Nations gave the same undertakings," and, with great force, "defended the conception of a general treaty for the protection of minorities to be concluded among all States Members of the League of Nations."

The question was again raised in 1925 at the Sixth Assembly of the League in the form of the following resolution presented by the Lithuanian delegation:

"The Lithuanian delegation proposes that the Sixth Assembly of the League should set up a special Committee to prepare a draft general convention to include all the States Members of the League of Nations and setting forth their common rights and duties in regard to minorities."

In moving this resolution, the Lithuanian delegate, M. Galvananskas, pointed out the inequality which existed, from a legal point of view, between the international obligations of different members of the League of Nations, of whom some were subject to certain obligations to which others were not. He also referred to a strong expression of public opinion on the subject at the Twenty-first Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union held in 1923 at Copenhagen where a resolution was adopted, demanding the establishment of general rules of minority protection "which should be binding without any distinction upon all States Members of the League of Nations."

Thus the existing system was not in conformity with the principle of equality between states for which the League stood.

"It limits the sovereignty of a certain number of states, whilst justice demands that the noble cause of the protection of minorities should confer the same rights upon, and require the same duties on the part of all the members of the League—Moral unity among members of the League is impossible so long as the sovereignty of some is restricted by higher interests whilst others are under no such restraint."

Objection was, however, raised that a general treaty for the protection of minorities which would be binding on all states would be without meaning for states which did not own the existence of minorities in their midst.

The French delegate, M. de Jouvenel, said:

"He could readily understand that States which had signed minorities treaties should think it a noble that others had not done so. He was quite ready to present the ex of his

own country. *France had not signed any such treaties because she had no minorities.* To find minorities in France, they would have to be created in imagination...

"Under these circumstances he did not see how his country could sign a minorities convention. He recognized, however, the importance of the question raised by M. Galvananskas."

The same ground was urged by Viscount Cecil on behalf of the British Empire and to the suggestion made by the French delegate that "some ill-humoured Welshman might (under the proposed change) pose before the League of Nations as the champion of Wales" he replied that "he was not afraid of the obstreperous Welshman because he did not exist."

On behalf of America it was urged that

"There are no distinctive characteristics in respect of race, language, and religion between the elements forming each of the people of that continent. Uniformity of language throughout the country of each American State, complete religious tolerance combined with a completely natural assimilation of emigrants by the principal mass of the population of each of these States, have produced in them national organizations of which the collective unity is complete. This means that the existence of minorities in the sense of persons with a right to the protection of the League of Nations is impossible."

The Dutch Senator, Baron Wittort van Hoogland, made the following felicitous observation:

"The introduction into the laws of all countries of provisions protecting minorities would be enough to cause them to spring up where they were least expected, to provoke unrest among them, to cause them to pose as having been sacrificed, and generally to create an artificial agitation of which no one had up to that time dreamed. It would be rather like the imaginary illness from which so many people think themselves suffering the moment they read a book on popular medicine."

The position thus taken by these big Powers is that they represent states and stages and types of political development which are far in advance of other states which are not yet able to achieve that degree of national unity and organization by which all separate groups, communities, or minorities are absorbed in a common citizenship.

The Roumanian Delegate, M. Cornene, however, defended the position of the Lithuanian Delegation thus:

"They protested against the fact that the minorities treaties implied the establishment of two categories of countries—countries of the first class which, in spite of having certain small groups of minorities, were placed under no obligations and countries of the second class which had been obliged to assume extremely o obligations

"The Roumanian delegation and the Polish Delegation through M. Paderewski had been long asking that the minorities treaties should apply to all the countries of the world.

"By the present proposal, the Committee was not asked to proclaim the existence of minorities in a whole series of States. It was merely asked to appoint a Committee to examine the whole question and to prepare a draft general convention.

"He considered that, by the means proposed, a solution would be obtained which would be satisfactory not only to public opinion but also to the sentiments of justice and equity which lay at the root of the whole of the work of the League of Nations and in conformity with the democratic principles, which demand that all States Members of the League of Nations, whether great or small, should be equal."

The idea of a general system for the protection of minorities applicable to all the States Members of the League has been the subject of discussion at several meetings of the League. An agreement was reached in 1922 at the third Assembly of the League on the basis of proposals submitted by Professor Gilbert Murray (delegate of South Africa) and Dr. Walters (delegate of Latvia) and a resolution was adopted, paragraph 4 of which reads as follows:

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

The full significance of the position implied in the resolution which was adopted after repeated discussions of a highly controversial and delicate topic has been very well explained in an official note submitted to the League by the Polish Government paragraph II of which runs as follows:

"It must not be forgotten that even the Great Powers, as well as other original members of the League of Nations, are States whose national homogeneity is not complete, for they also have a considerable number of minorities, racial or religious. Although, from a legal standpoint, the clauses of the minorities treaties do not apply to these States, it would nevertheless seem just that, in view of the high principle of the equality of all the members of the League of Nations, and the principles of equity and humanity by which any liberal treatment of Minorities must be inspired, the treaties in question should be applicable to Poland and the other states to which they have been granted, only in the same spirit, in the same form, and within the same limits as they would have been applied, had they been applicable to the great powers and the other original members of the League of Nations

Sir Austen Chamberlain admitted the fact that "there is no Empire which contains more minorities than the British Empire." And India is that part of the British empire which contains more minorities than any other part of that empire. In this situation India, therefore, cannot take the lofty position taken by her colleagues of the League of Nations like France or England, Italy or Japan that the minority Treaties had no meaning for them because they had no Minorities. She cannot plead that she is a superior type of state, above the conditions, drawbacks, and difficulties which have compelled the application of the minorities treaties to so many other sovereign states and full-fledged republics like Turkey or Czechoslovakia. According to the resolution passed unanimously by the Third Assembly of the League of Nations, India is bound as a member of that civilized society of Nations to set her own political clock by the world's chronometer, to apply to her own minority problems the international treatment and solution which she, along with other States Members of the League, has herself prescribed and enforced for other states, and in the words of the League's resolution aforesaid, "to observe in the treatment of her own racial, religious, or linguistic minorities at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the minority treaties and by the regular action of the Council." The implication of this momentous resolution is (1) that India must follow the League's scheme of minority protection which is permitted only to the three defined aspects of minorities, racial, religious, or linguistic; (2) that India must not fall below the standard of justice embodied in that scheme, and (3) that she must so conform in the matter of her minorities to the international conscience and code of conduct as not to call for "any action of the Council of the League of Nations" for correction.

With this standing resolution of the League of Nations, the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson, had no hesitation in stating at the meeting of the League Council in January last, in his capacity of Chairman thereof, that "the system of the protection of Minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations was now a part of the public law of Europe

and of the world." [P. 24 of *The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*, January, 1931]. And following that statement came a more recent statement of Mr. Isaac Foot, M. P., one of the members of the Liberal

Delegation to the Indian Round Table Conference, that he found no objection to application to India of the League's scheme of minority protection.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto unsolicited. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

HINDU LAW IN ITS SOURCES. By Ganganatha Jha. Vol. I. Demy 8vo. 577 pages. The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1930.

In the preface, the learned author writes:—We have seen during all these ten years the trend of legislation in connection with Hindu law on piecemeal lines. The personal law of the Hindus is so complicated and interrelated in its various factors that piecemeal legislation is bound to be a failure and to create greater confusion than there exists already." The truth of this observation will be obvious to every student of Hindu Law, and also to the general reader if he remembers that a system of personal law, whatever its basic idea may be, is a complete whole, and any interference with any of its parts makes the system unworkable. Many of our legislators have no time to study the principles, and often go by what they deem equity, or utility of a particular measure before them without considering its place in the system. This apparent indifference is, however, mostly due to want of a code of ancient Hindu laws which are scattered in various works and not easily understood without a long preparation. To codify the laws from their sources which are not and cannot be equally authoritative is a stupendous task. But it has to be undertaken. And there are very few better fitted for it than the erudite scholar, philosopher and logician M. M. Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad. The present volume contains twenty chapters and deals with seventeen out of the eighteen 'Heads of Dispute' under which Hindu law has been classified. The second volume which is in the press will, we are informed, deal with the eighteenth head of 'Inheritance.'

The introductory chapter explains how the Veda was regarded as the original source of the laws of the Hindus, how *Smritis* came to be written and acquired their authority from the

word of the Veda, how they had to yield then place to some extent to *sadāchāra*, 'Practices of good men,' and lastly to *Nibandhas* or law digests. The author points out that "in a vast country like India, in the development of law and legal institutions, geographical conditions have often times had as much influence as social and economic ones." Further, "in the domain of law there has all along been a progressive spirit at work."

In the second chapter our author goes into detail and presents the reader with a succinct account of the sources of Hindu law and their comparative authority. One of his conclusions is that "there is not a single text, or explanation which favours the opinion that custom is to override original texts,—an opinion that has been upheld by the Privy Council, and endorsed by eminent writers on Anglo-Hindu law." But if the author's contention were true in all cases, how to account for the amendments and variations in the texts? How could the laws be progressive in spirit? One must therefore concede that a practice due to force of circumstances grew into a custom, which when approved by the *śishya*, the cultured, found place in a *Smṛiti*. The question is, however, too large to be discussed here.

The third chapter on judicial procedure, and the fourth on evidence will be found highly interesting and instructive to the students of history of ancient India. Our law students will be benefited by a study of the chapters and will come to know and judge the comparative merits of the simple Indian procedure and the present-day British procedure. It has often been said that the latter by its intricacy has been instrumental in increasing litigation and converting our courts of justice into courts for testing luck. An attempt has been recently made in parts of Bengal and other provinces to revive the ancient village *panchāla* in the name of Village Union Benches. The latter may be advised to follow

the Indian procedure and the law of evidence with slight modification in parts. These are more or less known to and easily understood by the common people.

With the fifth chapter begin the laws. They include law of debt, of deposits, of sale without ownership, of joint concerns, of resumption of gifts, of employer and employee, of owner and keeper of cattle, of customs and conventions of corporate bodies, of rescission of sale and purchase, of boundary, of *sahāsa* (crimes? abuse and threat?), of assault and hurt, of theft, of adultery, of manslaughter and other crimes, of gambling and betting. These headings will give the reader an idea of the scope of the laws. The learned author has of course to collect them from various sources. He quotes the text in each case and renders it into English, adding here and there a note in small type to explain any technical terms involved. The methodical treatment makes one forget that they are quotations from many writers. The most remarkable feature is the absence of a single line of comment. The author has pointed out the wisdom of this decision, and, the result is, the reader is brought directly before the source, undefiled by pre-conceived notion of an intermediary. We cannot too highly commend this restraint to our writers of social and religious history of India who are tempted to swell up a few facts by their own interpretations and speculations. Every chapter of the volume before us is a history in itself, and there is no better guide to social history than the laws of the land. It was not merely the common heritage of intellectual and religious culture but the administration of uniform laws that bound the diverse races of the Hindus. The first volume has therefore a value apart from its practical utility at the present time, and prepares the ground for appreciating the second that is to come on the law of succession and inheritance, which is administered in our law courts. These two volumes together with Prof. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra* will supply a long-felt want. There are, however, various other subjects comprised in *Dharmasāstra*, and it is hoped a volume on these will appear from the pen of either of the writers in the near future.

JOGES CHANDRA RAY

THE HISTORY OF JAHANGIR, by Francis Gladwin, ed. by Rao Bahadur, K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Pp. xxii. + 184. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.) Rs. 5.

That early and very active Orientalist, Francis Gladwin, among the many useful translations that he made of Persian works on Indian history, published in 1788 a *History of Jahangir* which was mainly an abridgement or adaptation of Khwajah Kamgar Ghairat Khan's *Ḥikmat-nāma*. This was the first volume of a history of the emperor during the seventeenth century which Gladwin projected but left unfinished. Scholars and all persons who want to make a detailed study of Jahangir's reign are bound to resort to the genuine *Memoirs of the Emperor*, the Persian text of which was printed by Sir Sayyid Ahmad in 1863 [not 1864 as stated on p. ix] and an accurate English translation by Rogers has been printed by the Royal Asiatic Society, under the editorship of Mr. Beveridge, in 2 vols. [P. ix. 1 12-13 are

incorrect]. But as the latter work costs 25s. net many readers will be thankful to Messrs. Paul for bringing out this cheap reprint of Gladwin's short narrative. The value of the reprint has been greatly enhanced by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami's scholarly notes.

We only wish that the spelling of Oriental names had been Hunterized. For instance, on pp. 26 and 27, *Mehira* reappears without any correction, leaving the ordinary reader puzzled as to the place meant. The map facing p. 33 is too small and obscure to be of any use. The paper is excellent and the type large and clear.

GULAB SINGH, by K. M. Panikkar. Pp. 172, with one map (Martin Hopkinson.) 7s 6d net.

Gulab Singh, the founder of the latest Hindu kingdom in Kashmir, bore no enviable reputation. Sir Charles Napier calls him "a modern Tiberius for horrible cruelty and villainy" (*Defects*, p. 50). C. Smyth thus writes of him, "The character of Goolaub Sing as exhibited in these early days of his power, was one of the most repulsive it is possible to imagine. The tiger nature that crouched beneath this fair-seeming exterior rendered him an object of distrust and terror" (p. 259). Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs, is no more complimentary:—

"The unscrupulous character of Raja Gulab Singh. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions" (2nd ed., 324n.) Hon'ble Emily Eden (Lord Auckland's sister) speaks of him as a horrid creature" (*Up the Country*, p. 135). Even the sympathetic and noble-minded Henry Lawrence is constrained to say:—"We admit that he is a bad man. Though grasping and mercenary, he is mild, conciliatory, and even merciful. He has courage, energy, and personal purity; his disposition is cruel. The next worse feature in his character is miserliness." (*Life*, 3rd ed., 388.) The biographer of John Lawrence gives Gulab Singh an equally dubious certificate. "He was an unscrupulous villain but an able ruler" (i. 139.)

Against this unanimous array of most damaging evidence from persons of such diverse positions and character, the counsel for the prisoner at the bar of our history takes up this astonishing line of defence: "Contemporary histories—undoubtedly possess one disadvantage, especially when they are written by persons who have taken an active part in the affairs they narrate. Not merely do they adopt a partisan attitude, but they allow their judgments of men and matters to be clouded by violent prejudices." (P. 4.) And what is the unimpeachably honest witness that Mr. Panikkar sets up against these "violently prejudiced partisan" contemporaries of Gulab Singh? He writes "The main authority on which the life of Gulab Singh could be based is the contemporary record entitled *Gulabnāma* written by the Maharajah's private secretary and the son of the Maharajah's Prime Minister"! That is to say, we are asked to accept the eulogy of this *Khannad* or hereditary servant and flatterer. Mr. Panikkar will not thus be able to "establish the greatness of Gulab Singh both as a man and a statesman" before anybody except the entourage of the Kashmir court.

The book, in spite of its remarkably beautiful paper and printing and Mr. Panikkar's clear flowing style, is effectually damned as history by

reason of its exaggerated eulogy, and utter lack of the sense of proportion and criticism. This is especially the case in It is claimed "In a century [i.e., the 19th century] barren of historical achievement in India Gulab Singh stands out as a solitary figure of political eminence." Even the conquest of Ladakh which according to Mr. Panikkar places Gulab Singh above Samudragupta and Akbar (p. 151), was achieved not from the hands of the Tibetans proper (who almost annihilated the Kashmiri expedition in Dec. 1841), but from the people of "Little Tibet."

The bottom is knocked out of Mr. Panikkar's bombastic claim on behalf of his hero by the fact, completely ignored by this biographer, that "the geographical boundaries of India had been extended" previously to Gulab Singh by another ruler of India, Aurangzib, who conquered Tibet and made it his own suzerainty, 1665 and 1685 (See Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, ch. 26.)

P. 10, is not *Kirchpal* a misprint for *Kirtipal*, and p. 21 *Ayar* for *Ajor* (Prinsep's spelling). Among other errors are *Rajatarangini* (141) *Naseeb* for *Najib* (50, 51 &c.) *Dyhan* for *Dhyan* (58). The map has been reproduced in one colour only, while its lettering tells us that the territories of the different Powers are indicated by four different colours!

J. SARKAR

WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER THE HINDU LAW. *Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, 1930. Bangalore, Pp. xxii + 290.*

The Committee which presents this report was appointed by H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore on June 7, 1929, with a view to consider and report upon the question of legislation to amend the Hindu law in certain directions. The main object was to examine in detail the means of improving the position of women under the Hindu law as administered in the Mysore State. The original sources of Hindu law are the *Smritis*, the *Smritis* and custom, i.e. immemorial usage as approved by Hindu society. The modern system of Government considerably added to the old provisions of Hindu law, by a succession of rulings in various courts of judicature. Most of such decisions have modified and amended and even repealed the existing Hindu law of the time. There is even now a growing tendency to modify Hindu law to suit the requirements of modern society. Unfortunately, the Hindu law of inheritance so far as women are concerned is unsatisfactory and unjust and the position of widows under it is deplorable. husband may have been a man of considerable wealth, after his death the widow, who during the lifetime of the husband, may have lived a life of luxury, will be at the mercy of the coparceners for a humble maintenance. The women had many rights in the Vedic times, but they lost them one after the other. The reason is not far to seek. The Aryans when they migrated to the South, had to fight many battles. The problem of food soon yielded to the problem of life. Incessant warfare became the feature of life. Women who could not take part in the brutality of such conflicts naturally took a secondary place in society of those times. Conditions have now changed and the State is naturally

anxious to remove obstacles in the development of the rights and liberties of the fair sex. The report has culminated in the preparation of a bill of which the main provisions are: Sex not to be a ground for exclusion or disqualification; the widow, the mother, the unmarried daughter and the unmarried sister shall be entitled to share and also to have her share separated off and placed in her possession; in the absence of express prohibition the widow shall be presumed to have his authority to adopt; gift and bequest in favour of females to be construed in the same manner as gifts to males; women succeeding to a male intestate shall take a full estate and not limited; even where the right is expressly limited, certain disqualifications hitherto subsisting regarding the enjoyment of the property by the female to be removed; certain females hitherto excluded from having maintenance rights to be given such rights; wife not bound to stay with the husband if the latter leads an immoral life, suffers from loathsome disease or renounces religion.

The beneficial effects of the changes contemplated cannot be over-estimated. The lead taken by the Maharaja and also by H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda are great measures for other States and British India to emulate. True, certain similar measures have engaged the attention of the British Indian legislature for some time past. But time is ripe for strong efforts to eradicate the evil of a shameful discrimination between the male and the female Hindu. Half-hearted measures may be palliative, but the remedy lies in drastic changes. The get-up of the book is excellent, and it is well worth study by social and political reformers.

Amar Pathi

WITHOUT THE PALE. THE LIFE STORY OF AN OUTCASTE. *By Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, M.A., D.Sc. (Association Press, Calcutta, 1930) pp. xi + 87. Price Rs. 1-4.*

This small book forms the seventh volume of *The Religious Life of India* series planned by the late Dr. J. N. Farquhar with the professed object of bringing out the salient features of Indian life by bringing in each case the religion of the people concerned into relation with Christianity. So far as the account of birth customs, initiation ceremonies, marriage customs and funeral customs of the Dheds of Gujarat are concerned, we have in this book a reliable account of the rites and ceremonies that are believed by the people in question to mark the principal crises of an individual's life from birth to death. There is unfortunately no separate chapter dealing with the religious ideas of the people, the gods they worship and the spirits they seek to conciliate, nor with their periodical feasts and festivals; but in the chapters relating to birth, death and marriage, reference is made to sacrifices and offerings made to particular gods and goddesses at the critical periods of an individual's life, and in the chapter on illness, consisting of eight pages in all, the author gives a short account of the Dheds' belief in the evil eye, the evil shadow, evil spirits, evil spells, and the Mother Goddess, who are all characterized by Dr. Stevenson as "evil malignant powers who may be proved by any show of love, any prosperity may even by having for once

enough to it." The author recognizes that Dheds are a caste with spiritual genius, and in the last chapters headed "The Desire of all Nations," she says that the "great appeal that Christ makes to the Dheds... is the way in which He, the Desire of All Nations, exactly fulfills their deepest longing," and that "whatever qualities these humble oppressed folk have felt that the true Guru must possess, they find exactly revealed in Him." In proof of this assertion the author cites the story of conversion into Christianity of two Dheds, one named Uka Bhagat who had been a follower of the Kabir Panth, and his brother Ram Bhagat who had been a follower of Swami Narayan. Many other Dheds, we are told, who had been members of the Bijanaga sect also accepted Christianity as they "found that the sacred verses in whose truth they trust most implicitly are absolutely fulfilled by Christ." Many people will perhaps be inclined to think that it is the desire to save themselves from the shameful indignities and persecutions they suffer at the hands of caste Hindus and otherwise to improve their social position and economic life that many members of this and other 'untouchable' castes flock to the Christian missions. Although the book is obviously written with a purpose, the student of Indian humanity will find much interesting material in this small volume.

S. C. ROY

A CONTRIBUTIVE SOCIETY. By J. R. Bellerby
(Education Services) 28 Commercial Street,
London, E. 1. 1931. Demy 8vo Pp. xvi+221.
Price 1s 6d. net.

The modern economic system like any other economic system is shaped and controlled by human motives. According to the author, the chief motive of the present system is self-interest, which is partly intuitive and partly acquired,—an analysis to which many psychologists will find it difficult to give assent. To the former category belongs the motives relating to the satisfaction of bodily needs such as hunger and to the latter those relating to love of fame or power, etc. Here Mr Bellerby pushes the analysis farther and brings in "Other-interest," to supplement "Self-interest." Says he:

"On the one hand, 'self-interest' if universalized would produce a condition in which all persons, being concentrated solely upon themselves, could not give personal thought to sustain others. On the other hand, 'other-interest' generalized would create a state in which none could receive, since none would be concerned to receive."

All motives of self-interest and "other-interest" are controlled by habit. This provides the solution to the complexities of modern economic system. Mr. Bellerby proposes to change the present educational system with its emphasis on the individual life to another, where a child will be taught to regard service as superior to self. In this way, the author hopes to obtain citizens, who will all try to make the utmost contribution to the output of the community and thus be formed into a "Contributive Society." Team work which is the dominant feature of sports should be introduced into class-rooms also, in order that "each for all" feeling may be fully developed. Says he:

"Given a people of a certain type and a certain quality, the nature of the system they will erect will follow; it will exactly reflect the character of

the people. And the system, once established, will tend to reproduce men of the same type as those who founded it... Plato's Republic for instance or Marxian Communism, or any form of social constitution, must stand or fall according to the character of the citizens implied."

What distinguishes Mr. Bellerby from the dreamers of other Utopias is that he is not content merely with preaching his ideals. He is anxious to make a beginning by banding together the limited number of people who at present believe in the principle of maximum contribution to the community. He has such firm faith in his ideals that he hopes his small initial society will be able to gather more and more members, who will be attracted by the power and beauty of the new system. Ultimately, the society will become identical with the nation.

The book is rather heavy reading. The scope is far too wide to admit of a close and rigorous analysis, but one must admit that commonplaces are at many places enlivened with originality. This is but natural, for it is his reforming zeal, which has carried him away in spite of himself. This is a defect; this is also a pleasant feature of the work. Even a hardened reviewer cannot fail to be touched by the author's unbounded enthusiasm and transparent sincerity.

H SINHA

INSPIRATION OF SAINT TUKARAM: P. R. Munge.
Price Re. 1. Bombay, 1930.

This is a very small and handy collection of 99 Abhangas composed by the illustrious saint of Maharashtra and rendered into English "for an English reader" with a short sketch of the life of Tukaram. The verses have been divided into several heads according to the nature of the topic and one must praise the idea behind the attempt. But there are so many examples of bad English that it completely defeats its purpose, and will, it may be feared, serve to repel the English reader for whom it is intended. The author has tried to make the book interesting by citing parallel passages and drawing on the Bible and Shakespeare for this purpose, but the English dramatist has been wronged in transmission, and blank verse has been put down as simple prose! In short, though the get-up of the book is commendable, the original excellence of the idea has been spoilt in the faulty execution.

One thing, however, calls for notice in the short life given in the preface. The author traces Tuka's spiritual lineage (p. xii) and links him to "Kesava Chaitanya" whose disciple was Raghava Chaitanya; Raghava's disciple, Babaji by name, was Tukaram's guru according to an Abhang (No. 3574, Nirnaya-Sagara publication) which, therefore, deserves to be critically examined.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE PHILIPPINES AND INDIA: By Dharendra Nath Roy, M.A., Ph.D., of the University of the Philippines, Manila, Philippine Islands: with an Introduction by Hon. Rafael Palma, President of the University: Manila, 1930 printed at the

Oriental Printing, 610 Rizal Avenue; pp. 211, cloth bound.

We welcome this well-conceived and well-written book as an expression of a new sense of fellowship among the peoples of Asia which seeks to make them know and understand each other better. Dr. Roy is an Indian professor sojourning in the Philippines, and he has written this book, in two parts, the first part telling us about the present conditions and the historical and cultural background of the Filipino people and an estimate of their ideals and aspirations from the point of view of a cultured Indian, and the second part seeks to interpret India with her village organizations and her socio-cultural and spiritual ideals and her significant present-day movements for Filipinos and others. The first chapter is called

"The Isles of Hope" in which a survey of the present situation in the Philippines is made. This title for their country, says Dr. Palma in his brief introduction, sounds better to Filipino ears than to any other; certainly it is a better name than that given to the country by the notorious Katherine Mayo, viz., the Isles of Fear. The Philippines have a population of 12 millions, of whom about 91 per cent are reported to be Christian (largely Roman Catholic). There are a large number of dialects all belonging to the Malayao family but English is now the dominant language, some Filipinos even advocating the general adoption of English as the national language even in the home. American rule has done a great deal to spread education in the country, and with the spread of education the Filipinos are being largely Americanized. There is, however, a certain amount of affected yet naive superiority in their Christian religion, which is easily understandable. In the second chapter, happily entitled "More than Neighbours," Dr. Roy has given a very readable and informative account of the past history of the islands, especially with reference to the culture contacts with India. Hindu peoples from Sumatra and Java colonized Borneo, and from Borneo they came to the Philippines. It seems that there were direct communications with India also. Hindu religious organization and ideas, the Sanskrit language, and the Indian script were introduced and these form fundamental things in Filipino life culture—at least of the past, if they are no more living forces now. The Spanish priest and the American missionary have now taken the place of the Brahman and the Bhujanga (i.e., Hindu preacher) in Indonesia. So that the Filipinos, although both they and we have forgotten it, are for us more than mere neighbours. We can claim them as having originally belonged to the same culture world of India as ourselves—as having formed part of a Greater India. In the next chapter, the most thoughtful and serious of all for the consideration of educated Filipinos with a sense of the historical, Dr. Roy gives a reasoned survey of the present mentality of cultured Filipinos. The Christian Filipino, who is the average Filipino, is inclined to cut himself adrift from his racial moorings in his haste to be modern and western. He is not conscious of his national heritage, and unconsciously too, there is a tendency to gather the reflected light of the west much more than trying to rekindle the lamp within. But in the midst of all this

tion towards Western things, this desire to affiliate themselves to the West which is due to three centuries of Spanish rule, there is manifest a profound dissatisfaction. This is finding a vent in an anxiety to study more of their own past to know themselves in their proper historical setting. And herein lies the hope of the future Filipino. A growth of self-respect as an Asiatic, as a Malay, as an Indonesian people is bound to come through the study of their past, and with that will come a greater appreciation of the good points in the cultures of India and China that once inspired them, which will co-operate with us in India and with the Chinese, the Japanese, the Siamese and other peoples of the east for the common weal of Asia and of humanity. Dr. Roy's arguments are made in a spirit of sweet reasonableness, and he manifests a great affection for the Filipino people, and one hopes that his views will meet with the approval of all thinking Filipinos.

In the subsequent chapters Dr. Roy seeks to interpret India to the Philippines and the outside world in general. Here we have an admirable survey of the essentials of Hindu culture and mentality, and we have nothing but praise for the author's wide scholarship and his lucid way of treating a very difficult and complicated subject. The history of India's achievements in the past is given, and also some indication of her striving at the present moment. Dr. Roy's presentation of the position of India made in a sober and dispassionate manner can be expected to do its work.

It has indeed been a pleasure to read this book; and if it serves to bring about some mutual attraction, however limited it may be in extent among Filipinos and Indians, it can be said the book has fulfilled its purpose. We wish this excellent work the wide popularity it so richly deserves and we wish Dr. Roy will let us have in the near future more works of the same nature on a detailed survey of the spread of Indian culture in the past in the Philippines, and on the present-day economic, cultural and social condition there, for instance—and earn the gratitude of both the people of India, and perhaps, of the Philippines.

SUNSHI KUMAR CHATTERJI

BENGALI

VIDYASAGAR-PRASANGA : *E. N. S. I. C.*
Banerji : with a preface by
Dr. Harprasad Sastri,
(Gurudas Chatterji and Sons,
Board, pp. 28+123, price Re. 1.

In Vidyasagar the philanthropist and the social reformer we are apt to lose sight of the scholar and the educationist. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's name will be a shining light to posterity for his great and large-hearted reforms and especially for his being the inaugurator of widow remarriage among orthodox Hindus; but his great work—scarcely less important in the field of education—in organizing Sanskrit education in Bengal and combining it with English training, which has given the necessary Indian tone to modern education in India, we know nothing of. In the words of Mr. Banerji, the author of this valuable and excellently written little work under

review. Vidyasagar was a great leader in the two-fold stream of the modern cultural movement in India which was inaugurated by Raja Ram-mohun Roy—one current of which embraced the study of Western literature and science, and the other the revival of the glorious yet all but forgotten literature, science and thought of Ancient India. He was, to start with, an erudite Pandit trained in orthodox methods; on the other hand, he was the founder of modern methods of teaching with the help of the mother-tongue, in which he was in his day a most accomplished writer who benefited the young people of his own days and of generations succeeding by writing most excellent text-books; and besides he was the founder of the first high-grade English college conducted entirely by Indians. His accomplishment as a Sanskrit scholar is amply borne out by his editions of Sanskrit texts and his controversial work in connection with the question of widow remarriage, and his name is among the immortals in the roll of Bengali authors. But the wholesome revolution he effected in organizing the education of the country, especially in bringing Sanskrit studies along modern lines as Principal of the Sanskrit College, is not the least of his work as one of the greatest thought-leaders and reformers of the century. So long this story was buried from the public eye in a mass of official files, reports and notices, as well as public and private correspondence. Mr. Brajendranath Banerji whose industrious work in this field and whose careful sifting of all available evidence mark him out as a most talented historical researcher has brought under requisition these forgotten files and records which have so long enshrined in their obscure recesses the story of what Vidyasagar had done in this matter; and this is a most fascinating story, which, in addition to giving a rare insight into the character of the great man, is a distinct addition to our knowledge of the facts and circumstances that were shaping the intellectual and cultural renaissance of Modern India.

Mr. Banerji is already well known to Bengali and English readers of Indian history as the author of a number of important original researches, especially in connexion with life and literature in the 18th and 19th centuries. His work on Raja Ram-mohun Roy is well known. He has already published in the *Modern Review* with his illuminating comments the original documents relating to Vidyasagar's official and private work as an educationist and reformer in education. In the present work he narrates the story in detail, and gives translations of the important relevant documents, in addition to information culled from other sources. Much of Vidyasagar's views are sound even to-day, and they bear close study even over half a century afterwards. In addition to the revival of Sanskrit studies, Vidyasagar's reports and monographs and activities in connexion with vernacular education, with the education of women, with mass education and with the promulgation of proper text-books are all well worth the attention of the practical reformer and politician of to-day. Mr. Banerji gives a good account of the whole topic, and we all feel grateful to him for the well-documented little work, which is an original contribution not only on Vidyasagar but also on educational and other aspects of Indian cultural

life during the last century. Mm. Pandit Hara-prasad Sastri, now nearing 80, and a doyen among the educationists, Sanskrit scholars, historians and Bengali writers of the last generation, has honoured Mr. Banerji's book by a highly informative preface or foreword, in which he has given in his inimitable personal style some interesting reminiscences of Vidyasagar, and this has greatly enhanced the value of Mr. Banerji's excellent little work. The book should be properly appreciated among Bengali readers.

SUNJIT KUMAR CHATTERJEE

I. JIVAN-DOLA ("LIFE'S SEESAW"): By Shanta Devi, Price Rs. 2-8.

II. PARA-BHRITIKA ("STRANGER WITHIN THE GATES"): By Sita Devi, Price Rs. 2-8. Published by Messrs M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

Many readers must, like ourselves, have gone through these two stories and found them eminently entertaining. No trouble and expense have been spared to make the exterior of the books as charming as the interior. Each volume contains about 400 pages, more or less.

The two talented sisters who are the authoresses of these novels do not require to be introduced to the reading public as such, for they have long since established their claim to recognition in their own right amongst the foremost writers of fiction in Bengal. The history of Bengali fiction has lately passed through devious by-paths from which it can scarcely be said to have emerged yet into the full light of day. A morbid mentality, which took delight in depicting the seamy side of life in piquant and suggestive language calculated to inflame the imagination, had in the name of honest realism taken possession of the field and by its gross perversion of the facts of human nature, had already begun to corrupt the morals of the youthful generation and create an unnatural craving for mischievous sentimentalism. Realism in literature, in discharging the functions of a drain-inspector, forgets that it is better to let sleeping dogs lie, rather than to wake them up from the vasty deep of the unconscious in order to pander to the prurient imagination of a *blase* civilization which probes the sex-problem to its uttermost limits only to find in the end a *cul-de-sac* which leads nowhere. The last word on sins of thought has been said in the sixth verse of the third chapter of the Gita which ought to be engraved in letters of gold in the study of the realistic writer of fiction. We should also remember what a Western philosopher of the standing of Benedetto Croce says on the subject: "Hell, a wise man said, is paved with good intentions and this truth is discovered in the end by those adulterers *in fieri* [deed]—to choose a very common example—who go looking for purely 'spiritual' relations for 'communion of soul with soul' and by all who indulge their weakness in various ways only to find retribution afterwards." From writers of this type, of course always masculine, we gladly turn to these cultured ladies, gifted with the art of beautiful expression, and possessing a refined and cultivated imagination, in the sure hope, amply realized that here we come the

bedrock of feminine purity, the stronghold of domestic virtues and of natural piety, in which education has produced its best effects, which is incapable of using a coarse word or thinking a coarse thought, while the keen and sensitive emotions characteristic of the sex have touched up a thousand obscure corners of our drab, monotonous and tragic existence with the flash of true insight and held up in bold relief our every day joys and sorrows, so much of the poetry of which is lost to the mere man in the hurry and bustle of his matter-of-fact life.

Srimati Sita Devi builds up her story around a kidnapped girl brought up in the Christian fold and ultimately married to a Hindu youth who had unwillingly usurped her place in her natural family. In a way, therefore the story deals, though indirectly, with social reform. Like a true artist that she is, she does not however stress it, but takes it as a matter of course. The heroine of Srimati Shanta Devi's tale is a girl-widow brought up in decent competence by a fond and cultured father, and the story is the story of her love and remarriage, with which have been entwined the fortunes of another young girl born of a mother who was the victim of man's lust. Here the problem of social reform arises in another form, and is not less delicately and unobtrusively handled. The wrongs of their sex cannot but appeal to writers like the authoresses of these volumes, whose natural sympathy has been sharpened by education and who can voice forth the sufferings of their sex in language which commands attention. The heroine of Srimati Sita Devi is an accomplished young lady, highly efficient and eminently rational in comparison with her 'country cousins,' Hindu girls with whom she has to live as governess. She frankly enjoys life, and can well take care of herself in all the critical situations in which she may find herself placed. But Sm Shanta Devi's heroine, the young widow, has seen through life more deeply, and holds in her profounder depths a richer capacity for selfless love and devotion which, we feel, it is worth any lovers while to live for and be worthy of contrasting the two talented sisters' writings, it seems to us that in depth of feeling, insight into and appreciation of the best in the old Hindu life, Sm. Shanta Devi excels her sister, whereas in richness of imagination and felicity of expression and admiration of the best in the new that is fast supplanting the old both are on a par, while in light touches and in the mere joy of life Sm. Sita Devi has the advantage.

We sincerely hope that like some other novels of these literary twins, if we may use the expression without offence, these books will also be translated into English by mutual collaboration between themselves, so that a larger circle of readers may enjoy these charming stories and know something of the progressive tendencies at work in Bengali society.

J. B.

HINDI

The Reviewer of M. M. Gaurishankar II. Opha's *History of Rajputana* in our last number writes to us:

"I now learn that though this history has consecutive paging for over 1400 pages ge-

ments have been made (with separate title-pages do) for dividing it into volumes of about 600 pages each. This, however, will benefit only those who subscribed to the work from its origin, because the 1st and 2nd fasciculi are now absolutely out of print and hence new purchasers of the 3rd or 4th fasciculus cannot find their acquisitions. But the reader need not despair. The same material is being reprinted in the form of compact bound volumes containing the history of each state in Rajputana separately. These are now available.

MARATHI

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTAR No. 10 *Early Strife between Baji Rao and the Nizam* pp. 102 and one plate (Rs. 1). No. 11 *Shahu's relations with Sambhaji of Kolhapur*, pp. 52, one map and one plate (10 annas). No. 12 *The Dabhade and the Conquest of Gujarat*, pp. 106, one map and one plate (Rs. 1-3 as Government Central Press, Bombay).

The Bombay Government continues to earn the hearty thanks of all students of Modern Indian history. These three parts are of special value as they relate to the pre-Panipat period of Maratha history, and even to the pre-1740 period, about which little was previously known and that little in a vague traditional form. But here we get minute and precise information enriched with dates and of absolutely contemporary origin which help us to reconstruct the story of Shahu's early struggle for power and varied difficulties, the genius of the first two Peshwas, particularly Balaji Vishwanath, which enabled the Maratha State to be restored after some fifteen years of abeyance, and that nation saved. In short, we clearly realize how these two Peshwas prevented the life's work of Shivaji from being totally undone, and the Maratha people being scattered like disunited atoms, subject to aliens. An immense number of persons crop up in the course of these records but as the period has not been intensively worked at by scholars before (for lack of materials) a wide field of research is here opened, and we are sure many points in these volumes will in future be corrected, amplified, or elucidated. But the present publication will make such research possible. It is no reflection on the editors of such early documents, whether in England or here, that there is no finality in their work. Indeed, Mr Sardesai himself invites such a study in his introductory note to No. 10.

We suggest a few corrections to this number. Page 3, l. 13, for *wa-gan* read *tagan na*. Note 1 *daa-go* means, 'one who prays, a well-wisher'. Page 14, English summary, omit *the* at the beginning of the second line. Page 23, l. 14 for *Hurzulla* read *Ilhzullah*. For *Annay* read *Ehwar*.

SHIVACHUTRAPATICH 91 QALMI BAKHAR, ed. by P. S. Wakaskar, pp. 154+28. (Moramkai 364, Thakurdevar, Bombay.) Rs. 2.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance to the history of Shivaji of the *bakhars* reprinted here. The editor gives precedence to this *bakhar* over the work of Sabhasad, in point of date and authenticity. In my opinion (which has been fully argued in the bibliography appended to the 3rd edition of my *Shivaji and His Times*) it

follows Sabhasad's book but very closely, both in the date of composition and the value of the information contained in it. No other *bukhar* even remotely approaches it in importance.

Mr. Wakaskar has earned our gratitude by reprinting the three different versions of the text and two English translations of it,—all five of which have long been out of print and nearly all absolutely unprocurable. The deplorable railway accident which last year brought the editor to death's door for several months has prevented him from adding all the notes and corrections that he desired; but it would be an excellent exercise for advanced students of the history of Shivaji to correct the different versions in the light of one another and the further information given in my life of Shivaji. Mr. Wakaskar is a

highly critical and independent student of Maratha history, and we admire his freshness of view, sober and well-reasoned manner of presentation and refusal to join the common herd so long as his mind is not convinced. No student of early Maratha history can do without this volume.

I shall close on a personal note. It is hardly fair to the reader (or to me) to reprint my English translation of this work published 24 years ago before I had access to the Marathi sources, without giving me an opportunity to make the corrections which my later and fuller knowledge make imperative. Page 111, col. 2, add *Sarkar* at the head of the second paragraph in English. P. 123, col. 2, for *Maroon* read *Malvan* and for *Bidme* read *Basim*.

JADUNATH SARKAR

The Coal Trade in India

By ANNADAPROSAD CHATTERJEE

AMONG the Indian trades and industries that have been almost ruined as a consequence of foreign exploitation and aggression, that of coal is one of the foremost. Formerly, that is, before and during the great war, Indian colliery owners used to boast that they were the owners of "gold fields" and not "coal fields," so handsome was the income accruing from their business. That state of affairs has passed away, it seems for ever.

As one who has lived close to the most important coal-bearing area in India for upwards of twenty years, the present writer has had occasion to study the problems which beset colliery men in India in the present day, and ventures to suppose that the following observations will furnish "food for thought" for everybody interested in the matter.

Although it is true that in the past, the coal trade, like every other trade, had been subject to alternate booms and slumps, it is almost hopeless to expect any further improvement in its condition in the future without Government aid, or a wholesale boycott of foreign coal by all Indian consumers, individuals as well as corporations. This, however, does not seem to be feasible, at least at the present. It is the Government, and Government alone which is in a position to render aid.

The bounty-fed "South African coal," which has done so much in bringing about

the present state of affairs in the Indian coal market, appears to have come to stay. No amount of combination on the part of the individual colliery owners or companies seems to be of any use in creating a better atmosphere in the Indian coal trade, unless Government comes to their rescue.

Not only the colliery owners alone, but people of various other conditions in life have been pretty hard hit in consequence, producing unemployment and its inevitable result, unrest and discontent. The Mining Engineering Department, which was opened in the Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur (Howrah) for the training of colliery managers, has had to be discontinued. The sister institutions, one at Ethlora, in the district of Burdwan near Asansol, established through the zeal and munificence of the late Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy Bahadur, K. C. I. E., of Cossimbazar, and the other at Dhanbad, established by Government, are both languishing, and no longer attract the same number of promising and brilliant graduates and undergraduates as they used to do, a few years ago. The prospects of a fully trained and qualified young Indian colliery manager holding even a first class certificate are scarcely better now-a-days than those of a clerk in a Government or mercantile offices or of a head master or assistant teacher in an educational

institution. The additional years required to be spent by them after graduation for qualifying themselves as colliery managers thus seem to be spent in vain, as that does not fetch any additional remuneration.

The foregoing remarks would be clearly illustrated by the fact that in the present day no colliery manager with a first class certificate can hope to start with a pay of more than Rs. 60 a month, even in the lucky event of his being able to secure a job, which is not always the case. Now, he would not have got less than this if he had started, say, as a clerk in some office, or as a teacher in some school. The additional time, trouble and expense for the mining course is thus thrown away, and naturally, there is a dearth in the number of candidates seeking admission into these mining institutions. Quite a large number of men have been thrown out of employment as a result of the present state of the coal trade, and are either sitting idle, or have engaged themselves as clerks or teachers. Of this the present writer has personal knowledge.

The condition of the clerks, time-keepers, supervisors of labour, and a lot of other people who had been making their living in connection with the trade, is even worse; most of these unfortunate people have been thrown out of employment in the large majority of cases, and some of them are engaged in their former jobs at considerably reduced wages. Nor should it be supposed for a moment that the slump has affected only the Indian section. Many European managers and engineers with high qualifications are sitting idle or working on mere subsistence allowances. Another section which has been no less hard hit are the owners of colliery lands. During the war, when every ounce of available coal was being taken out of the mines, even shale and metamorphic rock not excepted, huge sums of money were obtained by them in the shape of royalty and commission.

But at present, the commission on the quantity of coal raised from the collieries is barely sufficient to cover the minimum royalty. And in many cases, owners of colliery lands have been compelled to forgo even the minimum royalty, consequent on the suspension of all mining operations. The labourers of

the Raniganj, Jherriah and Giridih coal fields, who are mostly recruited from the aboriginal inhabitants of the Santhal Parganas, Manbhum, Bankura and Hazaribagh districts, have also been great sufferers. Most of these poor people have no lands of their own to cultivate, and depended almost entirely for their living on what they earned by working in the coal fields. And even such of them who could call just a few *bighas* their own, used to cultivate them during the rainy season, coming back to the collieries after harvesting their paddy, and remaining there till the beginning of the next cultivating season. Though their wants are but few, living as they do, on *Mahua* flowers for close upon three months in the year, and a couple of months more on the *Munna* and other crops raised by them, this loss of income as coal cutters has affected them sadly. Thefts and other offences are on the increase in the areas thus affected, and not a few have had recourse to the last resort left to the poor in this part of the country, to wit, immigration to the tea gardens in Assam and sugar plantations beyond the seas, which is ordinarily regarded by these people with the greatest horror.

It is evident that the authorities can no longer afford to contemplate the situation with indifference, when attention on their part can undoubtedly relieve the strain. Wood for fuelling purposes is fast becoming scarce, even in places which were formerly rich in forests, and the further expansion and development of the Indian coal trade will go a great way towards removing the grievances, not only of the people actually engaged in it, but of the general public as well. With more extensive use of coal as an article of fuel, the valuable timber trees of India will be left alone to flourish, and will yield a rich harvest in the future. As matters stand at the present day, the process of deforestation is going on at such a brisk rate that it has already become difficult to secure good Indian timber of any kind, notably *sal*, for building and other purposes. Only the trees protected by the conservators of forests under Government employ have been left untouched, the others having been mostly cut down by the villagers to supply their needs for fuel. The district of Santhal Parganas for instance which

was rich in sal timber and thirty or forty years ago, has almost been entirely denuded of its big sal trees.

It is true that there are some Government regulations against wanton and mischievous deforestation of timber trees less than nine inches in girth, but they do not go far enough, and ensure the protection of trees exceeding that circumference, which have almost entirely disappeared. And the villagers can scarcely be blamed for this. They must cook their food, and must find wood from the neighbouring forests so long as they cannot obtain coal or some other substitute. Most of them are very poor, and cannot afford to buy coal. Then again, there is no facility of communication from the interior to the different colliery centres to enable the people of many parts of India to bring coal and use it as fuel.

It is by no means a fact, as is generally believed in some quarters, that almost all the coal-bearing lands in the Raniganj, Jherriah and Giridih coal-fields, the richest and the best in India, have all been or are being worked out. As a matter of fact, a vast extent of land in most of these tracts, undoubtedly containing "first class" and "good second class" coal, is lying unworked, owing to a variety of reasons. Given proper facilities there is every reason to believe that they can all be made to yield rich outturns.

We will now briefly discuss a few of the reasons which stand in the way of their successful working. The first reason, undoubtedly, is the rather anomalous state of the law with respect to the ownership of these coal-bearing lands. Almost all of them had been leased out by their original owners, the zemindars, or the *ghatwals* before the discovery of coal in these lands to the *putnidars*, *mukararidars*, and other classes of tenants at absurdly cheap rates under the belief that they were but waste lands, and as such, unprofitable. The *putnidars*, *mukararidars*, again, had mostly created sub-infeudations, and leased out their lands to *dar-mukararidars*, etc., who, in their turn, had let out their rights and interests to a lower class of tenants known as *se-putnidars*, *se-mukararidars*, etc., each reserving a little margin for himself over what had to be paid as rent to the next higher landlord. As none of these

individuals had ever dreamed of the existence of coal or any other mineral in the lands thus leased out, there had been generally no reservation clauses in their documents to denote who was to be entitled to them in case of their discovery, if it ever came about at some future period. When coal came to be actually discovered some fifty years ago, mainly, it must be admitted, as a result of British enterprise, there was naturally a scuffle between these different classes of landowners over the royalties and premia derived.

While the zemindars and *ghatwals* could not tolerate the idea of being deprived of considerable sums of money in the shape of premia and commissions and minimum royalties accruing from such lands, the tenants or sub-tenants, as the case might be, were equally unwilling to share such sums with their superior landlords on the ground that their leases entitled them to the enjoyment of all the proceeds of the lands, subject to the payment of rent, and rent alone. Litigations, running up to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, began, and still crop up between the superior and inferior landlords, but not always with uniform results. At one time, the tendency on the part of the judges seemed to favour the view, that in the absence of any saving clause to the contrary, the sub-tenant was to enjoy the entire proceeds of the coal lands, and this continued to be the guiding principle for a series of years.

Gradually, however, this view underwent a change, and some judges began to hold that as it could not be believed that the original landlords had been under the impression that the lands in dispute contained coal at the periods of execution of the leases (as in that case they would never have parted with them at such ludicrously low rates of rent), it would be unfair to deprive them of the royalty, commission, etc., accruing from the lands later on, when coal was actually found and worked.

They thus decided that unless the leases in question contained express words to the effect that the mineral rights with respect to the coal existing in such lands were being transferred to the lessees, the latter were not to enjoy any mining benefit therefrom. This naturally dealt the death blow to the interests of inferior land-holders, and a large number of lawsuits were forthwith launched in the different courts by the

reimburse and *ghaticals* against them. But although this took place well over a decade ago, the law on the subject is by no means settled and well known, as many questions affecting the rights and interests of the different classes of land-holders, *patidars*, *malikaradars*, etc. have yet been left open, into the details of which we need not enter here. Suffice it to say, that even at the present day, there is a large number of coal-bearing tracts in the possession of these inferior landlords which they are unable and unwilling to lease out to people able to work out the coal. They also fight tooth and nail with the zemindar in the event of the latter trying to settle such lands without reference to them. The would-be lessees are also reluctant to take lease of such lands in many cases owing to the uncertainty of the law in the matter.

Another factor which operates powerfully against the successful development of these lands is their distance from the existing railway lines. Sometimes rivers intervene between such places and the nearest railway station, although the distance itself may not be great. It is evident that the Government by opening railway lines in such places, can help much in fostering and developing the coal trade in India. No good purpose is likely to be served by allowing these lands to be unworked, which would only afford

farther facilities to the "honey-fed" coal from South Africa. As a matter of fact, in many parts of the coal-bearing area, the seams are either actually outcropping, or situated just a few feet below the surface of the land. Villagers work the coal in such places on the *popkaria-phad* system, i.e., by digging out the coal, by cutting tanks. But this is obviously a crude process, by which all the available mineral cannot be utilized. And owing to the difficulty of transport, only people living within a few miles' radius of those sparsely inhabited parts of the country can use the coal thus raised.

The remedy, at least to our minds, for the existing state of affairs, rests in the hands of the Government alone. First and foremost, it should protect the Indian trade by the imposition of protective duties on sea-borne South African coal. Then again, it should reduce the railway freight on Indian coal, by both of which measures the Indian colliery owner can compete successfully with his South African rival. And so long as this is not done, as already pointed out, no amount of combination on the part of the colliery men in India would be able to do anything useful in this direction. And not only the trade itself, but a large number of its adherents in various other walks of life, must continue to suffer.

The Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd.

By K C DE

THE prosperity of a country in the present age depends on its industrial development, and, in the race of industries, that country which has the best resources in steel and iron generally wins, for all industries are more or less dependent on iron and steel. Providence, with no niggardly hands, showered these blessings on India; she has the largest, the best and the most conveniently situated raw materials for iron and steel industries. It would not be an exaggeration to say that with these resources properly exploited, with a national fiscal policy under a national Government, India's position to-day would have been equal to, if not better than, the enviable position of the United States of America. Unfortunately, an alien

Government control the fiscal policy of India and her raw resources are in the hands of a company who are Indian in name but are worse than foreign in action.

The first process in manufacturing iron and steel is the conversion of ore into pig iron which is the essential basic raw material both for cast iron and steel industries.

At present four firms are engaged in making pig iron in India,—the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., the Bengal Iron Co., Ltd., the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., and the Bhadravati Iron Works at Mysore. The latter manufacture a very small quantity for consumption within the State with timber fuel and do not count.

The first three are the most important

manufacturers and control the market. They have combined in a trust among themselves, and are maintaining an inflated and unwarranted price on this most essential and important raw material for consumption inside the country.

The cost of manufacture of pig iron is about Rs. 20 per ton and it is exported to foreign countries at about Rs. 30 per ton. But for sale to other industries in India they charge Rs. 65 per ton relying on the tariff duty on foreign pig.

Of these three firms the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., are said to be a national industry and on that ground they get a large bounty of about Rs. 60 lacs and all their products are protected by a strong tariff wall.

Tata Steel Co., however, are not interested in manufacturing cast iron products, while the other two members of the trust are large manufacturers of cast iron materials.

The cast iron industries of the country command business to the tune of some millions and practically this large volume of business is a monopoly of these firms together with other allied concerns and one subsidiary industry of Tatas.

Previously when foreign pig were imported into this country innumerable indigenous concerns did successful and flourishing business relying on the imported pig and now since the country produces all the pig iron and there is no import of this commodity from foreign countries, most of these firms have closed and few others are struggling, for it is impossible to stand such unhealthy competition. Thus the action of the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., in joining the trust and thus enabling the other two members to keep up such inflated prices and practically monopolize the whole of the cast iron business, has ruined innumerable successful indigenous industries of the country.

In one instance in case of contract for supplying cast iron sleepers to the E. I. Railway one of these firms quoted Rs. 68 per ton for finished sleepers, having pig iron at their command, and quoted Rs. 65 for pig iron alone to other Indian firms who have to purchase pig iron from them. Thus it will be seen that no one can compete with them in the present situation and the sleeper supply contract to E. I. Railway alone is worth several lacs annually.

Again the steel sections manufactured by Tatas are the raw materials of engineering

industries. These are fabricated into wrought iron works. These steel products are sold to some European engineering industries at very low concession rates; and the Indian engineering industries have to purchase these raw materials from the open market at a much higher rate. Thus the European industries getting these raw materials at a concession rate can easily compete with Indian engineering industries. Thus the engineering industries also are becoming the monopoly of some European concerns and the Indians are gradually giving way to them and are going out of the market.

In their sale policy also the Tatas employ agents and dealers at different stations but these agents are also sometimes dealers at the same station. Thus the dealers having to purchase their requirements through the agents who are their competitors at the same station naturally find difficulties, for the tendency of the agents is to establish a monopoly. Thus the other dealers naturally have to take recourse to foreign products and the consumers in the absence of healthy competition have to pay high prices to the agents.

The company has elaborate sales organization in Calcutta and can easily handle the large businesses of the Indian Stores Departments, Railways and other public bodies, but it will be seen that these businesses are generally handled by the favourite firms who get the products at cheap and concession rates and thereby earn easy middleman's profits. Thus so far as the shareholders of the firm are concerned, they do not fare better.

The treatment by the company of their Indian employees is notorious as is manifested by innumerable strikes. Thus the enormous sacrifice of the whole country due to the heavy export duties on steel and iron products and the large bounty from public revenue is being repaid by Tatas in ruining almost all the indigenous industries of the country.

How far the duty and protection is justified is a different matter and whether the company will ever be able to stand on its legs is also a subject for serious consideration, but the present consideration is whether it is just to protect this industry by ruining innumerable other industries and retarding the general industrial development of the country.

Fascism and the New Generation

By PRAMATHA RAY

FASCISM envisages its task as one of long duration, requiring a great moral transformation and a profound change of mentality. This is the reason of the fundamental importance given by Mussolini to the proper training of the new generation. The present generation, that is to say, the generation of the March on Rome, has engendered, as a result of the hard lesson of sacrifice learned during the war and in the fight against the degeneration of Italian society, an idealistic impulse and the vision of a higher ideal, but the effect of a long period of moral depression and materialism cannot be got rid of so easily. The real burden of translating this higher ideal into actuality must fall upon the new generation, which must, therefore, be trained for that purpose. This is also one of the justifications of the dictatorial government in Italy in this period of transition.

What is the training which the Fascist regime gives to the rising generation? It is not so much a training in the particular political creeds of Fascism, as an attempt to imbue Italian young men with that spirit of "work, discipline, disinterestedness, probity of life, loyalty, sincerity and courage" the lack of which gives rise, in all ages, and in all climes, in private and public life, to the conditions out of which Fascism emerged. In this respect Fascism has, as Mussolini says, a universal significance, particularly for those countries which were once great and are now trying to regenerate themselves.

The institution through which Fascism is realizing its programme of the training of youth is the "Opera Nazionale Balilla." It is a national organization for pre-military physical and moral training and was created by the Law of April 3, 1926, n. 2247. By this law boys become Balilla between the ages of 8 and 14, and Avanguardisti from 14 to 18. The enrolment is not compulsory, but depends on the consent of parents.

By the Royal Decree of September 14, 1929, the organization has been subjected to the vigilance of the Head of the Government

(Capo del Governo) and placed under the Ministry of National Education.

"Hierarchy and discipline" are the two guiding principles of this organization. It is managed by a central council composed of a president, who is the Commandant-General of the Volunteer Militia for National Safety, a vice-president and twenty-four councillors. Under this central council there is in every province a provincial committee composed of a president and ten councillors. Under these provincial councils there are municipal committees which exist in every municipality and consist of a president and a number of councillors determined according to the population of the town.

It is supported by a State grant derived from subscriptions, donations, bequests and subventions made by private persons and public institutions. Citizens may become members of the Opera Nazionale Balilla by donating 10,000 lire or more, in which case they are designated as "bene meriti" (meritorious), by contributing 500 lire in a single payment, in which case they are designated as "perpetui" (life members); and by paying 60 lire annually for at least five years, in case they are known as "temporanei" (temporary). The fact that the organization bases its economic strength on such sources is a proof of the nation's approval of, and sympathy with, it.

The arrangement of the Balilla and Avanguardisti organization is modelled upon that of the armies of ancient Rome, in the following order: the squadra (squad), consisting of eleven persons; the manipolo (platoon) composed of three squadre; the centuria (company) composed of three "manipoli"; the "coorte" (battalion) consisting of three centurie; the "legione" (legion) which is composed of three "coorti." On the 1st of February, 1930, there were 903,324 Balilla and 365,044 Avanguardisti regularly formed into 592 legions under the command of 5,588 officers. The commanders of Avanguardisti are chosen from among the officers of the National Militia in accordance with their educational



A jump at the riding school

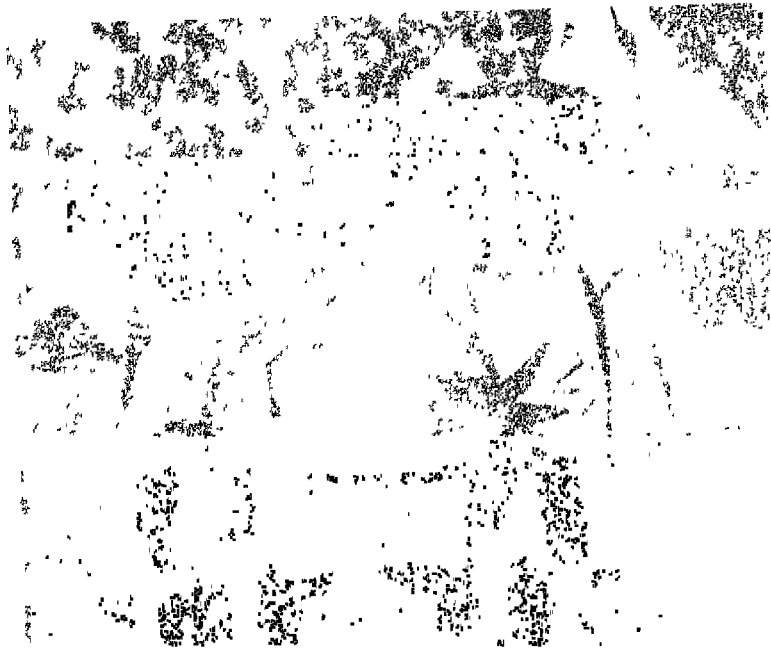
and culture. The Balilla are mostly teachers who at the same time are "maestre Balilla" which pays for theoretical, practical and for theoretical instruction. On May 5, 1928 the Fascist Physical Training for the purpose of physical training course of two years of optional study. To possess the diploma of Balilla may attend the subjects taught in the school of physiology, psychology, gymnastics, anthro-physical, history of sport, philosophy, English, fencing, beating, tactical and theoretical history of physical education, applied art, etc. The Academy, which was the superior council of national education, in 1929, provides it with a two years, reserved for the first course and the subjects taught

are: general conceptions of anatomy and organogenesis of human body; child-physiology; physiology and psychology of growth; chemistry, physical and applied psychology; legislation and graphic statistics; school hygiene and culture; social and eugenic medicine and radiology, etc.

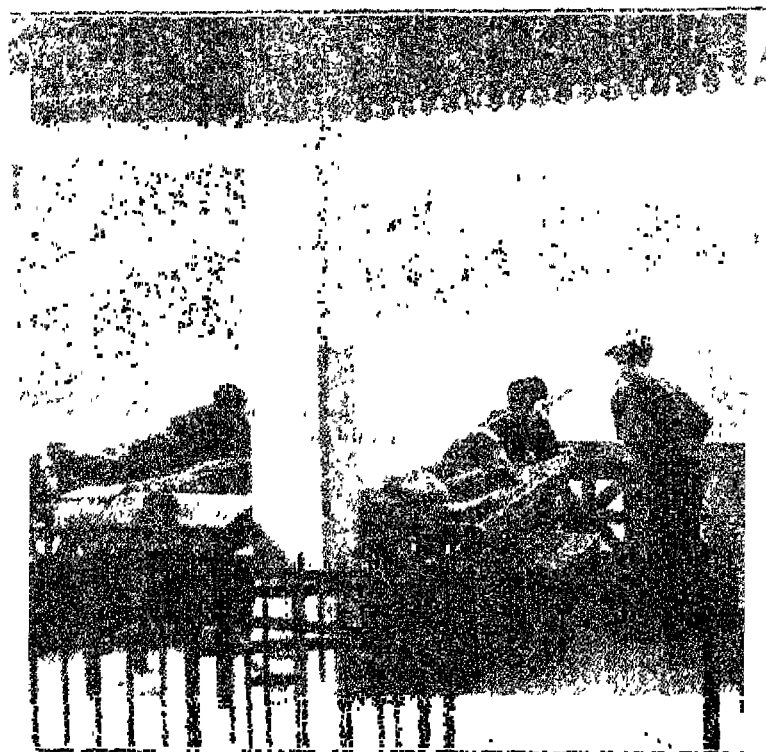
For practical training there are gymnasia where the Balilla Avanguardisti enjoy facilities for all sports, e. g., fencing, cycling, riding, swimming and other gymnastic exercises.

In the primary and intermediate the training is regulated by a fixed curriculum. But it gradually and the training is completed at the quarters of the O. N. B. after which competitions in gymnastic sports are held under the presidency of the O. N. B. municipal and county stadiums. The selection of competitors is made among the local champions for the "Grand Prize" which is given every year on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of Rome.

Apart from this physical training the Balilla and the Avanguardisti receive



Bruno and Vittorio Mussolini (sons of the Duce) at a camp



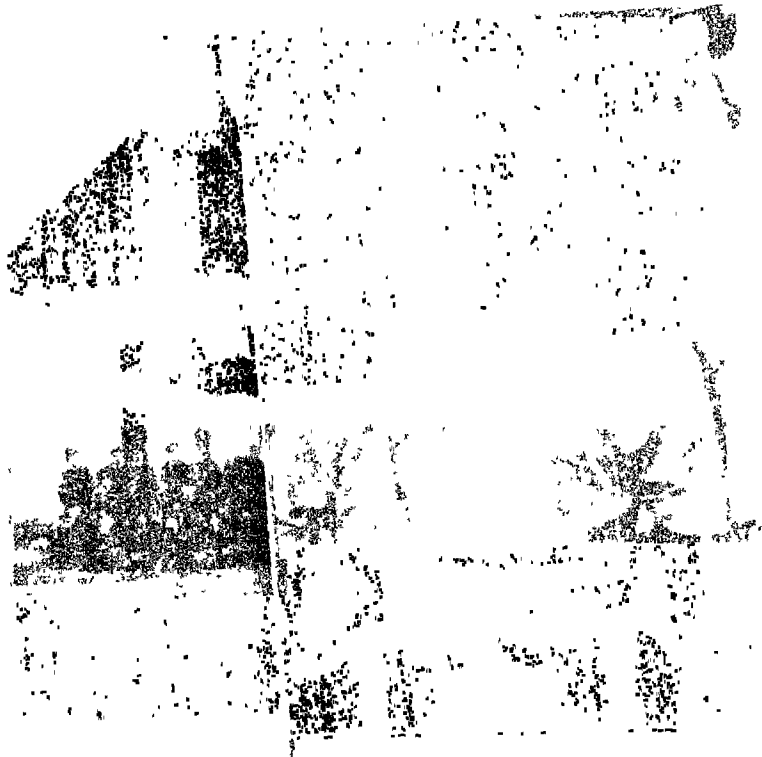
Avanguardisti at target practice



Industrial Schools : turns



Pa a vap a g m n



and Vittorio Mussolini (sons of the Duce) :

assistance in the form of examination by physicians, ability, necessary prescriptions, and in case of need, admission to homes. Therapeutic assistance to a member when required by the family means of the family a patient is sent to a hospital at the expense of the State. It has also established a permanent sea-side sanatorium where thousands of Avanguardisti who are taking their helio-therapeutic treatment. Furthermore, insurance contracts, to run from 1934 to 1938, protect its members against whatever place may be required.

In case of permanent disability the amount of indemnity in case of temporary disability of 10 to 70 days is to be given to the assured an indemnity to be given to the family.

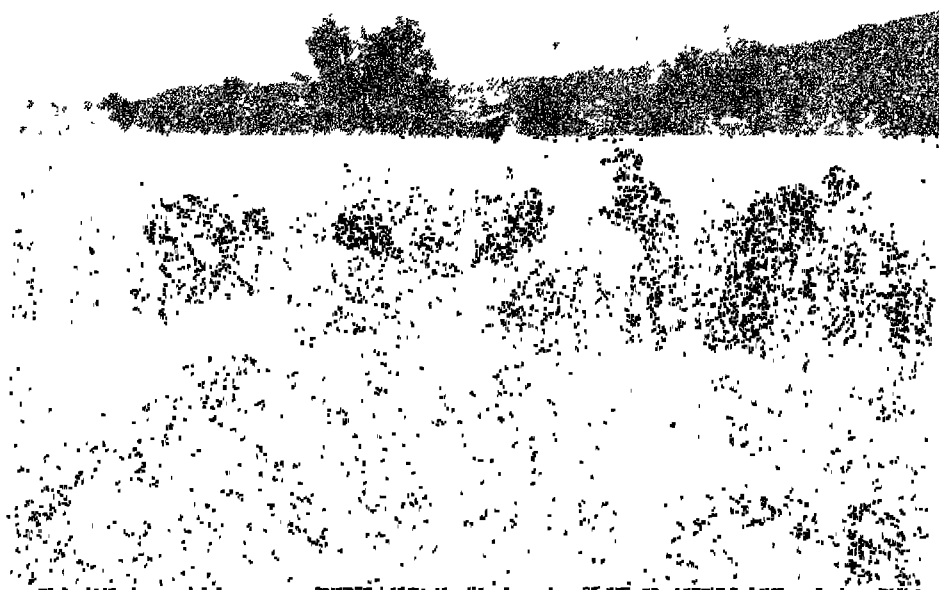
But from what has been said it is not to be supposed that



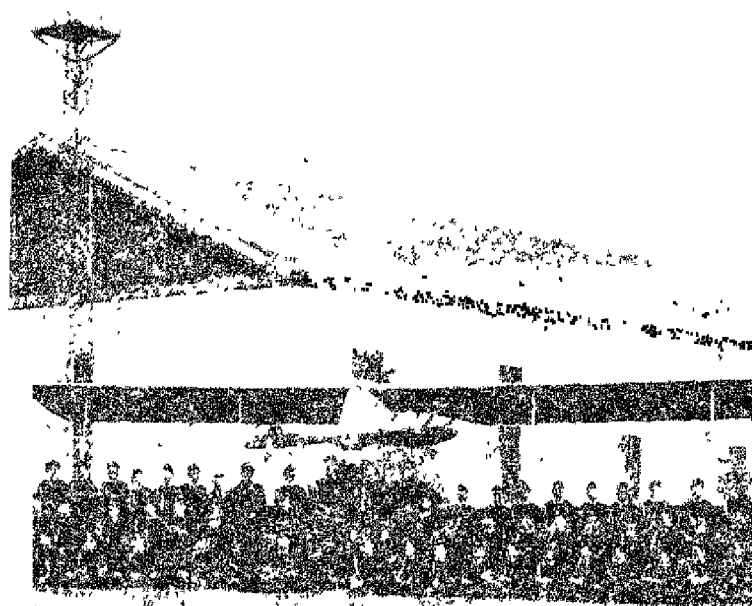
Avanguardisti at target practice



Industrial Schools - turus



Batulla reaping grain



A preparatory aviation class for Avanguardisti

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Another task of the O
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of their own special preference is given to the members of the O.N.B. in the matter of admission. For agriculture, there are at present 205 theoretical and practical courses in the Veneto and the south of Italy.

The O. N. B. is also entrusted with the nautical and aviatory training of Italian youths. Many schools and libraries for theoretical and practical naval training have been founded and regular "centurie" of sailors have been formed in all the cities that offer advantages in this respect "Centurie" of aviators also exist and the O. N. B. has established courses in aviation at Pavalle del Frignama in Modena.

In this way, after an all-round education lasting for ten years, Italian youths enter the threshold of life, when, at the annual ceremony of the "Fascist conscription" which is held on the 23rd of March, they receive muskets and become members of the Volunteer Militia for National Safety. In the first "Fascist conscription" (1927) 50,000 young men took part; in the second (1928) 80,000; in the third (1929) the number rose to 90,000, while in the fourth (1930) 110,000 Balilla became Avanguardisti and 90,000 Avanguardisti

entered the Fascist party and the National Militia.

The Balilla movement should not be considered as similar to the Boy Scout movement. The fundamental difference that there is between Boy Scouts and Balilla and Avanguardisti is that the latter are treated as future citizens of the State. The training which the O.N.B. gives is not that of simple sport. The military background of the training produces a psychological difference between a Boy Scout and a Balilla and gives to the boys the feeling that they are preparing themselves to be active members and builders of the State of to-morrow, and fills them with a particular pride. Above all, it must be borne in mind, that direct recruitments to the Fascist party have been stopped since 1926 in order to avoid the rush of protract-makers into the party. The only way to become a Fascist now is to be a member and receive the training of the Balilla and Avanguardisti organization.*

* This article forms a chapter of the writer's forthcoming work on Fascism to be published by *The Modern Review* Office—Editor M. R.

The Romance of the Rivers of the Gangetic Delta

By RAI GOPAL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE BAHADUR

Honry. Life-Fellow, Ross Institute, London

THE Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra are fed by the same glacier, their sources being within a range of thirty miles. The Himalayas acting as a watershed sends west the Indus which waters the plains of the Panjab. The Ganges flowing southwards waters the whole of Upper India and Bengal; and the Brahmaputra rising northwards after traversing the table-land of Tibet waters Assam and deltaic Bengal. By a strange coincidence, the last two rivers rising in the same mountain region join each other after a course of nearly 2,000 miles and fall into the Meghna before reaching the sea.

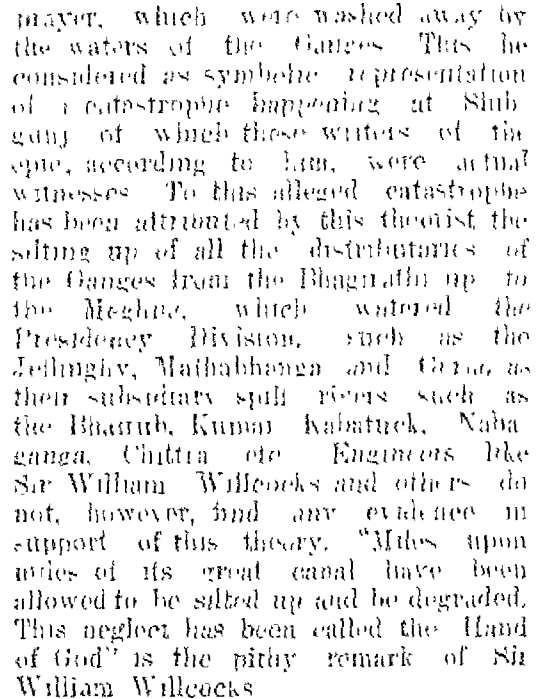
This intermingling of the rivers in their lower reaches occurred some 100 years ago, though their beds in upper regions have remained unchanged through geological periods. Their outlets to the sea which have become one now were separated 200 years

ago by the whole breadth of Bengal. Almost the whole of Bengal is formed of alluvial deposits: and the fortunes of its people are intimately connected with these rivers and their numerous branches. Owing to the mixing up of their waters, the entire configuration of the country must have undergone considerable changes within the last 200 years. And this has produced a tragedy "there being a feeling in some districts of Bengal, akin to despair, caused by the decline in health and agriculture."

Our sources of information about the change in the course of the Ganges are necessarily circumstantial.

The incidents described in the Ramayana about the bringing in of the Ganges by Bhagirath, the piercing of the Siwaliks at Gomukhi by the tusker Arabat, the junction of the waters of the Bhagirathi with the sea

out of the left bank of the Ganges near
Sibgunj near Maddah. This occurred, not
slowly, but as a catastrophe phenomenon,
which he attributed to sudden giving way of
the bank on the left side of the Ganges,
composed as it is of yellow sand. He based
it on the following story in Ramayana for his
support. The Sage Jahnvi swallowed up the
Ganges in wrath for his copper utensils for



There is another school of engineers who do not also believe in the occurrence of such a catastrophe, but who none the less believe with the above school that the main channel of the Ganges flowed along the bed of the present Bhagnathi, then through the Hooghly, and after giving off two distributaries, the Jamuna and the Saraswati near Tribeni, it passed near the present channel of Santamookhi and fell at last into the Bay of Bengal near Sagun Island. An epic named *Kabikankam Charita* describing the

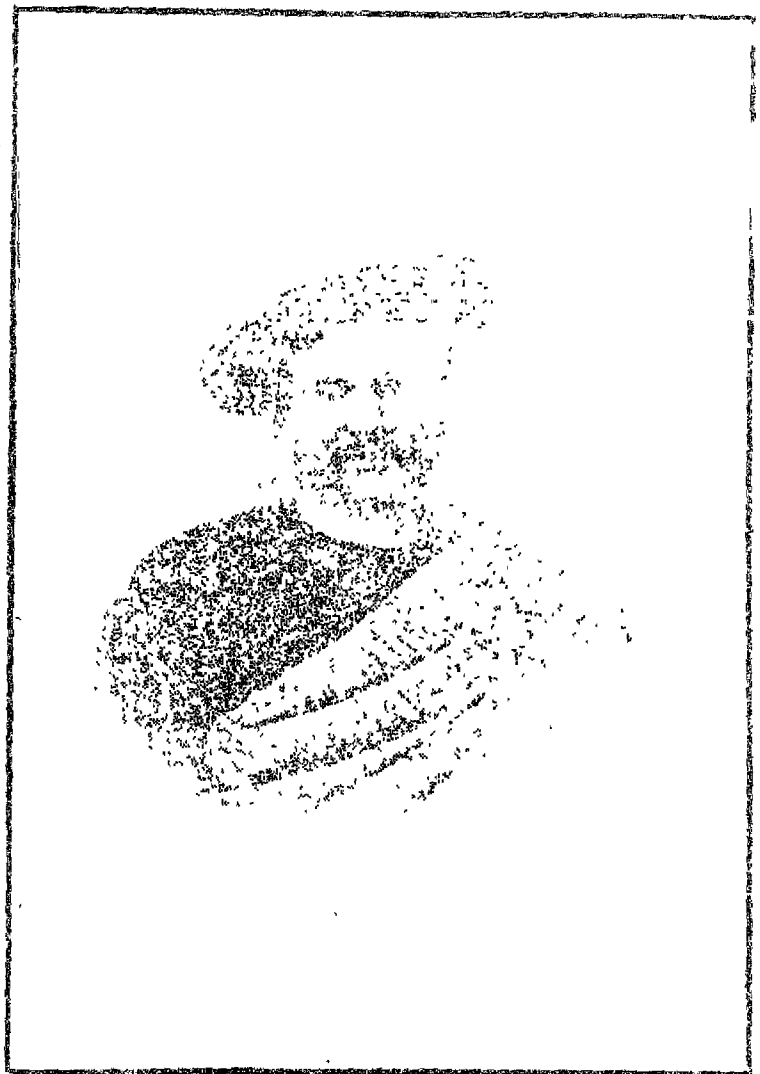
travels of a merchant named Lal-shapathi going from his native village on the Ajay river to Simhal (Ceylon) written in the 15th century, states that the hero passing in his outward journey down the Ganges to the sea, travelled through the villages like (1) Konnagore, (2) Sulkea, (3) Calcutta, (4) Betarah, (5) Kalghat, (6) Hydoly, (7) Mamasar (8) Nachnaghata, (9) B f u t 0

THE ROMANCE OF THE RIVERS OF INDIA

Dr. S. C. Dutta (1883-1954). It shows that so recently as five hundred years ago, the main flow of the Bhagirathi or the Ganges was through the Adirganga. About the 14th or the 15th century the main current of the Ganges started flowing, according to this school, through the easterly directed branch of the Ganges situated near Murshidabad. Accordingly, the main Ganges from the Rajmahal Hills to Sagar dwindled into the present Bhagirathi-Hooghly down to Calcutta, from where it has been diverted by an artificially cut canal later on into the channel of the Saraswati below Botanical Garden. This has become subsequently the present estuary of the Hooghly from Calcutta to the sea. The part between Calcutta and Sagar has silted up. This eastern branch of the Ganges has become the present Ganges. It has been subsequently joined, about 1700, at Jafferpore, by the Brahmaputra which changed its course, from the eastern side of Dacca to its western side. All these changes were attributed by this school of thought to earth movements, making depression at one place, while elevating another place. According to this school also, the death or decline of the distributaries of the Gangetic delta, which depend for their supply on the Ganges, is due to persistent progression of this river to the east, depriving the distributaries of their supply, though this eastward course has been rectified to a great extent by the change to the west of the Brahmaputra. This view is represented by Captain Hirst, who was the Director of the Survey of India.

There is a third school of thought, who though they do not deny this earth movement, yet state that this movement acts through geological periods covering millions of years, and so cannot account for this change occurring within a period of four or five centuries only,

and that there is progressive deterioration of these distributaries. They do not deny, however, that great changes are going on in the rivers of the Gangetic system, which is in a state of flux. It may result in deterioration of some rivers.



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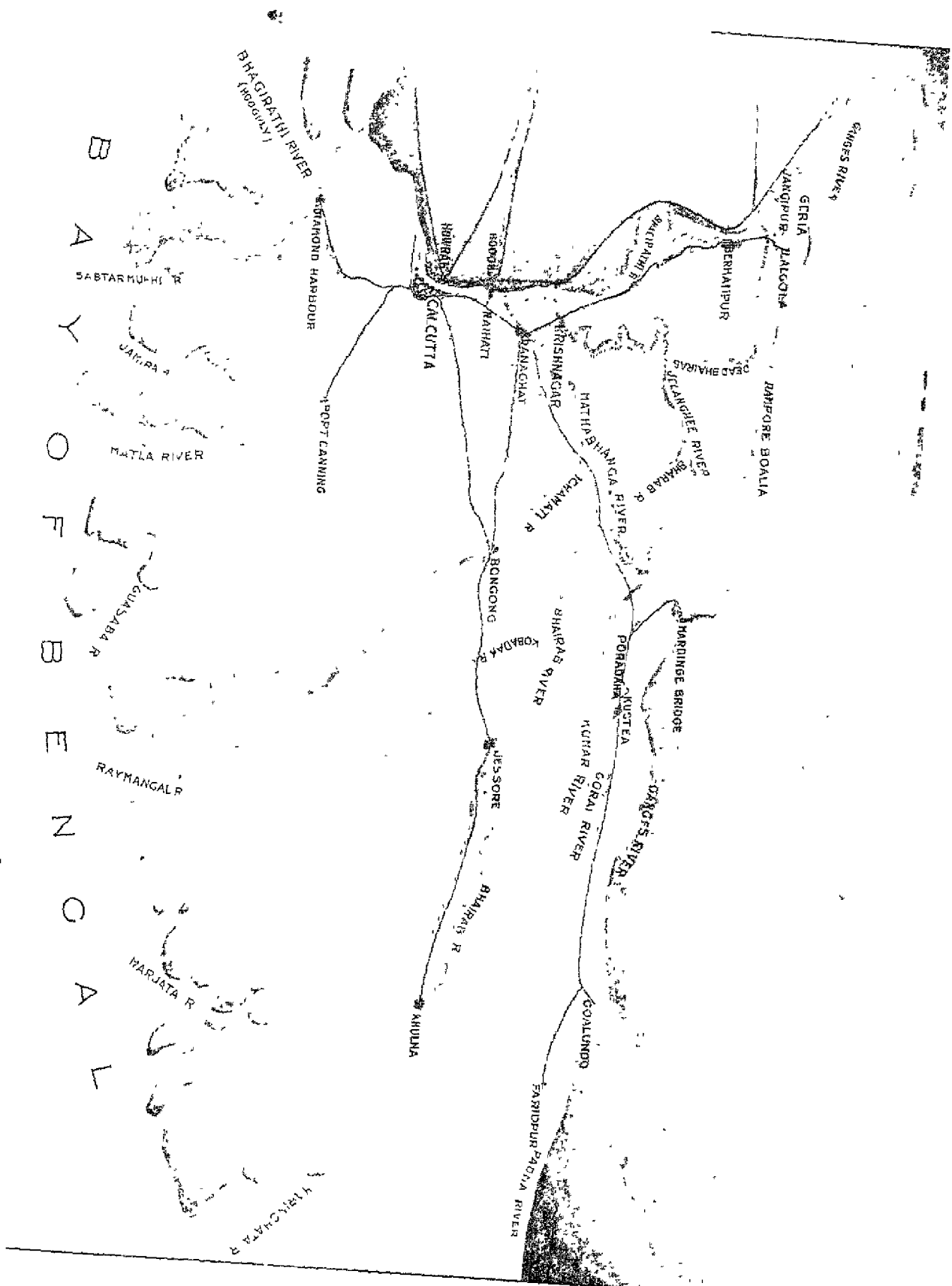
one place, owing to deprivation of the water due to some local causes, while another set of rivers may improve for similar reasons. To account for this, they say that there is no definite assignable cause such as the alleged progressive eastward course of the Ganges from Ganga. The changes in the Gangetic system of rivers is to be attributed, according to this school, to periodic change of the bed of

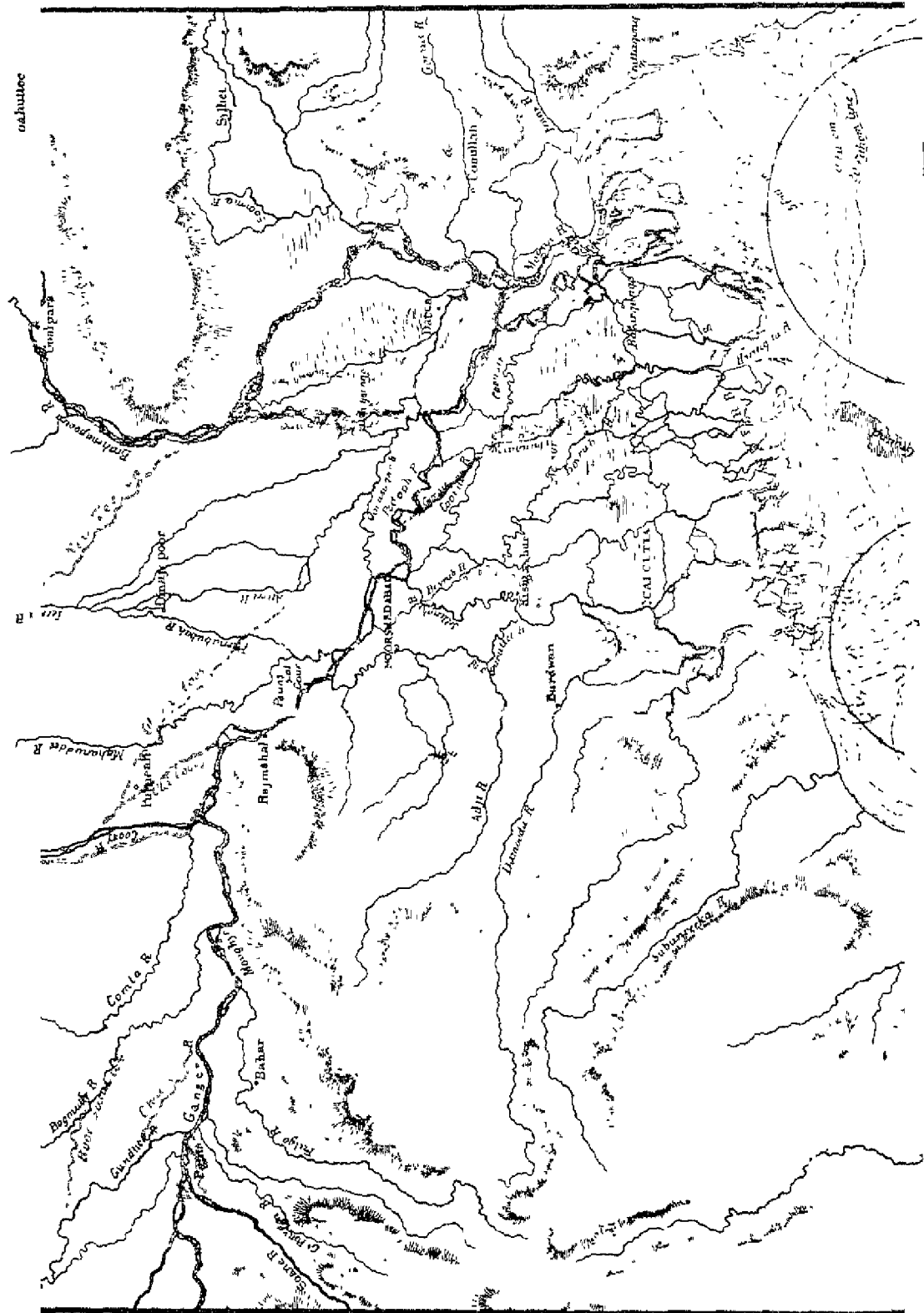
torrential rivers, forming part of this system. These bring down tremendous quantity of water in terrible torrents along with huge quantity of detritus every rainy season from the hills. In changing their beds they travel over extensive tracts of country of more or less level ground to find exit for their troubled waters and so influence the course of the big rivers situated lower down in the plains into which they fall—the influence is of so far-reaching a character and complicated with so many factors that it is beyond human comprehension and so no law can be laid down to guide the engineers. The present bed of the Teesta, for example, emptying high up into the Brahmaputra, fell before 1787 into the Ganges near Goalando. There is evidence that the present bed was once its own old bed, which it deserted some centuries ago, to be re-occupied by it again after the lapse of centuries. This increased accession of strength to the Brahmaputra caused by this change, which became further increased by change in direction of one of its tributaries in the interior of Tibet, which formerly passed into the deserts of Tibet, have been the cause, according to this school, of the change in the bed which was a semi-circular one, skirting round the curved edge of the Garo Hills, to a straight course. In changing this course it has joined the river Janai which fell in its downward path. The two conjoined rivers fell into the Ganges on the west of Dacca instead of passing through the circuitous way, east of it.

This has brought on an immense change in the Ganges by backing up of its waters, by which the Geria has become a magnificent river from an insignificant *brook*. This has also influenced the Mathabhangra which has become a broader river. It has also led to the formation of a new river Churni (a branch of the Mathabhangra) which was non-existent before and not only that—there is a change in future of its influencing the other Nadia rivers. A change in another river, namely, the Koosi, which along with the Ganduk and Gogra, and the Mahananda, are the present main tributaries of the Ganges on its left side, bringing waters from the foot of the Himalayas, has been instrumental during the course of the last century in increasing its volume. See map No 1. The Koosi intermingling with the Mahananda passed through the Chalan hills and then

intermingling with the Attee fell into the Brahmaputra in former days, but due to changes which cannot be accounted for, both these tributaries, the Mahananda and the Koosi, now feed the Ganges and not the Brahmaputra. The change in another river situated to the west of the Hooghly, namely, the Damodar, (which changed its course in 1757–62, from its main exit near Kalna to the present exit near Fulta, lower down the Hooghly) has made tremendous influence on the Hooghly. This school, whose representative is Mr. Reaks, has, by the study of the whole Gangetic system, drawn these conclusions which cannot be controverted. They are based on a series of observations taken over half a century at several observation stations (such as Geria, Akrigunge, Dewangunge, Panditpore and Hanskhali, etc.) and it is to these that I owe most of my information.

There is a fourth school of thought which differs from the above three schools in taking a much broader view of the use of the rivers. The latter, having been appointed from time to time by the committee interested only in the Port of Calcutta and in the question of navigability of the Nadia rivers, looked upon the river system from the point of view of trade only, and did not take into account rivers contributing to human happiness, by promoting agriculture and public health. On account of this, their views suffer from a great limitation. They did not look into this question—this broad standpoint, or if they did so, it was done incidentally. They did not take into account the primal instinct of man which since the dawn of creation, has made him utilize the rich silt brought down by the river and deposited on comparatively level ground of the valley which enables him to raise his crops. This school of thought represented by Sir William Willcocks, who is no less an expert river engineer than the above engineers, viewed this policy of putting up embankments in the deltaic distributaries as suicidal which alone can explain the recent changes in their condition. The alteration in the course of the big torrential tributaries of the Gangetic system, influencing the change in the course of the Ganges in recent years, which is explainable by natural forces, as described before, has nothing to do with the change in the lower distributaries. The adoption of this suicidal policy has prevented the improvement of agriculture and eat







Mr. C. Addams-Williams, C. I. E.

have given them, moreover, of money from the revenue improved agriculture to one which might have been move any obstruction in the n rivers as well as in their ies leading to the fields for gation. This, the people used selves in pre-British period of voluntary labour known of *pullbandi* system. The is deprived of the silt by the us method would have passed r reaches of the rivers and ve this would have made a 80

In this navigability of rivers thi group of engineers is no less interes the above group. But the first thre of thought could not carry it on to their taking too narrow a view situation.

The changes in the deltaic dist are due not to natural causes but interference without understanding nature of the problem.

In dry season, the Bhagirathi from the Ganges is often blocked bank, not allowing even a country pass through, and though this observed even so far back as Favarnier yet eve no so much wa

down the Bhagirathi during flood season every year from the Ganges, that it makes it not only a living river but a dangerous one, the spill water passing over its left bank (no water can spill over the right bank, as the soil is laterite, being a continuation of the Rajmahal Hills, has assumed so much proportion, that six series of embankments mentioned above, one behind the other, had to be made to prevent this formidable spill flooding the land lower down. From 1801 to 1907, the main *bund* was breached thirteen times, and as much as 50,000 cuases of water passed through the breach in the *bund* which became in one year half a mile wide, a vast sheet of water, reaching to near Bongaon flooding 2800 square miles. In 1830-38, it is on record, Lord Hastings' garden-house at Sek-sagai near Chakdaha, was washed away with the village by the Bhagirathi and it was feared at that time that the whole river would pass into the Ichhamati behind Calcutta, opening into the Bay Ferguson who was an eye-witness of this occurrence remarked that this accident of the Bhagirathi cutting behind Calcutta and finding an opening into the Ichhamati was prevented by the Eastern Bengal Railway which was then in course of construction. He remarked that this breaking away of the Bhagirathi behind Calcutta, would have been fortunate for the port of Calcutta, for it would have made it a headless estuary free from baneful influence of a silt-laden river.

Another fact worth mentioning in this connection is that the Government engineers, in order to save the threatened port of Calcutta, and also to find a shorter route for their steamers, to East Bengal, tried to pass as much water as possible from the Ganges through the Jellinghy and Mithabhang, first by dredging their off-takes, secondly by closing the Kumar branch situated on the left bank of the Mathabhang, preventing any water passing into Jessore district, but this latter effort proved futile, on account of the Kumar opening out lower down, this being due to pronounced slope of this area towards the south-east. Yet the sanitarians and engineers dealing with this delta could not find any solution for its silted rivers because of want of sufficient fall. On account of this spill of the Bhagirathi being prevented from spreading over whole of the delta, the area above the embankment is rapidly rising in level, being as much as 3 feet year s

that one can understand that the Ganges water during flood season will pass in turn, loss and less into the Bhagirathi if this rise goes on uninterrupted as the Ganges will find a more easy escape for passage of its waters in the Meghna than through the Bhagirathi. One can easily imagine what would have happened if there had not been any obstruction interfering with this natural spill which is essential for keeping it alive and which the people wanted. Is it the meddlesome doctoring by engineers which has obstructed nature in fulfilling her mission of giving health and wealth to the people through whose land they pass? Miles and miles of river beds have been obstructed not by the hand of God but by the hand of man. "The Jesso rivers are dying a natural death, to resuscitate them is so much money thrown away" is the slogan of the engineers. It may be urged again that even if there be available supply of sufficient amount of water to flush the channels of these rivers, they will become silted up again, as they are dead, so the expenditure incurred in this connection, will be so much money thrown away. According to this theory, a river flowing through flat land overflows its bank, deposits the silt on the river bed and the surrounding land, and flows into the low lying land adjoining it, which in course of time will be filled up. In this way the work of the river in filling up low land having been completed, the river will die a natural death. The rivers in the Gangetic delta having done their work are dying a natural death, and no effort can resuscitate them. To this Sir William Willecocks's reply is, as we have stated before, that if the spill is not restricted by artificial obstruction, the silt will spread all over the land, and very little of it will be deposited on the bed. Under the favourable circumstance, the elevation of the surrounding land will not exceed one foot in hundred years, and with this, if the river bed rises correspondingly, no river should die. A case to the point will illustrate how a tidal river falling into an estuary, was killed in no time, by preventing it spreading over the surrounding land by embankment. In this case, instead of a river bringing down silt during the annual flood season from the hills, the diurnal flood tide churning up the silt deposited in the approaches of the estuary, carries the silt high up. The phenomenon is the same as in the case of the rivers but the action is quite the opposite.

occurs twice daily instead of yearly. If the estuary be prevented from flooding the surrounding land during flood tide by embankment, the silt will be deposited in its own channel. So it will die in a very short time. This has happened in the case of the Rasulpur river in Midnapore by which a good portion of the district has suffered. The Ganges canal connected with the Ganges near Hardwar, takes away during the dry season fully $\frac{1}{5}$ th of the total flow through the Ganges for irrigating land in U. P. This has succeeded, according to one estimate, in lowering the level of the water in the Ganges in the Gangetic delta during dry season by one foot. This fall in level in the summer season, has prevented the water getting into the intake of the distributaries and keeping them open, so that when the flood season comes, raising the level of the Ganges, it cannot enter them, even when the level rises higher than these openings. The next point for consideration is the obstruction to the channels of the finer distributaries, caused by construction of roads and railway lines across them with openings which are not sufficient to allow the flood water to pass through. This has helped in the destruction of many rivers. As they did not allow the channels to empty themselves quickly enough during flood season, no onrush of water from the main Ganges takes place, producing a scouring effect, in spite of the presence of abundant water

in the main Ganges. These obstructions have been multiplied by these rivers being called dead by the engineers. As a consequence, the people have misappropriated the channels of the rivers and used them as fields for growing paddy, and the fishermen have put up weirs. The whole population have, in one word, taken part in this general loot. They have forgotten the general interest of the country for their own benefit and have done incalculable harm. Lastly, the numerous *buls* have been formed in these districts, due to periodical accumulation of water during flood season, from overflow water of the rivers, helped by rainfall. The waters from them flow back into the rivers during the winter season when the level of water in them falls. This helps to keep them alive. This is termed *feral jal* (return water) by the people who thoroughly understand its importance, these *buls* acting as so many basins for irrigation. Unfortunately, these are being filled up at enormous cost to the State under the so-called anti-malaria schemes. A more suicidal policy could not have been adopted for killing the rivers as well as for increasing malaria.

It has been said doctors' mistake lies several feet below ground, lawyers' mistake floats over it. It can be said with equal justice that engineer's mistake spreads over the whole land, carrying devastation all round.

The Press and the Indian States' People's Conference

FOR some years past, the people of individual Indian States or groups of these States, and of all the States combined, have been holding conferences to make known their wants, grievances and aspirations. These activities are as necessary as they are useful and commendable. For, interest in the States' affairs is sure to grow with increased knowledge of their condition.

The third session of the All-India Indian States' People's Conference, which was held in Bombay on the 9th and 10th June last, was presided over by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. Its proceedings were reported in many a prominent newspaper in the Indian States to the effect that

Anglo-Indian section of the Press, we have seen the comments of only two dailies, viz. *The Times of India* and *The Indian Daily Mail*, both of Bombay. As was to be expected, neither lends anything worthy of appreciation in the proceedings of the session. For British journalists, at 'home' and abroad, are champions of liberty and of the amenities of life for their own people, but are generally apologists and advocates of autocratic government for people directly or indirectly under British sway. There is no inconsistency in these opposite attitudes, as both spring from a desire for an unfettered rule for the Britishers in the British Empire. The Bombay press has pronounced

upon a few words prefatory to Mr Chatterjee's address in which he, though a journalist, modestly admitted that he was not omniscient and that he did not possess *sufficient* knowledge of the *details* of the administration and the political conditions of the Indian States. The two Anglo-Indian editors, omniscient as they themselves are, have understood or pretended to understand these words to mean that Mr. Chatterjee is completely ignorant of the conditions and affairs of the Indian states. And, so, in their opinion, not only is his speech unworthy of any serious attention, but the entire proceedings of the Conference are valueless. But, whatever advantage Anglo-Indian journalists may take of Mr. Chatterjee's modest, though perhaps rather unstrategic, confession, he will not perhaps hesitate to admit that, according to any ideally high standard of detailed and sufficient knowledge, he does not possess such knowledge of any subject.

The editor of *The Indian Daily Mail* calls Mr. Chatterjee's address "a platitudinous utterance." Perhaps it is, perhaps it is not. But assuming that it is platitudinous, the repetition of platitudes may be considered necessary on some occasions. For example, "speak the truth" is a platitude. But its repetition may serve as a useful reminder both to habitual and occasional liars. Again, "Be not a hireling" is considered by all honest men a perfectly platitudinous maxim. But that is no reason why it should be treated on all occasions as obsolete and useless.

To all free peoples of the East and the West, the reign of law, an independent judiciary, freedom of speech and of the Press, personal liberty and other similar things are commonplaces of politics and of civilized existence. But perhaps as most Indian ruling princes are in practice strangers to these political platitudes, Mr. Chatterjee had to lay stress on these things, even at the risk of being called platitudinous by some journalistic geniuses.

A few Indian papers also have found little that is new in the address—to them all, at least most, of it is familiar ground. Mr. Chatterjee must be sorry to have bored them. But not being a man of genius, he could not invent absolutely new facts and principles, even if it were necessary to do so. Nor could he avoid repeating certain things, if only because his journals began to quarry them and make them current currency of the press and the

platform about a century or a century ago. These were at least as "familiar ground" to him as to anybody else. His reasons for not avoiding such ground has been indicated above. He may, however, be permitted to remind your correspondent that in his address he has perhaps made some slight attempt to re-assemble old facts to work out a few new figures from old statistics, and to present some new arguments with the aid of old data. As regards other presidential addresses at sessions of Congress and conferences, mainly of a political character, it must be presumed, of course, that they all contain absolutely new matter for the most part.

With reference to some speeches made at the Indian States' people's conferences, *The Indian Daily Mail* observes:

there we have the amateur and the dilettante critic of British Raj holding it up not to scorn and ridicule, but as an example and an ideal for their countrymen at the helm of the affairs of the States to follow.

This British writer's (as usual) obtuseness is both amusing and amusing. The comparisons made, in the speeches referred to, are not meant to hold up the British Raj as an example and an ideal. Their plain meaning is, bad as the British Raj is, Indian Raj in most States is worse. He would be a most foolish bad ruler who would take it as a compliment to be told that there were worse rulers than he. The reason why British Indian rule is not criticized in Indian States' people's conferences is that they are meant for a different purpose.

There is a passage in Mr. Chatterjee's speech in which he suggests that the Princes' profession of loyalty to their suzerain King George V, would be equally appreciated if their loyalty took the practical form of imitation of His Majesty by making their States limited monarchies, as King George's United Kingdom is. Thereupon *The Indian Daily Mail* observes:

It is to be hoped that Mr. Chatterjee would not stop at preaching the need of demonstration of loyalty to the Princes, who do not stand in need of it, but would undertake it where it is most needed—that is, in his province of Bengal, through his widely-read magazine, the "Modern Review."

This is a very curious variety of illogical gibe. Mr. Chatterjee has not asked the Princes to be loyal. It is not his business to ask anybody to be loyal to anyone else. He has only asked them to make their profession of loyalty to the King a reality.

—

cause of the Indian States' people, considering their grievances real and their aspirations just and legitimate.

At a time when the constitution, not only of what is known as British India, but of the whole of India, including the States, is in the melting-pot of great importance naturally attaches to the deliberations of such a body as the Indian States' People's Conference, which has just held a successful session at Bombay. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who presided over the Conference, gave a characteristically fine lead to the assembled delegates in regard to most of the matters included in the agenda of the Conference.

After giving a brief summary of the presidential speech, this daily enumerates the points on which the Conference resolutions laid the greatest stress, and observes.

That all these demands are perfectly legitimate cannot admit of a moment's doubt. It is equally undeniable that many of them must be conceded in the immediate future and as a part of the very scheme of Indian federation. No federation between the Indian Provinces and the Indian States would indeed be worth having which left the Princes the same arbitrary and despotic rulers that they are and their people as no better than their chattel. Nor can we think of any scheme of federation in which the people of the States, as distinguished from their hereditary rulers, shall so entirely unrepresented on the Central Legislature.

Nothing can be more proper than that British Indians should be taking an active part in it (the Conference) because the Indian States being in India, and not in Honolulu, it is the concern of all Indians to see that they move with the country and do not remain as so many clogs in the wheels of its progress. As Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, President of the Conference, points out in his remarkably illuminating address, "just as the British rulers of India and the British people have all along shown unwillingness to recognize the fitness of India and the Indians for self rule and free representative institutions, arguing (of course, mistakenly) as a reason for their reluctance that India has never known and been used to representative government and that Indians appreciate only benevolent paternalism, similarly our Princes at least the majority of them, perhaps also think that it would go against Indian political traditions if they became constitutional rulers. Such outrageous misrepresentation, not only is thought but in action too, of Indian political traditions by our own Princes in the pursuit of selfish motive constitutes no insignificant menace to India's national progress which it is the concern of all Indians to combat, however their Businessness may resent this 'outside interference' as they call it with their lowest on a t r a n k n e s s to

The weekly *People of Labour* gives it as its opinion that

States' people made a happy choice in asking Sri Ramananda Chatterjee to preside over their third Conference held at Bombay on June 9th and 10th. In a sober, well-earned address Sri Chatterjee made out a strong case for a responsible government in States. He had no difficulty in showing that representative institutions were known to Hindu polity in ancient times and have been admitted to Islamic polity in all Islamic countries today. He further asked the Princes to show their loyalty to King George by following his example. Besides if the Princes made it a condition precedent to their joining the proposed federation that "British India must have responsible government" asked Mr Chatterjee could not British Indians also lay down that they would federate with the States only if the latter had responsible government? Sri Chatterjee's criticism of the Bikaner Diwan's recent speech on "confederation" is also very illuminating. The Diwan would not tolerate "divided allegiance" - nor yet he would own allegiance at all to the British Government in certain specified subjects. Would not that mean divided allegiance? Besides, what would become of the allegiance to the Paramount Power?

The Indian States Reformer of Dehra Dun thinks

The presidential speech of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee at the Indian States' People's Conference although commonly readable is nothing very original or enlightening. But it must be admitted that the speech is absolutely free from any attempt at empty declamatory eloquence. On the other hand, it is throughout a cogent and earnest advocacy of the legitimate rights of States' subjects.

This weekly thinks that the fact that the president "has not touched upon the problem of the minor Chiefs and their states" "may be due to the want of sufficient knowledge of details on the part of" that unfortunate person. Or it may perhaps be due to the fact that a presidential speech is not meant to be an encyclopaedia?

The Hindustan Times of Delhi observes:

Much of what Babu Ramananda Chatterjee said as President of the third session of the Indian States People's Conference held at Bombay on Tuesday last, should be familiar to our readers. There was perhaps nothing in the address which could be said to be absolutely new in the sense that it had never been given expression to before.

But the Delhi paper is kind enough to draw attention to a few points in the address without any adverse comment. And what is really important is that in its opinion the Princes should win the good opinion of their subjects. For,

If instead of offering the good will of their subjects by conceding a concession or a

concession to the subject that will not at the same time support that he can obtain by way of tribute and other protection, can perhaps for all time the prospect of his subjects making an impression on him to any.

In the opinion of *The Local* of Allahabad

If the people of British India have grievances against their Government, both national and provincial and if the same have to be redressed, it is an imperative duty for the Highnesses the Princes to make an arrangement of the kind to see that the demands of the people of the States are given full and prompt and complete redress, much more urgent.

It adds

The Indian States' People's Conference deserves every sympathy and encouragement. Its defects are the defects of a good cause and are inherent and therefore pardonable and are very capable. The cause which it stands for is noble and laudable.

There may be, as more actually is, a justifiable difference of opinion regarding the existence of this alleged "excess of zeal." But one need not quarrel about that.

The Leader holds

The opening of the third and latest session of the Conference at Bombay did the people of the states a good turn by electing Babu Ramananda Chatterjee as President. There are not many well equal and low representatives in high character and great attainment. We congratulate Babu Ramananda on his splendid address. He has declared that the ancient Hindu ideal of kingship was not absolute but limited or constitutional monarchy and pleaded in the mildest language that our present-day Princes should voluntarily transform themselves into constitutional heads of state. And he has argued what should be deemed to be essential conditions of a federation of states and provinces.

The Searchlight of Patna delivers itself as follows on the Presidential speech

It was an illuminating address that Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee delivered at Bombay, the other day as the President of the third session of the All India States People's Conference. He has rightly emphasized certain points which the Princes ought to remember if they are not to be "time-lagging." Mr. Chatterjee has performed what Mr. George Bernard Shaw considers to be the great duty of the journalist, namely, to abolish the time-lag and to make people understand that the world is continually changing and that there is not much good in going on with ideas that are obsolete. Days of autocracy are now gone and the sooner the Princes perceive this change the better for them and the people. Mr. Chatterjee has powerfully pleaded for the introduction of Responsible Government in the Indian States.

After quoting some passages from the speech and stressing the points made therein, this Bihar daily concludes

Mr. Chatterjee has rightly stressed these points which the Princes should remember.

Indu Prakash, another Bihar daily, is also a supporter of the States' people's "legitimate demands." It records:

At the third session of the States' People's Conference just concluded at Bombay Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the reputed publicist, in his presidential address fully and forcefully voiced the legitimate demands of the people of the States for a settlement of the question of their status in the future Indian Constitution. Mr. Chatterjee has a thorough mastery over the subject together with a vivid knowledge of the historical background that invests the problem with the complexity that is peculiar to itself. His incisive logic and intimate knowledge of the Indo-British politics rendered it easy enough for him to throw a flood of light on the question and clarify the issue to a remarkable extent.

Two points dealt with in the speech are then discussed. The editor concludes:

Mr. Chatterjee analysed the case of the States peoples from every possible angle and demonstrated the incontestable justice of their cause. "It is by the constitution of Federal India," observed Mr. Chatterjee in conclusion "the people of the Indian States are not given the same brand of citizenship as the people of British India, if the former are given an inferior political status, it would be the duty of the latter not to touch such a Constitution. It is a great speech, replete with a wealth of valuable expositions and suggestions and we hope for that it will serve its great purpose."

Vishal Bharat, the Hindi monthly magazine of Calcutta, edited by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, who has spent many years of his life in "Indian India," devotes two pages to comments on the president's speech. A summarized translation of portions of his comments is given below.

The presidential speech of Sri. Ramananda Chattopadhyaya is important from several points of view. The defects of administration in Indian States are so many and so varied that they are sufficient to tempt a critic to use intemperate language and it would be quite natural if he did so. But the president has expressed himself from beginning to end in a constructive manner and with restraint. He has no doubt made some pungent remarks but these were necessary and are well deserved.

He has spoken of the dwarfing of the mind in Indian States. Those who have any personal knowledge of these States will bear ample testimony to the fact. Not only are the minds of the Indian States' officials "dwarfed" but their soul is also dwarfed. (stained would have been the proper word, but it would be using strong language). This is the case with very many States.

In comparing some Indian States with 'well-kept cattle farms,' the president has been rather partial to these States for the condition of cattle in a well-kept farm is much superior to that of the inhabitants of some of these States. For in these farms the cattle are not overfed
of debauchery and noise and

some diseases, and the life of the inhabitants of many Indian States.

We had the opportunity to teach some of the Rajkumars in a chiefs' college in Central India for six years and heard of the domineering of some of these chiefs from reliable people. The president has advised the rulers of the States to make their States limited monarchies. But such far-sightedness cannot be expected from these Rajas and Maharajas. No autocrat who has been accustomed to the taste of irresponsible administration will be moved by such prices or advice to give up his so-called rights.

The fact is that nothing will be done until and unless the inhabitants of these States show the strength to their rulers by then suffering and self-sacrifice. These rulers know well enough how to make a show of representative institutions. Some of them even publish the annual reports of their administration but God alone knows how far the facts and figures given in their reports are correct or true.

The Indian Messenger of Calcutta considers the demands of the people of the Indian States quite reasonable. This weekly writes:

In his Presidential Address at the Indian States People's Conference held recently at Bombay Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee very pertinently observed: "Among the various motives which may have prompted British Political Officers in India to state-guard autocracy in the States, the principal ones were perhaps to use the States as a foil to set off the excellence of British Indian rule by contrast and also to use the States for fighting Indian nationalism if need be."

The following passages will give some idea of the other points in the speech noticed by this journal:

It is against their preposterous pretensions that Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee raises his voice of protest. His penetrating insight sees through the whole game and exposes its utter hollowness.

Equally outspoken is Mr. Chatterjee in his criticism of the method of representation of the States on the Federal Council. Mahatma Gandhi has also protested against this queer amalgam of undiluted autocracy and fully developed democracy located at Westminster. He is emphatic in his opposition to this curious scheme but even he has not been able to bring out before the public eye its true inwardness so vividly as Mr. Chatterjee in his illuminating address.

Advance, a Congress organ of Calcutta, supports the cause of the people of the Indian States. Its opinion of the presidential speech is embodied in the following paragraph:

The address delivered by Sri. Ramananda Chatterjee at the third session of the Indian States People's Conference held at Bombay is a masterpiece of persuasive logic. In clear bold language marked by a restraint that makes it dignified, he has forcefully presented the case of the subjects of Indian States, which on merits can scarcely be handled. Mr. Chatterjee's language is not only clear and concise but

time is not confined to the boundaries of this province and the esteem in which he is generally held is testified to by his selection as President in this very important Conference. His address bears ample traces of his level-headed critical manner.

Regarding the proceedings of the Conference this daily writes:

The most important and direct concern of the Conference was, however, the position of the peoples of Indian States. Very few of the States have got parliamentary or even representative institutions. Everything is practically done by royal fiat or decrees carried out by the executive. The courts of law are a negation of justice. The revenues form more or less the personal property of the rulers. The royal court is in almost every case a hot-bed of vice and corruption, for which, of course, the people pay. But they do not count at all. And yet their number comes to about 80 millions, twice the population of France and of Italy and almost twice the population of England. All these huge populations have got no political rights and have civil rights resting on the pleasure of the executive.

Advance further asserts,

The peoples' rights must be respected. That has been the universal lesson of history, and the Indian States have got to bow to the time-spirit. All is not well with the Indian States and their rulers, barring a few honourable exceptions. They require a thorough overhauling in the light of modern conditions, if they want to survive at all.

In the opinion of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,

The presidential address of Sri Ramananda Chatterjee to the third session of the Indian States People's Conference at Bombay is just what is expected of a publicist of his reputation for clear thinking, lucid exposition and fearless regard for truth. It should be carefully read by the Princes and their Ministers, as well as by those who want to understand the cause of the increased emphasis in British India on the necessity for reforms in the Indian states.

The *Patrika* concludes its support of the cause of the states' people with the following words:

It is needless to mention that the views expressed in the Presidential address will have the whole-hearted support of all Indian people. The Indian Princes are the representatives of an India that is fast vanishing. Their rule is the only relic of the self-rule of India still present. None, therefore, bears or ought to bear any ill-will against them. But the subjects of the Indian States are also the kith and kin of the inhabitants of British India. Their interests also cannot be neglected by them. Indeed, the future of constitutional government in British India can never be made safe so long as in neighbouring tracts the exact antithesis of constitutional government prevails. Both, therefore, for altruistic considerations and for the sake of enlightened self interest, the cause of the States' people ought

to receive a very close support of the public of British India.

New India of Madras, Dr. Annie Besant's organ, writes:

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's Presidential Address to the Indian States' Peoples' Conference held in Bombay last week, does not deal so much with the points put forward on the States' Peoples' behalf in connection with Federation as with the general importance of their interests, the scant attention that is paid them, and the necessity for bringing the States up to the level of the Provinces of British India in the matter of constitutional government. He has pointed out the irresistible tendency of the Time-Spirit in all countries of the world and the fact that in very many vital respects, such as education and economic progress, the vast majority of the States are far behind even British India. The whole address might be read with profit by the Princes who are responsible for the administration of the States and those who are associated with them in such administration. There is no doubt that the States' People have awakened to their position which they see should not be inferior to that of the people of British India, and it is only a question of time when they will earn their own objectives: the process will go on, irrespective of whether any particular State like Patiala enters the Federation or not.

The *Hindu* of Madras gives the gist of some portions of the presidential address after the following prelatory words:

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee's presidential address at the Indian States' Peoples' Conference, which commenced its session at Bombay on 9th June, contains a sober and reasoned exposition of the claims of the subjects of the States to a voice in the government of the States and in the shaping of India's future constitution. The outward differences between the States and the British Provinces in regard to standards of administration, political activities and economic conditions are so marked that the underlying unity of India as a whole is apt to be overlooked. Mr. Chatterjee has therefore done well in emphasizing this cultural unity and pointing out that it can find logical fulfilment only in a harmonious political future.

It voices its reasoned conviction that

The claims made on behalf of a third of the people of this country cannot be lightly ignored and it is to be hoped that the Government will consider how best they may satisfy their legitimate ambitions.

Swarajya of Madras has devoted two leaders on two different dates to the Conference. Its article on the States' subjects' demands contends, among things, that

It is time to recognize that no solution of the problem of Indian States is capable of being enforced or of yielding satisfactory results unless it has the direct approval of the chosen representatives of the subjects. The right of the princes to usurp the voice of the subjects' undivided by national administration. If States as federating

and though British India cannot claim for responsibility and representative institutions, and the sooner this fact is realized the better it will be for the prospects of permanent peace and settlement.

It summarizes some important portions of the presidential speech in another article with the introductory sentence:

The presidential address of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee at the third session of the All-India States' People's Conference contains a grave warning which Indian princes will do well to note and profit by.

The concluding sentences may also be quoted.

The future of the princes depends on the readiness they display to realize the fact that their best safety consists in the prosperity and contentment of their subjects. This is the sum and substance of Mr. Chatterjee's counsel to the princes. At the present moment no counsel is better or more worth-hearing.

The Bombay Chronicle, a Congress organ, observes

The speech of Mr. L. R. Tansley, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, was mild but honest and there was fairly plain-spoken.

The presidential speech of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee is a long, comprehensive scholarly survey of the problem of the Indian States with special reference to the rights of the States' people. For the most part he covers fairly familiar ground and shows that even benevolent autocracy is a poor substitute for democracy, that it is in any case an obsolete institution, and that India has had long and ancient traditions of democratic government.

This Bombay daily then asks

By what methods will or can the States' people win their rights? That is the question of questions. But it is just on that question that Mr. Chatterjee is most silent, unless he suggests that Indian States' people will win their rights "just as other peoples of the world have obtained their rights." He is silent, probably, because he is more a scholar than a man of action and has not much experience of affairs in the States. He probably leaves that question to be discussed and answered by the Conference itself. We trust the Conference at least will not content itself with merely formulating constitutional rights in an academic manner but would also decide upon methods of winning those rights. As we have said before, it is only a bold programme of action that will make the Conference deservedly popular and presistible.

Mr. Chatterjee cannot rightly claim to be either a scholar or a man of action—and of course, he has no "experience of affairs in the States" which every one of his Anglo-Indian and Indian critics undoubtedly has in full measure. But as a journalist and as one who has attended many of the sessions of the Indian National Congress

including some of the very latest, he remembers that for some four decades that most representative Indian organization, with men of action as presidents, had formulated no "bold programme of action other than making out a just case, praying, petitioning, protesting and "merely formulating constitutional rights in an academic manner," though British India consists only of about a dozen more or less contiguous units under substantially the same kind of administration and possessed of many post offices, telegraph offices, newspapers and other means of publicity. Indian India, on the other hand, consists of some seven hundred scattered units, with very meagre publicity resources, under administrations at different stages of evolution. And the Indian States' people's conference is only three years old. Perhaps these facts, in addition of course to Mr. Chatterjee's ignorance of States' affairs, which is axiomatic, may give some clue to his abstention from making any suggestion of general direct action.

The Servants of India of Poona thinks.

The address which Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee delivered to the third session of the Indian States' People's Conference in Bombay on Tuesday last as its President, is entirely worthy of the exceptionally high reputation which he holds among Indian publicists as a thoroughly disinterested, independent and well-informed critic of affairs. He has presented in his speech a searching analysis of the federal scheme, and given his weighty support to all the demands contained in the memorandum which was submitted recently on behalf of the Conference to the Working Committee of the Congress. With unerring judgment he puts his finger on the weakest spot in the scheme and devotes much space to showing how, among the many anomalies contained in the scheme, the capital anomaly of autocratic States federated with democratic Provinces will have the most disastrous consequences. If the federation is to redound to the good of British India or the Indian States, it is necessary, he says, that the system of internal government in the States must correspond to the system that will come to prevail in the Provinces. As a matter of compromise he is willing to let the federation be formed immediately even with the autocratic States as they are at present, but he insists, as an essential condition, that the States that desire to enter the federation should agree before admission to place their administration under a system of responsible government within "a definitely fixed short period" of five or ten years. And even during this short interval the States' members in the federal legislature must be elected by their people. Otherwise the Federal Assembly would be "useless for the common weal" and only "a tool in the hands of Indian autocrats and British bureaucrats—a conclusion to which we think it persons will agree.

The Mahratta of Poona writes :

The third session of the Indian States' People's Conference must, indeed, be said to have met, in the course of this week, at a very seasonable time. The session was held for three days in Bombay under the presidentship of the most independent-minded Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. A few days before the date of the Conference, certain differences of opinion had arisen among the leaders of the States' people themselves threatening the holding of the Conference. But luckily, those differences did not come in the way of the Conference, and it was undoubtedly held with results that augur well for the future of the States' people who are veritably in an orphaned condition, as it were, politically.

There are few men in India who can be described as more sedate, more temperate and more practical than the President of the Conference. It may therefore be taken that the demands accepted by the Conference, the deliberations of which he guided, are the minimum demands which cannot be disregarded or belittled except at peril to themselves by the Princes and the Government. We are, therefore, inclined to think that the proceedings of the Conference constitute a serious warning to the Princes at the present moment when the political destiny of India as a whole is on the wane.

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay gives expression to the opinion that

The organizers of the All-India States' People's Conference showed great discernment in inviting Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the distinguished and scholarly editor of the *Modern Review* to preside at its third session, which opened in Bombay on Wednesday. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee does not belong to the ranks of professional politicians, having been all his life interested mainly in educational and social and religious reform. His presidential address was expected to be an important

contribution to current thinking on Indian politics. It has proved to be much more than that. It is a classic of political philosophy on the future evolution of United India touching as it does on all aspects of the complex question with a wealth of lore, insight and wisdom which disarms opposition and leads the reader without an effort to the conclusions that Mr. Chatterjee draws with unerring hand from his premises. These conclusions are always much less wide than his premises warrant. His statements are all understatements. There is not a trace of heroics, nothing to hurt the susceptibilities of the most sensitive Prince or Minister. Light without heat, is the keynote of the address. But it does not lack in the warmth which comes of the ethical nature of the speaker being engaged in his thesis. The general rule observed by Mr. Chatterjee is to suggest rather than to insist. In one place only he is emphatic. It is with reference to the proper repository of residual powers. 'I have not the least doubt,' he said, 'that the Central or Federal Government should have these powers.' It is a pleasure and a delight to read this address. It has invested the third session of the States' People's Conference with a prestige and an authority which few movements attain during such a short period of existence.

As regards the resolutions *The Indian Social Reformer* picks out one for special mention, observing :

Among the important resolutions passed at the Indian States' People's Conference, the most important, perhaps, is the one which dealt with the subjects to be specifically assigned to the Federal Government. The first place among these was given to Civil Law, which, of course, includes social legislation. The disruptive effects of each province and State passing its own marriage, divorce and succession laws are obvious, and equally obvious is the need for uniformity in these laws.

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

A Tourist's Experiences in the British Empire

The following letter, which has been reproduced from the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay, will give our readers an impression of the humiliation that an Indian has to suffer while travelling in different parts of the British Empire.

To

The Editor

A TOURIST'S EXPERIENCES

While efforts are being made in England and India to work out a constitution for the latter to place her in a position of equality with other members of the British Empire, Indian nationals still continue to be treated in the colonies as the pariahs of the Empire, which is exemplified by my recent experiences.

Entering Australia last February on a temporary visit, I was examined and cross-examined by the immigration authorities at Brisbane, my port of entry, and had to answer all sorts of unnecessary and annoying questions, including a query whether I had Bolshevik sympathies, as if every Indian citizen was to be taken to be a Bolshevik suspect—while my fellow passengers from other parts of the British Empire were passed almost without any questions on the production of their passports. I had to undergo this despite my British passport issued in London and my assurance that I would not care to live permanently in Australia, in contravention of the bar against the entry of Asiatics, even if I was paid to do so.

NEW ZEALAND

Visiting New Zealand, again only as a tourist, I had, besides filing the usual landing form, to make a declaration on oath to obey the laws of

INDIANS ABROAD

on a ship was no one of
to the depot of the London Board of
which all white British subjects and even American
citizens are exempt.

While in New Zealand I tried to book my
passage to South Africa on a White Star liner but was
definitely informed by the agents of that company
that they had instructions not to book any Indian
passengers on their ships.

Returning to Sydney, I however managed to
book my passage to South Africa, intending to
make a tour through that country to Egypt and
thence returning home to India. On reaching
Cape Town, however, I was immediately served
by the Immigration authorities with a notice
under a section of their Immigration Act of 1915
which, I understand, delays Asiatics from landing
in any part of this Union of South Africa.

Despite strenuous efforts made on my behalf
by the Agent to the Government of India in South
Africa and a Parsi resident in Cape Town to
obtain for me a temporary permit to land and
pass through the country not only was I refused
permission to land, but even to transfer from the
ship I had arrived in, to another sailing the same
day for Durban whence I intended taking another
steamer for East Africa, that I had asked for
in the alternative in consequence of this stupid
arrogant attitude of the Cape authorities. I was
compelled involuntarily to continue to London
in the same ship at considerable inconvenience
and expense and the complete messing up of
my programme and plans.

BITTERNESS

I have travelled in various parts of the world,
and I can assure you sir, rarely have I known
such opposition and disgraceful invidious distinction
made against my compatriots as in the colonies
and dominions of the British Empire. It is galling
Immigration such as I have been through, created
by narrow-minded racial prejudice and vulgar
snobbery, that engenders and fosters feelings of
national bitterness, which, while they exist, make
all talk of the Empire being the vaunted 'Common-
wealth of Free Nations,' a hypocritical sham.

While no Indian, whatever his position in life
or education may even temporarily stay or pass
through some of the colonies, not to mention
permanent settlement any riff-raffs from these
sell-same countries may solely, by virtue of their
being white British subjects, take up permanent
residence in India and exploit the country at will!

Under these circumstances is it at all surprising
that a large section of our compatriots should
be prepared to face all necessary sacrifices
in the struggle to shake themselves free of the
shackles of this 'Glorious Empire.' The least
Indians at home can do, in justice to their
compatriots abroad and to uphold our sense of
national self-respect and dignity, is to legislate
laws to retaliate to the full and pay back in their
own coin all those countries that think fit to
hurl insult and indignity at India.

Those of my countrymen who still hanker
after the membership of the British Empire with all
its much-branded claims to justice and fairplay,
I shall only ask to make an unofficial tour of
the colonies to learn at first-hand of the blessings
a coming therefrom. For this purpose, I should
partially recommend a tour to South Africa

under the same conditions of humiliation and indignity imposed
upon them in direct and flagrant violation of
pacts such as the Gandhi-Smuts agreement etc.

T. P. DAVER

C/o Messrs. T. Cook & Son Ltd
Berkeley Street, W. I.
London, May 26, 1931.

The sad experiences of Mr. Daver remind
us of the much more unfortunate experiences
of Mr. Manilal, *Bar-at-Law*, who was hunted
out of Fiji without any open trial and was
not allowed to practise in New Zealand.
The Australian Government has all along
refused to allow him to practise there.
The Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settle-
ments informed Mr. Manilal that he would be
permitted to land in Singapore only to
proceed to India but not to stay. And
the Colonial Secretary of Mauritius wrote
to him —

"You will be entitled to land in this
colony but no guarantee can be given of
your being allowed to remain here. Should
the Government consider that your past record
and your behaviour are such as to render
you an undesirable inhabitant of Mauritius
you will be liable to be deported forthwith."

It is noteworthy that not a single thing
has been proved against Mr. Manilal's
political or professional conduct.

Mr. Daver has written about the unneces-
sary and annoying questions put to him at
Brisbane in Australia. He should consider
himself fortunate that he was not examined
in any European language. There was a
'literate law' in Australia according to which
an emigrant could be examined in
any European language. Bishop Gilbert
White of Willochra tells an interesting
story in his book *Thirty years in Tropical
Australia*. An Australian collector of customs
insisted that a Japanese commercial traveller
should fulfill the 'literate law' by writing
from dictation a certain number of lines
in some European language. The Japanese
replied:—"I speak and write English, French,
German, Spanish, Russian, Italian and
Portuguese. But, as I suppose you do not
understand anything but English you had
better examine me in that language." He
then sat down and wrote out from memory
fifty lines of Gray's *Elegy*.

It is really disgusting to read about the
'stupid and arrogant' attitude of the South
African authorities, who in spite of all the
struggles efforts made on behalf of Mr.

Dyer by the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, did not even allow him to change from the ship he had arrived in, to another, sailing the same day to Durban from where he could take a steamer to East Africa. One can now understand that there has really been no change of heart among the South African authorities after the Cape Town Agreement.

I would invite the attention of Mr. Dyer to the following words of Mahatma Gandhi, which he wrote in the *Young India* of September 29, 1920, while commenting upon the ill-treatment of Indians in New Zealand:—

"I invite the attention of the reader to the account of the treatment of our countrymen in New Zealand. I cannot conceive anything more wantonly brutal than the doings of the white men of New Zealand. It is not as if the colonists are a depraved people. They are brave, generous, charitable and cultured in their own sphere. But they are thrown off their balance immediately they come in contact with us. We are their natural prey. And culture is no bar to their maltreatment of us even as culture is no bar to the killing even say of snakes by the majority of mankind. I have not used a far-fetched illustration. Thousands of Englishmen cannot bear the idea of an Indian claiming or living on terms of equality with them. White superiority, as Mr. Andrews has shown, has become a religion. President Kruger used to say that God had ordained Asiatics to be white-men's slaves. He even introduced the idea in his statute book. He was frank and he avowed it. Others believe it, practise it but would fain break its force by using euphemistic language or worse. It is not possible to blame anybody but ourselves for this badge of inferiority and we alone can remove it by a supreme effort."

The problem of Intending Emigrants to China and Japan.

An esteemed correspondent writes from Japan

In ancient days Indians went abroad to spread the culture, religion, civilization and commerce of their country, but in these days a very large number of them have gone overseas in order to gain a living by serving foreigners in whatever capacity they were engaged. Besides millions of menial labourers abroad the educated

middle class Indians are wandering from country to country in large numbers, solely with the purpose of obtaining a living. This is really a very pitiable aspect of Indian emigration to foreign countries. In the Malay peninsula alone there are at least a few thousands of cultured Indian youths knocking at the door of every commercial firm in quest of jobs. The same condition I noticed in Ceylon when I was there nearly six years ago. Granting that Ceylon and Malaya were adjacent countries, what about those unemployed who come as far as China and Japan paying heavy passage money to the steamship companies, only to find on arrival in these countries that they can do nothing. These men seem to sail away from their homeland with the hope that any country in the East would give them an open door for a prosperous career. Far from it. The purpose of this note is to give a warning to those whose fantastic ideas about their prospects in the Far Eastern countries would merely land them in utter misery and helpless position, if they venture to come without adequate money in their pocket. There are now before me many examples as to how many Indian youths arrived in China and Japan, suffered all possible troubles and returned home with a feeling of repentance for their misadventure. In some cases even worst things have happened, I am told.

"In China and Japan if you seek for a job, a fair knowledge of the language of the country is an essential qualification. Granting that you know this language, your chance lies only with any British or American employer, but they generally secure the services of the Chinese or Japanese at a far cheaper salary than Indians would be content to receive, because in any country the native lives on a cheaper basis than the foreigner. That is an obvious fact. Accordingly, these Americans or Britishers prefer Chinese or Japanese clerks, stenographers, to Indians who demand a far higher wage. There are many Indian business men out here and they have Indian clerks under them. For positions under Indians in the Far East you have to make arrangements with them from India itself. No Indian employer ever engages any Indian staff on the spot and even if they required any they generally employ natives because native labour is so cheap.

First comes the question of living. Except during the summer, the weather in these parts is so cold that an Indian always finds it difficult to live comfortably and the task of clothing oneself in wool, may cost much. As for food, you have no Indian restaurants out here catering Indians. Generally, the Indians who are in China and Japan are business men who live in comforts which cost them a lot, but they can afford it. They have their native servants who prepare their diet but a stranger cannot expect them give him a shelter under their roofs unless under very extraordinary circumstances.

"Paying no heed to these facts Indian youths who are of an adventurous nature continue to rush into Chinese and Japanese towns, undergo all sorts of privations, and then return home after being branded as vagrants."

"I have often been told by these less fortunate people that they left India hoping that their fellow-countrymen abroad would not let them suffer and that they would do all they could to help. While I do not for a moment deny that our people abroad are sympathetic to a certain extent (at least to that extent that they pay your deck passage home) there is a limit to their sympathy and generosity and they cannot be expected to give lodging and food to their thoughtless compatriots who start on their adventures without any idea of the conditions prevailing in these countries."

"On many an occasion I myself have been approached for such help and I must admit that this problem of educated Indians coming overseas for work has been a puzzle to me."

Indian deputation to Malaya

An Indian deputation was arranged to leave for Malaya in 1930 but later the visit was cancelled for some reasons not known to the public. Why should not that deputation be sent this year? The Indian problem in Malaya is grave and the Government of India should do everything to solve it. Although about 70000 Indian labourers have left Malaya for India during 1931, there are still a few lakhs of them left there and they should be protected. Indians must not toil for the prosperity of Malaya at starvation wages and with misery for themselves.

Indians and Africans in Kenya

We are glad to reproduce the following from the memorandum of Mr A. B. Patel, one of the Kenya Indian delegates appointed by the East African Indian National Congress to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa.

"Indians concur in and welcome the broad principles of Native policy enunciated by His Majesty's Government in the Memorandum on Native Policy (Cmd. 3573). In particular, they whole-heartedly support the paramountcy of Native interests in all its implications, and the principles that the relations of His Majesty's Government to the African population is one of trusteeship that cannot be devolved. They desire and will welcome the carrying out of these principles of Native Policy in the letter and in the spirit, and for that purpose will strive to bring the legislation of the colony into conformity with the spirit of that policy and to abolish the several restrictions and restrictive measures applied to the Africans, such as:

- (a) Restrictions on growing crops.
- (b) Restrictions on number of stock owned.
- (c) Native registration (Kipandi system).
- (d) Unfair system of taxation.
- (e) Restrictions on freedom of associations and meetings.

By supporting the cause of the Africans in such unequivocal terms the Kenya Indians have raised themselves in the eyes of all fair-minded persons and have also strengthened their case for justice and equal treatment.

Sedition Ordinance in Fiji

Here are some questions and their replies reproduced from the account of the Legislative Council in Fiji, published in the *Fiji Times and Herald*.

QUESTIONS

The following questions and answers were tabled.

The Junior Member for the Southern Division:—

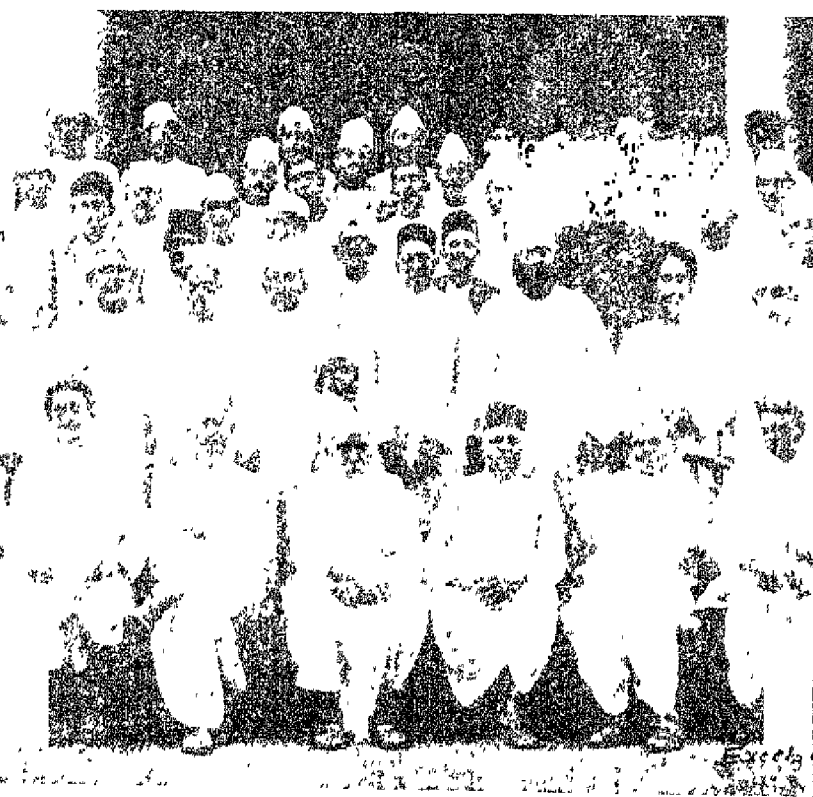
(a) Has the attention of the Government been called to the article in Hindi on pages 4 and 5 of the *Pacific Press* of October 18th, 1930, headed, in Hindi, 'May the Empire be destroyed'?"

(b) What steps does the Government propose to take in connection therewith?"

answer is in the affirmative. Government has had under or some time past the question of seditious publications, to introduce into this Council during a Bill the objects of to provide for the punishment of seditious libel to suppression of seditious matter and to provide for the suspension of publication containing seditious matter." The hon. member refers to the statement of Mr. Bhawanji Dadasaheb Samvatsarji, Magistrate of Arrah, during the 1906 Movement.

At sessions of the Legislative Assembly last the Acting Attorney introduced a bill to control seditious and newspapers. The object given for its introduction is "The Government considers that the time when it is essential to control of seditious publications."

His Excellency the Governor-General opened his opening speech with a reference to the Bill. "There is no present cause of alarm," he said, "but it is well that the Government should be fully prepared to meet any emergency that may arise." This shows that the Government is taking the Bill in anticipation of some emergency. It is remembered that the first Bill introduced by Mr. Bhowani Das was made under similar circumstances, and it was then that several papers in India and abroad were taken by the Indian Government. It will be really a surprise if the Government enacts the Bill. The effect of this single Bill will be bound to give rise to the minds of Indians in India and abroad. The Government is contemplating repression. Already the relations between the authorities and the Indian population there are strained. Indeed, there is an element of danger that will be increased ten-fold if the Bill is enacted.



Executive Committee of the Indian States' Peoples Conference
Bohla Session 1941

Civilized Use of Leisure

Mr. C E M Joad is one of the most brilliant philosophical writers of today. He contributes to *The Argyll Path* a very fine article on the civilized use of work and leisure. The present use of leisure, Mr. Joad says, does not really produce enjoyment nor does it give us beauty, knowledge or enlightenment. Thus it stands doubly condemned. In Mr Joad's view, this failure is due to the notion, very common in these days, that the only appropriate occupation for leisure is the search of pleasure. But "the 'good time' must by its very nature be occasional. 'Good time' if persisted in becomes a necessity, but a necessity which bores, a dismal routine. You cannot take the kingdom of happiness by storm." What then are the activities which are likely to give us the greatest happiness? Mr. Joad says

The answer, I think, is that it matters very little provided that the activity in question involves effort and endeavour. And by effort and endeavour I do not mean necessarily or even mainly effort and endeavour on the physical plane. Life has now in civilized human beings evolved at a level at which it can no longer find its interest continuously engaged by the activities and adventures of the body. I mean effort and endeavour which call forth the use of our highest and most recently evolved faculties, the spiritual and the intellectual. Aristotle affirmed that the best life is to be found in the more or less continuous employment of our highest faculties upon tasks appropriate to them. To fit ourselves for such a life we must tune ourselves to concert pitch and maintain our faculties at cutting edge. Thus the effort and endeavour of the mind in intellectual and creative pursuits, interspersed with intervals of recreation in art and music and the conversation of one's friends, will, if I am right, provide ample occupation for the leisure of the future.

But here another difficulty arises. Such a life, it is obvious, is envisaged very largely in terms of work. It is in work, I contend, that salvation lies. Yet the work of the future, I have suggested, will be mainly machine-minding. Is there not a contradiction here?

The attempt to resolve it brings me to an important point. The distinction which is commonly made between work and play, between labour and leisure is a false one. I do not mean that in the modern world it does not exist, but that it ought not to exist. It is one of the cardinal defects of our present civilization that by contrast-

ing the actual business of production to machines it introduces the distinction in an acute form and perpetuates it. The business of attending to machines is not—it is obvious—such as to satisfy our creative impulses, or give us an instinctive joy in the labour of their hands. A man who works in a factory in company with machines must endeavour himself to become a machine. Like a machine he must confine his energies to the unending repetition of a single very limited process. Like a machine, he does not see the beginning or the end of what he does. Such work, it is obvious, cannot engage our interests or tax our faculties. On the contrary, it destroys initiative, stifle spontaneity and is inimical to the life of the spirit. Human beings are not machines, and they cannot be turned into their likeness without losing most of what makes them human.

Men speak of the dignity of labour, of the joy of achievement, or the pride in work well done. But such expressions are a mockery when applied to the work of the slaves of the machines. Yet, as we are frequently told, we cannot put the clock back, we cannot de-industrialize our civilization, and as I have tried to show above, machines are likely to become more important and to take over more of the functions of production, as our civilization develops there will be more and more powerful machines in the world, not less.

Also, as I have tried to show, work demanding the exercise of effort and the display of talent is a necessity to human beings, and the need for amusement which arises in its absence a tyranny. What is the inference? It is, I think, obvious; men must find in their leisure the satisfaction of which machines have robbed their so-called working lives. In other words, the distinction between labour and leisure must be transcended. Given that the business of producing the necessities to enable society to function economically is to occupy not more than three or four hours a day, the need to find in our leisure an outlet for our need to create, to strive and to endure is obvious. We must work in our leisure not only because long leisure without work is intolerable, but because machines have usurped our work. In a word the sort of life which the sages have indicated must become the ideal of the leisure of the ordinary man.

With the greater use of machinery the leisure of men will increase, and the problem of employing it will take on a different complexion. Mr. Joad goes on to say

With the enormous increase in leisure I envisage and with the accession of energy that shorter working hours would involve, the principle of the hobby would be extended and glorified in of all recognition. Men would come fresh from

the three or four hours' task-work that the production of necessities and the administration of society demanded, to their chosen study or pursuit.

Thus it is to a knowledge of the past in history or archaeology, to the understanding of the physical universe by science or the probing of the secrets of the universe by philosophy, to the creation of beauty in art and literature, to the training and discipline which are necessary for those who seek to know reality in short to creating and to contemplation that leisure, if it is to please and not to bore, will in the main be devoted.

Sport and social intercourse will still have their roles, but they will be secondary ones, they will fall into their proper places as the adjuncts and relaxations of the good life. And men will insist on their right to occasional solitude. The need for country sights and sounds and for solitude to enjoy them is none the less strong because it is so seldom recognized. It is a need for which modern society and in particular modern conceptions of leisure make practically no provision, and because it is thwarted men lose resilience, and live tired and tiring lives. Taking a leaf out of the book of the religious orders, men will go into retreat for several weeks at a time. In solitude they will come to know themselves and in tranquillity to accumulate those reserves of energy and enthusiasm which the right use of leisure demands. Leisure should be a challenge to brace, not an invitation to relax, and to meet that challenge we require that our energies should be fresh and our faculties keen and unsated.

Mahatma Gandhi and Machines

There is a very comprehensive study of the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi by Mr. A. R. Wadia in *The Young Men of India and Ceylon* from which only the passage dealing with his attitude towards machinery is quoted below.

Machinery for him "is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin. . . I cannot recall a single good point in connection with machinery." But since then he has yielded at several points to the logic of facts with reference to railways and cars and telegraphs and printing presses. In an interesting conversation with one Ramachandran, a student of Shantiniketan, recorded in the pages of *Young India*, he makes an interesting exception in the case of the Singer sewing machine. "It is one of the few useful things ever invented and there is a romance about the device itself. Singer saw his wife labouring over the tedious process of sewing and sewing with her own hands and simply out of his love for her he devised the sewing machine in order to save her from unnecessary labour. He, however, saved not only her labour but also the labour of every one who could purchase a sewing machine." Extend this logic further afield and it would be impossible even for Gandhi to deny that all machinery is at bottom a device to save labour and to minimize its tedium.

Studying all these passages together the right line of approach for a spiritual leader like Gandhi would be to see that machinery does not enthrall the soul of man that at no stage shall machinery be anything but subservient to the happiness of mankind. True that the human genius of invention has flourished as much in discovering the most relations means of human destruction in warfare as in discovering most benevolent things but with true spiritual enlightenment it should not be impossible to minimize even to annihilate the scourge of science in evil directions. Gandhi is less than just to himself when he says that the attempt to spiritualize machinery seems an impossible task. If this were true, verily is humanity in great danger for it is impossible to do away with machinery and revert to a by-gone age and yet to be enslaved to it would be a great calamity.

The whole discussion of machinery in Gandhi's writings is dominated by a sullen, silent spirit of asceticism, which has been a most peculiar feature of Hinduism. In the Tolstoy farm he admits that his aim was to lead a life which the poorest of the poor would lead and this holds true of the Salarnati Ashrama as well. In his *Treatise on Health* he actually says, "It is wrong to eat anything for its mere taste." There is absolutely no aesthetics worth the name in him and yet when he comes to speak of dress he suddenly discovers that "dress indeed detracts from the natural beauty of the body." He goes to Haridwar and is repelled by the iron bridge near Lakshman Zala. Mr. Kallenbach and he were on board a ship on their way to London. Mr. Kallenbach was fond of binoculars, but this militated against Gandhi's sense of simplicity and to put an end to endless discussions, which these binoculars gave rise to Gandhi suggested and poor Mr. Kallenbach acquiesced that the binoculars should be thrown into the sea and they were, the claims of simplicity were satisfied.

I should not like to deny that there is something beautiful in certain types of asceticism which have prevailed in India through the ages e.g., the type represented by Rudyard Kipling's Puri Bhagat, who after a life spent in arduous labour would fast in the evening, of his life seek solitude where he could rest at peace. There is beauty in the type of a *samnyasin*, so beautifully pictured by Tagore, who has given up the world to serve the world. But asceticism for the sake of asceticism, void of beauty, serving as a rule not for the few but for all, is an *asceticism* which human nature cannot and thank God will not bear, for it seeks a starvation of that side of the soul of man which delights in beauty and creates great art.

The Women's Movement in Turkey

Mr. H. C. Kumar writes in *Stri Dharma* on the women's movement in Turkey.

Religions and nationalities divide, but life unites. For, strange as it may seem, the whole of the Young Turk Movement owes its inception to one who was a Frenchman by nationality and a Christian by faith. Marquis de Chateaubriand had turned Muslim and become a domiciled Turk. His son, Noury Bey, was a Minister and S in Ad.

Hamid, and his two daughters Zeneb and Melek were the pioneers of the women's movement in Turkey. The story of their romantic struggle has been immortalized by Pierre Loti in his "Disenchanted."

Noury Bey loved his daughters, surrounded them by all kinds of comfortless luxury which was the common lot of all ladies of rank and what is more, gave them fine European education. The sisters understood art, thanks to their French blood, and were accomplished and charming. Zeneb was an artist to her finger-tips, and a fine musician. The tragedy of her life came when she was given away in marriage to the Secretary of her father without her ever having set her eyes upon him. "There was nothing wrong with him," said Zeneb, "except that I did not like him." The whole social system was wrong, but it was not her father's fault.

She made up her mind to break the system, and make herself a "cause." Her sister Melek eagerly joined her "cause." To ventilate their views in the press, even if it were possible, would have been the surest way of courting destruction. They held private meetings, they gave dinners, they arranged music parties, but the "cause" seemed to make no headway. The sisters were in despair.

It was at this juncture that Providence brought the great French Novelist, Pierre Loti, to Constantinople. The sisters knew that Loti was a friend of the Turks and loved their civilization. Only if they could enlist his co-operation. Secret meetings were arranged and the revelations made in Loti's book "Disenchanted" shook the placid waters of the Bosphorus to their very depths. Never before had any Turkish woman poured out of her soul like this before a gaming world. Zeneb and Melek instantly fled to Europe for safety and Noury Bey died a broken-hearted man.

The sequence may be briefly told. Melek married a celebrated Polish composer with estates in Russia, and life was easy, until in the Russian Revolution, they became the property of the Bolsheviks. Melek, then, became a dress-maker in Paris. Zeneb remained in exile till the Young Turk Revolution of 1906 which enabled her to return to her country, but the paradise of her dreams was as distant here as in Europe. "Alas," she said, "I am neither French nor Turkish. These two civilizations are always at war in me, and she died in the prime of her life. Speaking of her exile in Europe, Miss Ellson remarks. "To her exile was agony. Seated at the piano, unaware of my presence, she would play for hours, composing as she went along, the tears streaming down her face. If only some one could have taken it down! Such exquisite music is only born of suffering. A fine talent is buried in Zeneb's far away Anatolian grave."

The Problem of jute Prices

Mr. R. N. Roy puts forward some new suggestions with regard to regulation of the price of jute, in *The Bengal Co-operative Journal*.

Suggestions have been made from time to time for restrictions of the produce by legislation. The danger of restriction unrelated to demand is overlooked by most such propositions. A restricted

crop means high prices. It has been seen year after year that the effect of high price is to tempt the cultivator to go in for a larger acreage under jute the year following. No amount of propaganda can check this tendency. The Bengal cultivator invariably assumes that the year following a good year would be also good and with more produce at his disposal he would make a bigger aggregate and marginal profit.

My suggestion, therefore, is that the problem should be tackled indirectly. When, owing to a probable large crop and contraction of demand, it is anticipated that prices will go down below the cost of production. The cultivator should be given a partial remission of his taxation. The amount so remitted could be recouped by a proportionate addition to the super-tax of the mills for that year. Such a policy will put a check on the mills in deliberately manipulating uneconomic prices. Conversely, if a short crop and a disproportionate rise in the price of the raw material are anticipated, an additional tax should be levied on cultivators and the mills should be given a corresponding remission from their super-taxes.

The temptation of a tax remission will lure him to central markets and will encourage him to come into direct contact with big dealers and buyers at the central markets. The elimination of the middleman's profit will thus be achieved. The contract papers of such villagers who have received lower price than the cost of production may then be sent to the Union Boards who will recommend a proportionate remission. In practice, therefore, this scheme amounts to lowering the cost of production when the price of raw jute tends in a downward direction.

On the other hand, when the price of raw jute is much higher than the cost of production, it will be necessary to help the mills. Each group of mills could submit their average purchase prices to the proposed Central Research Committee, accompanied with a certificate from the Income Tax Department. If the average purchase price is much above the cost of production of the raw material, they would be entitled to a remission of their super-taxes and the Government revenue recouped by an additional tax on the cultivator. The margin over the cost of production which the cultivator should receive would be fixed by the Central Research Committee after considering figures of cost of living, the average budget of a cultivator's family, etc.

The main object of this scheme is to adjust supply and demand, which would mean stabilization of prices and an increase in national productivity by elimination of waste. Any measure which increases national productivity is to the maximum social advantage of the State and the equity of the proposed taxation would then be based on the well-known principle of public finance, namely, the principle of maximum social advantage. It will, of course, be necessary to collect a vast mass of facts and figures for working the scheme outlined above. But the labour is worth undertaking in view of the fact that Bengal's wealth is in jute and that the Government derives so large a revenue from it.

Trade Union Legislation in India

Dr R. B. Gupta contributes to *The Clarion* a very informative article on trade unionism in India, in course of which he gives an account of the legislation in connection with this subject.

Another important landmark in the history of trade unionism in India is the passage of the Trade Union Act in 1926. One of the principles regarding labour which was included in the Poona Treaty is the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as the employers. In 1920 Messrs. Binny and Company, Madras, brought an action against certain officials of the local labour union for inciting the employees of the Buckingham Mills to break their contract. The High Court granted an interim injunction against the officials of the Union, restraining them from making speeches, etc. This interlocutory decision rendered the position of labour leaders highly precarious and showed the need for remedial legislation. A resolution was moved and accepted by the Legislative Assembly in 1921 advocating the need for the registration and protection of trade unions. The Government accordingly drafted and circulated a bill in 1921 which, after some modifications, was passed by the Assembly in 1926 and was brought into force in June 1927. The Act grants immunity to trade unions registered under it from any civil liability in respect of any tortious act done in furtherance of a trade dispute by any trade union official without the knowledge or contrary to the express instructions of the union. Officials and members of registered unions have also been granted exemption from all civil and criminal liability in respect of acts done in furtherance of trade disputes of other legitimate trade union activities. The enforcement of agreements between trade union members, compulsory yearly audit of accounts and free inspection of books and accounts by the public are other minor provisions of the Act.

The Act also provides that trade union funds may not be spent on any objects not specifically included within the legitimate functions of unions nor spent more than one-fourth of their funds for helping other unions or for furthering general labour interests as distinguished from the interests of particular unions. For political activities a separate fund may be constituted by every union provided that contributions to such a fund are entirely optional. With regard to the election of office-bearers and members of the executive committee, also the Act provides that at least half of these must be recruited from actual workmen. Thus the Act has given a new and valuable status to trade unions in the eyes of the public and has helped to direct their activities into proper and constructive channels. By April 1, 1929, 67 unions with a membership of 2,31,220 had been registered under the Act.

A New Educational Experiment

In *The Young Men of India Burma and Ceylon* Mr W. B. Foley gives an account of a very interesting

educational experiment. In 1921, a young American, Frederick G. Williams, was sent by the Methodist Episcopal Church to take over one of their schools near Asansol in Bengal. This was the starting point of a new kind of educational venture, the spirit of which is thus epitomized by Mr. Foley:

I Shangan owes its initiation, its development, its experimental guidelines in the modern philosophy of education. What is attempted in this "Village of the New Day" (as the name is translated from Bengali to English) is to relate the child as an integral unified personality to his present-day social environment and that which he will be expected to be in contact with in the immediate future. We believe that instead of withdrawing a child entirely from his background, however lowly that may be, we should build up in his mind a consciousness of the facts of the environment together with a desire to improve the situation as he finds it. In the past, the tendency has been to remove the child from so-called hampering conditions, and in the process to deprive his mind against returning to it in order to pacify evils that can only be bettered or eliminated by highly trained, understanding leaders. But in *I Shangan* each child has an opportunity to an elemental way to recognize his social relationships and to take an adequate place in carrying them forward in the life of an advancing nation.

In order to grant suitable training to the youth whether boys or girls associated with *I Shangan*, it is necessary to provide instruction and nurture in science, in art, in history, to work out the correct instruments of inquiry and the substantial elements of association between individuals and groups to develop a sound, trained body with a skill of hand and eye, to promote habits of industry, perseverance and usefulness.

We regard *I Shangan* as a laboratory for experiments in personal and social readjustments. Situated as it is only one hundred and thirty miles along the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta in the midst of both coal mines and rice fields, neighbour to a large steel mill, large paper mills, brick kilns and pottery works, the life of the village must deal with village and city problems, rural and industrial difficulties. It is located strategically, from the point of view of producing leadership for the new India.

I Shangan is striving after that education ideal which demands that the leaders of today and to-morrow must be servants of the people among whom they may live. To promote this end there can be no essential differences in the type of education offered to boys and to girls. Each must develop character based on vitality, courage, sensitiveness and intelligence. Audacity will grow out of physical health, courage will be promoted by a minimizing of fear and anxiety plus a view of life that is self-forgetful, sensitiveness will come as a result of a sympathy, understanding of conditions and other people, intelligence grows with a chance and power to learn, a directed curiosity, and a possibility of following reasoned judgment.

There can be no service without a right realization of needs and a fit application of the results of experience. There can be no attainment of

adequate leadership among youth in India without educational experiments somewhat similar in scope and practice to that being undertaken at Ushagram.

India and America

Dr. Tarakanath Das writes in *The Prabuddha Bharata* on "Awakened India's International Cultural Relations." On the cultural relations of India and America Dr. Das says:

In the history of awakened India's international cultural relations, the late Swami Vivekananda stands out as the most conspicuous pioneer figure. In 1893, during the Parliament of Religions, held in connection with the Columbus Exposition in Chicago, he roused world interest in Hindu religion and culture. In every culture centre of America, intelligent and cultured Americans began to take interest in Indian thought. He laid the foundation of the Vedanta Societies in America and other parts of the world. But his real success lies in the fact that he roused Young India of his time to think in terms of world culture and India's world mission. He urged them to go to other countries to acquire all that is best in other civilizations and to spread the priceless heritage of Indian culture all over the world. The name of Swami Vivekananda will always be connected with Indo-American cultural co-operation.

About ten years later Swami Ram of Lahore, who was formerly a professor of mathematics, went to America and Japan. He not only preached Hindu philosophy to American audiences in various parts of the country, but tried to interest American educators to confer scholarships to worthy Indian graduates to study science and agriculture. In 1905 he secured three scholarships in an American Agricultural College for Indian graduate students. This was the real beginning of Indian student movement or India's cultural contact with the United States of America. About the same time, under the leadership of Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chandra Ghose of Calcutta, an Association for the Promotion of Scientific and Industrial Education was organized at Calcutta. This society helped many deserving students to go to foreign countries. (Many of the scholars of this Association went to America.)

During the last 25 years no less than 1,000 Indian students have studied in American Universities and some of them have acquired experience in American industries. Electric Company, Ford Co., U.S. International Harvester Co., J. G.

and others. Today America-trained Indian engineers are playing important parts in Indian industries. There is close co-operation between Indian concerns such as Tata & Co and American business interests.

At the present time more than 300 Indian students are in American Universities. (This is the largest contingent of Indian students in a foreign country except those who are in Great Britain.) In spite of race prejudice in America the authorities of American Universities show their generous hospitality to Indian students. Many worthy Indian scholars are annually awarded Fellowships and Scholarships, on the basis of their merit. More than half a dozen of Indian scholars are now permanently engaged as members of teaching staffs of various American Universities. It is very interesting to note that every year some Indian scholars are invited to lecture in American Universities and Forums, while many American professors annually visit India and some of them lecture in Indian Universities.

In every important University centre in America, through the initiative of Indian students, an Indian Students' Society has been organized. Generally American sympathizers of India became members of the club and cultivate personal contact with Indians. At the present time there are fifteen such societies, which are federated into a national organization of *The Hindustan Association of America* with its headquarters in the International House (500, Riverside Drive) New York. Many prominent American educators are Honorary, Active and Associate Members of this organization. The object of this society is to promote cultural co-operation between India and America by interpreting India to America and America to India. This society does not meddle in politics, yet it has done considerable work to rouse sympathetic American interest in India.

America-returned Indians have formed America Clubs in Bombay, Calcutta and other culture centres of India. They try to co-operate with visiting Americans in India, to cement Indo-American friendship, through cultural co-operation. In this connection it may be noted that America-trained Indians have become instruments of promoting cultural as well as commercial co-operation between the two countries. It may be interesting to note that through mutual efforts of Americans and Indians, during the recent years Indo-American commercial interests have been augmented.

It can be safely asserted that Indo-American cultural co-operation is bound to grow in coming years and this will result in mutual benefit.

FORWARD PERIODICALS

Trotsky on the Five-Year Plan

Recently, a special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* obtained an interview with Leon Trotsky, in exile in his villa on an island in the sea of Marmora. In course of this interview Trotsky gave his considered views on the Five-Year Plan in Russia:

World opinion on the Five-Year Plan has consisted until recently of two fundamental assertions that are absolutely contradictory: first, that the Five-Year Plan is Utopian and that the Soviet State is on the verge of economic failure; secondly, that Soviet export trade involves dumping, which threatens to upset the pillars of the capitalist order. Either of these two assertions can be used as a weapon with which to belabour the Soviet State but together they have the great disadvantage of being radically opposed to one another. To upset capitalist economy by offering goods at low prices would require an unprecedented development of productive forces. If the Five-Year Plan has suffered a check and Soviet economy is gradually disintegrating on what economic battle-field can the Soviet Union marshal its ranks to open a dumping offensive against the most powerful capitalist states in the world?

Which, then, of these two contradictory assertions is correct? Both of them are false. The Five-Year Plan has not suffered a check: this is demonstrated by the efforts to transform it into a Four-Year Plan. Personally I regard this attempt at acceleration as premature and ill-judged. But the mere fact that it is possible, the fact that hundreds of Soviet economists, engineers, works directors and trade unionists have admitted the possibility of such a transformation, shows that the plan is far from being the failure it is declared to be by those observers in Paris, London, and New York who are accustomed to study Russian affairs through a telescope.

But suppose we admit that this gigantic plan may become a reality, should we not, then, admit the possibility of dumping in the near future? Let us consult statistics. Industrialization in the U. S. S. R. is increasing at the rate of 20 to 30 per cent per annum—a phenomenon unparalleled in economic history. But these percentages indicate a rise from the economic level that the Soviet Union inherited from the former owning class, a level of appalling backwardness. In the most important branches of its economy the Soviet Union will remain, even after the realization of the Five-Year Plan, far behind the more advanced capitalist states. For instance, the average consumption of coal per person in the U. S. S. R. will be eight times less than it is in the U. S. A.

to-day. Other figures are more or less analogous. At the present time—that is, during the third year of the Five-Year Plan—Soviet exports represent about 1% per cent of the world's export trade. What percentage would suffice in the opinion of those who fear dumping to upset the balance of world trade? Fifty per cent, perhaps, 25 per cent, 10 per cent? To attain even the last figure, Soviet exports would have to increase seven or eightfold thereby instantly causing the ruin of Russian domestic economy. This consideration alone, based as it is on undisputed statistics, demonstrates the falseness of the philippics of such men as the *Lockyer-Lumpsons* in England and Representative Fish in America. It matters not whether such philippics are the product of lead bath or of sincere panic: in either case, they are deceiving the public when they assert that Soviet economy is failing and at the same time claim that enough Russian goods can be sold abroad below cost price to menace the world market.

The most recent form of attack called forth by the Five-Year Plan appeared in the French newspaper, *Le Temps*, which pursues the same aim as the British *dis-hardards* and may without exaggeration be described as one of the most reactionary papers in the world. Not long ago this journal drew attention to the rapid advance being made in the industrialization of the U. S. S. R. and called on all the western states to coordinate their economies for the purpose of boycotting Soviet trade. In this instance there was no question of dumping: the rapidity with which economic development is occurring was in itself considered a menace to be opposed by vigorous measures. One point should be emphasized in order to remain effective: an economic blockade would have to become more and more stringent and this would eventually lead to war. But even if a blockade were established and war ensued and even if the Soviet system were overthrown by such a war—which I do not for a moment consider possible—even then the new economic principle of state planning that has proved its efficiency in the Soviet system would not be destroyed. Such a course would merely result in sacrificing many lives and arresting the development of Europe for decades.

But to return to our former question, will the Five-Year Plan be realized? First we must know just what we mean by 'realization' and this is not a matter that can be determined with minute precision, like a sporting record. I see the Five-Year Plan as a working hypothesis used as the basis of a gigantic experiment whose result cannot be expected to coincide exactly with the hypothesis. The relations between the various ramifications of an economy over a period of years cannot be established *a priori* with any exactitude. Compensatory corrections must be made and here

progress of the work itself. However, I am certainly of the opinion that, allowing for necessary corrections and alterations, the Five-Year Plan is realizable.

Recent Discoveries in Medicine

The scientific contributor of *Current History* summarizes in the latest number of that paper the latest discoveries in medical science:

Through long years of research scientists have discovered some thirty-seven essentials of human diet, including the growing list of vitamins, amino-acid constituents of protein, metals and other food elements. Not long ago manganese was added to the list, and now Dr. E. V. McCollum of Johns Hopkins University, discoverer of the need of manganese, has added to the list another chemical element, magnesium.

Dr. McCollum is now engaged with his associates in finding what happens when some of the essentials are omitted from diet. The importance of vitamins and of the three food classes, fats, carbohydrates and proteins, has been established. Less is known about the eleven inorganic elements which are included in the dietary essentials, among them the elements magnesium and manganese. In an earlier study, Dr. McCollum and his associate, Miss Elsa Grent found that the absence of manganese affects propagation and rearing of the young, even wiping out such a powerful emotion as maternal solicitude. Convulsive death is found to result from lack of magnesium. More significant than the experimental production of a new dietary deficiency disease is the evidence these studies give of hitherto unsuspected relations between two endocrine gland systems and two inorganic structures. Manganese appears to be related to the pituitary gland and magnesium is connected in some way to the adrenal glands. In spite of the confusing similarity in name magnesium and manganese are wholly different. Magnesium is a white metal, lighter in weight than aluminum. A small amount of it is a necessary part of the normal diet.

One of the great problems of modern medicine is the conquest of cancer. Studies of far-reaching significance which may lead to the solution of the cancer problem have been made by Dr. Elmer McDonald, director of cancer research at the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Medicine, and his associates, Gladys E. Woodward, Janet W. Schoonover, Edith G. Fry and Edward G. Torrance. The blood of patients with untreated cancer has been found to be more alkaline than normal. Increased alkalinity seems to be related to the speed with which the disease will kill the patient—the greater the alkalinity, the quicker the disease kills. Treatment by X-ray or radium, which may cure or at least retard the disease, affects the alkalinity of the blood. The condition of the blood may be found a means of predicting the course of the disease and the success of treatment. Likewise a new method of treatment may be developed which will be the long-sought specific cure for this dreaded malady.

A new essential to life has been found in the protein of milk, according to an announcement by Dr. W. C. Rose of the University of Illinois in a report to the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology. At present the identity of this substance is hidden in the complexity of the brownish, somewhat crystalline powder that Dr. Rose's laboratory records describe as the "active fraction" of casein, the protein contained in milk.

Extensive feeding experiments upon white rats led Dr. Rose and his co-workers, Dr. Ruth H. Elbs, W. Windas and Miss Florence Gatherwood, to the finding of the new life essential. The protein portions of the food given these animals was replaced by highly purified amino-acids which are known to be the chemical building blocks from which nature constructs the necessary proteins in food. The twenty known amino-acids were used in the diets of the rats, and if these twenty chemical compounds were all that makes the proteins of natural food satisfactory for growth and maintenance, then Dr. Rose's rats should have grown well and waxed fat. But they did not. Starting the search for the unknown food essential, Dr. Rose added small amounts of casein from milk, gluten from wheat and gelatin from meat to the rodent menus. Casein which helped the rats to grow, was split by chemical processes until finally a fraction was found that caused the animals to grow normally when just 5 per cent of it was added to their purified amino-acid means. This fraction is obtained under appropriate conditions from the casein by butyl alcohol extraction.

Dr. Rose cannot yet assign his hitherto unrecognized food factor to a proper place among the vital food essentials, such as vitamins and amino-acids. More research will be necessary before this can be done. It may prove to be one of the amino-acids, of which twenty are now known to science. Four out of these twenty—cystine, tryptophane, lysine and histidine—are regarded as absolutely essential to life.

Hitlerism

The success of the National Socialist Party in Germany, which has frightened France, has naturally roused the interest in the origin and growth of the movement. Herr Wolf von Dewall, the political editor of a very important German daily, contributes to the *International Affairs*, the organ of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, an account of the character and contributory causes of Hitlerism, which is reproduced in an abridged form in the *International Digest*.

If I were asked to define in a few words the essence of Hitlerism, I should describe it as the counter-poison to the spirit of revolution and national defeat which developed owing to the general disappointment of Germany in her relations with the victor nations, and which attained tremendous proportions owing to the disruptive

the country at the time of the inflation.

Adolf Hitler, now forty-one years of age, was born in Austria, the son of a petty official. His ambition as a youth was to become an artist. In this he was disappointed, and he eventually became a draughtsman in an architect's office in Vienna. There he got into touch with Labor circles, but, owing to the fact that he was not himself a Socialist, he was prevented from obtaining further work, and lived in great poverty for a number of years. From this period undoubtedly dates his anti-Marxist sentiment. In Vienna he also came into contact with many Galician Jews, who are perhaps not the best representatives of their creed and race. Hitler served throughout the World War in the German Army, and was wounded several times. After the War he became political propaganda officer in the *Reichswehr* at Munich. In his capacity of propaganda officer, Hitler made the acquaintance of Gottfried Feder, an engineer, who is now the chief economist of the party. Inspired by a speech of Feder's in which the latter developed his economic programme, Hitler became a member of the *Deutsche Arbeiter Partei*, which up to that time possessed only six members. He soon became leader of the party, whose membership rapidly increased, and which he rechristened the National Socialist Party.

Knowing the dissatisfaction of young Germany with present conditions inside the Reich, Hitler attaches great importance to the party contacts with the younger generation. We realize how important this may be when we remember that 25 per cent of the German electorate has only reached voting age since the end of the War.

In his instructions to his followers, Hitler has announced as his opinion that personality is more important for purposes of agitation than the written word. This explains the amount of time given to meetings and the fact of the establishment of a school of oratory at Herrsching, near Munich. Each of the thirty districts into which the Reich has been divided for their party purposes now possesses some half-dozen well-trained speakers.

Although stress is laid on the power of the spoken word, it goes without saying that propaganda literature is not neglected; the party owns and runs a growing number of daily newspapers and an illustrated weekly. Its central organ, the *Volkische Beobachter* of Munich, at present has a circulation of more than 165,000.

The Military Preparations of the U. S. A.

The Chief of the Staff of the United States Army has put forward a plan for the conscription of eleven million men for the United States Army. This has given rise to excited comment in the American Press. Speaking against this new menace of militarism the pacifist *World Tomorrow* says:

On grounds of patriotism and common sense alike the War Department's recently announced plan to conscript men and materials is an utterly incredible document. One might easily assume that its authors had never heard of the Briand-

Kellogg treaty and that they are entirely ignorant concerning the nature of modern warfare.

In spite of the fact that in solemn treaty the United States has renounced war as an instrument of national policy and has agreed never to seek the settlement of any dispute whatever its origin or nature except by pacific means, and the further fact that the Government has signed a network of conciliation and arbitration treaties with two-score other Powers—notwithstanding this locally and morally binding commitment to the processes of peace, General MacArthur, Chief Staff, has announced a plan which under specified circumstances calls for the conscription of eleven million men.

For what purpose are these young citizens to be drafted? Self-defence? Against whom or what? If this Government observes its obligations and conducts its international relations in a friendly fashion is there any evidence that our shores will be in danger of invasion? To envisage a situation which requires four million soldiers and other millions of drafted civilians to repel marauders bent upon pillage and destruction is a fantastic and highly dangerous procedure. There is, of course, a mathematical possibility that Canada may attack this country with armed troops. But four and armed battalions along our northern border would not constitute the surest defense against assault. By a flights of imagination one can throw himself into a hysteria of alarm, lest Great Britain or Japan or Russia land hostile troops on our soil. But it should be equally obvious that this remote contingency can be avoided in more effective ways than by threatening to draft eleven million men.

The truth is often admitted, however, that vast multitudes of armed conscripts are not really needed for the defense of our homeland, but for protection of our national rights. Frequent reference is made to the enormous volume of our foreign trade to the degree of our dependability upon many foreign commodities and to possible controversies concerning interpretations of the freedom of the seas and the respective rights of neutrals and belligerents. It is high time that patriotic citizens realize clearly that the effort to uphold our point of view in such a quarrel by resort to war is absolutely illegal. Our Government has agreed never—never—never to seek the settlement of any dispute whatsoever by warlike means. Therefore any proposal to use drafted men as a method of maintaining our rights in an international controversy is unlawful and nugatory.

Furthermore, the projection of war plans on such a gigantic scale causes one to wonder if military and naval officials have really grasped the nature of modern warfare. It was the present occupant of the White House who, some years ago, expressed the opinion that the next great war will be "the cemetery of civilization." Three factors combine to make clear the inescapable truth of this prophecy: the terrible toll of life and property that would be taken by the diabolically improved weapons of combat, the harvest of devastation that would be wrought by malnutrition and starvation due to the disruption and dislocation of the means of production and distribution in an intricately interdependent industrial society; and the almost certain probability that under such circumstances violent class war would break out in numerous regions of the earth. The officials of State—to

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With abundant reason, therefore, does the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America view the War Department's draft measure 'as fraught with grave danger to our country.' Now is the time for patriotic citizens to protest against this proposal to take illegal action in seeking to maintain our rights, for parents to register emphatic opinions as to the madness of sending their children down the road that leads to suicide, and for loyal citizens to announce their unqualified refusal to support a system of armed defence which cannot be used on a great scale without immeasurable and irreparable loss in terms of human life, property, morality, and religion. Letters, telegrams, resolutions, and petitions should descend as a flood upon the President, the Secretary of State, and members of Congress!

Gandhi and America

Mr. John Haynes Holmes tells his readers in *Unity* what Mahatma Gandhi has to teach America.

What Gandhi could do for India or for himself on a visit to this country is very questionable. But he could do much for America! For this reason, if for no other, there must come a time when the great leader of the Indian people may come here and be received in honour and humility. More than any other man of whom we know, the Mahatma could teach the citizens of this country the meaning of the Christianity which they profess so loudly and practise so lightly. No Catholic nor Protestant, no churchman nor layman, in all our Christian world, has so revealed the secret and mastered the discipline of the religion of the Nazarene as this saintly Hindu. Though he is not himself a Christian, we should see in him, if he came to these shores the first real Christian that most of us had ever beheld. Then Gandhi could tell us how to accomplish our reforms, how to overcome the enemies who betray us and enslave us, and thus win the liberties we crave. We know little to do now except to fight and hate, and destroy by force and violence. But centuries ago a great prophet declared that progress is won not by power nor by might but by my spirit, saith the Lord, and the Mahatma is the living witness among us of this injunction. Again, Gandhi could remind us of the divine simplicities. His food and clothes, for example! These must be viewed against the background of traditional eastern life—also as a weapon in his leadership of an impoverished people against a wealthy empire. But fundamentally they are Gandhi's proclamation of the eternal truth that 'the life is more than meat and the body than raiment.' Lastly, there is the Mahatma's inner sanctity—his repose and strength and purity. One day out of every seven he gives to his 'period of silence,' when he communes not with any man, but with his own soul alone. Think of what it would mean to us Americans to be led from the hurly-burly of our outward distractions to the secrets of inner meditation and peace! Yes, Gandhi has much to teach us.

The MacDonald government in England has in many ways been a grievous disappointment. But for all this, we rejoice that the Labour Cabinet seems once again firmly seated and thus likely to hold office for months to come. We want this government, among other things, to have full opportunity to enact Philip Snowden's taxation on land values. This would mark an epoch in the history of democratic England. Then, too, we feel that in the present European turmoil and anarchy, MacDonald and his colleagues can be more safely trusted to lead the way to peace than any other party group in Parliament. Certainly it is only through the influence of British Labour that we can have any hope at all of agreement upon disarmament this coming year. But most important of all is the Indian situation. After years of excitement and months of despair, there is now at least a prospect of an agreement which will grant the Indian people what Gandhi has well called 'the substance of independence.' Whatever MacDonald's mistakes in the past, he is obviously the one man in England today to meet the Mahatma and find with him the way to peace. We have only to think of the only possible alternates—the unscrupulous cunning of Lloyd George, the amiable weakness of Stanley Baldwin, the blind intransigence of Winston Churchill—to realize that it is MacDonald who must sit down at the round table with Gandhi, if the Indian crisis is not to slip or be hurried back into utter chaos. So we are putting by our criticisms and questions of British Labour, and praying for the continuance of this party in power for another six months at least. Government, as we know it today, is a weak reed everywhere. How badly it humbles its chances, and how miserably it betrays its ideals! But, as governments go these days, the MacDonald administration must have our support and blessing.

Recent Trends in Biology

In *The New Republic*, Professor Julian S. Huxley summarizes the recent trends in biology.

During the present century there have been a number of important developments in biology: the disciplines of heredity, of development and of ecology, to mention only three, have grown from very modest beginnings into true sub-sciences. But the various sub-sciences have interlocked, and perhaps the most important single result of the last thirty years' work has been to unify the whole science of biology, which at the beginning of the century, was sadly disrupted.

Thirty years ago, evolution had become more or less of an armchair subject, against whose academic sterilities many of the most original minds in biology were in rebellion. There was as yet no plausible theory of heredity. What is now the science of animal behaviour had just emerged from the anecdotal stage. Comparative anatomy had become a formidable but isolated discipline which not infrequently (I am quoting from Radl's 'History of Biological Theory') was so busy comparing one thing with another that it sometimes forgot to ask what either of them really was. Sex determination was still a mystery. The idea of 'ormones' had not

been properly formulated by the physiologists, and had not penetrated at all to general biology. The physiology of development was in its infancy so was the science of comparative physiology. The study of function, when it was not anthropocentric and medical, was (if I may coin a word) batrachocentric, for it dealt almost wholly with frogs, and there was little inter-penetration between departments of physiology and zoology. Cytology, the study of cells and their miniature organs such as chromosomes, was well developed, but had made few contacts with other branches of biology. And systematics was quite content to go on piling up new species (or at least new specific names) and to fill in minor details as to geographical distribution.

Today, biology is a unified science. It is still, of course, full of gaps, obviously incomplete on every hand; but its different branches have sprouted and become organically united. It is now possible to teach biology as a connected whole, some universities have even begun to do so.

The transformation has not been due to any one factor. The rediscovery of Mendel's work in 1900 was the first vital stimulus, for through it, not only was a new sub-science of heredity created but at a bound the microscopical study of cells came to be linked with the study of experimental matings in the breeding-pen: the chromosomes turned out to be the microscopic agents of Mendel's laws.

The Pope and Labour

The same paper discusses the recent encyclical of the Pope on Labour, in a leading article

The Encyclical of Pius XI, *Quadragesimo Anno*, on the fortieth anniversary of the encyclical of Leo XIII on the same subject, is profoundly true in its main premise—that spiritual considerations and the economic organization of society cannot be divorced. This is not a Christian order, and the behaviour of its leaders is not Christian. The concentration of wealth, the immense disparity between the excessive prosperity of the rich and the destitution of the unemployed, and, what is still more important, the fact that the chief motivation of the most powerful individuals is to accumulate material goods, while they do nothing to prevent the evils of the system from which they benefit—these things are in grotesque contrast with the teachings of Jesus. Nor is general acceptance of the Pope's premise dependent on adherence to any one system of Christian theology, or even on belief in the Christian doctrines themselves. Any state of society carries its own intangible values, you cannot establish any set of moral principles in the lives of men without an appropriate human environment.

The economic implications of Catholic doctrine, as set forth not only in the encyclicals of Leo and Pius, but still more so in the teachings of the early church fathers, are radical indeed. An editorial in *The Catholic World* for May makes this uncompromisingly clear. "The bread that you withhold," said St. Basil, "belongs to the hungry." St. Augustine declared, "They who possess superfluities possess the goods of others." "The

earth," taught St. Ambrose, "belongs to all, not to the rich." Pope Gregory I wrote, "When we give necessities to the needy, we do not bestow upon them our goods; we return to them their own; we pay a debt of justice rather than a mercy. And according to St. John Chrysostom, "No one is able to become rich without injustice." This straight speaking is far more than an injunction to voluntary charity. It constitutes a firm basis for the statement of Pope Pius that "It is therefore absolutely necessary to reconstruct the whole economic system by bringing it back to the requirements of social justice so as to ensure a more equitable distribution of the united proceeds of capital and labour."

These are brave words, but apparently they do not indicate the principal reason for the encyclical. If they did, the Pope ought to have devoted more attention to the question how the radical implications of the church doctrine are to be effectuated. What he says on this point seems to be a lame and watered-down conclusion. He talks about a "fair and just wage", co-operation among the various trades, industries and occupations, the prudent application of Christian principles. This is not a formula of economic reconstruction; it is an appeal to those who now control our present economy to be good. It is not a recognition of the right of the worker to demand something better, but an admonition to the rich to exercise charity. Unless the full text of the encyclical, which has not been published as we write, contains something more than this, the Church has no new light to offer to the present economic crisis.

The encyclical is addressed primarily, however, not to the rich, but to labour. Its message to labour is that he who becomes a Communist loses his soul and that "It is not possible to be at once a good Catholic and a true Socialist." While many points of Socialist teachings are conformable to the principles of the Church, any agreement in doctrine remains always absolutely impossible." The Pope is really concerned, not so much with establishing a better economic order, as with saving for the Church the masses who are drifting to types of secular leadership which are beyond Catholic control or influence. We say this not in a cynical spirit, the Church correctly recognizes the danger to itself of movements like Communism, and, in lesser degree Socialism, which really are rival religions, which exert an influence over every aspect of human behaviour, spiritual and moral as well as economic, and which are in some respects as well organized as the Catholic Church itself. If the Pope really believes that a person must be a Catholic for the good of his soul, then it follows that he must combat such movements as Socialism and Communism, which are bound to diminish the membership and weaken the authority of the Church.

The Soviets and the Workers of the World

The Pan-Pacific Worker reproduces the speech of Joseph Stalin at the Conference of Industrial Leaders of the Soviet Union, in course of which he defines what he considers to be the duty of the Soviets to the workers of the world

But we have other, more serious and important obligations, namely, obligations towards the world proletariat. These last are in agreement with our obligations to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, but we place them higher. The working class of the Soviet Union is a part of the working class of the world. We are winning thanks not only to the efforts of the working class of the Soviet Union, but also thanks to the support of the international working class. Without this support we should have been swallowed up long ago. It is said that our country is the shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. That is well said. But for the sake of what is the international proletariat supporting us? Whereby do we merit this support? We merit it because we were the first to plunge into the fight against capitalism, because we were the first to set up the workers' power and that we have been the first to commence to build up socialism. We merit this support because we are accomplishing something which if successful will transform the whole world and emancipate the whole of the working class. What, however, is necessary for success? Liquidation of our backwardness, development of a higher Bolshevik tempo in the building up of socialism. We must move forward at such a pace that the working class of the whole world which is watching us can say, here is our advance-guard, here is our shock brigade, here is our workers' power, here is our fatherland—the cause of Soviet Russia is our cause, well, we shall support it against the capitalists and fan the flames of the world revolution. Must we justify the hopes of the international working class? Yes, we must, if we do not wish to be defeated in the end.

These are our obligations.

You see that they dictate to us the Bolshevik tempo of our development.

I am not saying that in the last few years nothing has been accomplished in regard to the running of industry. Something has been achieved, and in fact very much. We have doubled the production of industry compared with pre-war time. We have created the greatest agricultural production in the world. We should have been able to do even more, however, if we had striven in this time to learn really to master production, to acquire knowledge of its technique and its financial and economic side.

In ten years at the most we must cover the distance that separates us from the advanced countries. We must possess all the "objective" possibilities. We lack only the ability correctly to utilize these possibilities. That, however, depends upon us, only upon us. It is time that we learnt to utilize these possibilities. It is time to put an end to the reprehensible attitude of non-interference in production. It is time that we adopted another, a new attitude appropriate to the present period, to interfere in everything. Are you a director of a factory? then interfere in everything. Let nothing escape you. Learn and again learn. The Bolsheviks must acquire a knowledge of technique. It is time that the Bolsheviks became specialists. In the reconstruction period technique decides everything. And a manager who does not learn technique and does not desire to learn it, is a joke but no more. It is said that it is hard to acquire a knowledge of technique. That is not

true. There are no strongholds which the Bolsheviks cannot capture. We have solved far more difficult tasks. We have captured power. We have diverted the middle peasants on to the path of Socialism. We have already accomplished what is most important from the standpoint of socialist construction. There is still a trifle left for us to do: to learn the technique, to acquire a knowledge of science. And when we have done that we shall adopt a tempo such as we do not even venture to dream of to-day. We shall, however, do this if we really have the will.

Sterilization of Criminals

The Literary Digest has an interesting note on the sterilization of criminals.

Sterilization of mental defectives is legal in fifteen States, but the new Oklahoma law includes the sterilization of third-term criminals, and thus raises an issue which, we are told, will undoubtedly call for review by the highest court in the land.

The law, designed not as a punishment for the criminal but as a protection for society, appears to be based on the assumption that criminal tendencies are hereditary.

Any third-termers in the State penitentiary or reformatory, sentenced for felonies, is subject to the law, according to an Associated Press dispatch. Administration is left to the State Board of Affairs which controls all State hospitals and prisons.

"More attention ought to be paid to the criminals than to persons of unsound mind," said Gov. W. H. Murray in giving his signature to the bill. As the same dispatch quotes him further, he went on:

"Criminality and weakness of the brain both unmistakably are due to inheritance.

"Sterilization is not a punishment, but a protection. It carries no stigma or humiliation. It is a human measure for the best interest of all."

Medical boards would pass first on criminals and insane persons subject to the law. Appeal to the courts is possible.

In some States, as Iowa, for example, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* informs us, the law has not been used in others, such as Indiana. It has been held unconstitutional, in a few, notably California and Minnesota, it has been much employed and with public approval.

The Wisconsin bill, which revises a previous and little enforced law, applies to feeble-minded persons in State institution and others with certain inherited diseases.

"This," says *The Post-Dispatch*, "follows the urging of eugenicists, who advise the method for preventing continuance of defective strains, with their burden on society," and it continues:

"Aside from letting them run at large, the alternative is segregation and confinement, but the cost and limited facilities generally forbid this. Mississippi, for instance, estimates the annual cost of institutional care for its feeble-minded at \$714 per person. As there are about 600,000 such defectives in the country, the cost of their care would be enormous.

"In forms of hereditary insanity, such as the widely prevalent dement a präcox and manic depressive psychosis sterilization is so urged.

"The treatment, which consists of a very simple operation, has been fully illuminated by Justice Holmes' dissent. Three generations of criminals in its measure, the operation is on an uncertain ground, maintains the law."

"First, such a law is of doubtful value for in other States it has been rejected as a cruel and unusual punishment thrown upon use of sterilization as a punishment."

"Although it is the eugenicists' right of parentage is a serious State to undertake."

"It is a pioneering movement with great potentialities for improvement, but with pitfalls as well. It will be watched with wide interest."

Difficulties of Co-operation between Britain and India

Bishop Francis J. McManis, in his book, *Co-operation between Britain and India*, contributing a series of interesting articles to *The Christian Century* of July 1933, one of these he says that the main difficulty as between Great Britain and India is psychological: after which he writes that "that is merely to say that the difficulties are the main difficulty. The difficulty can be greater than a psychological one." Then he goes on to say:

As an illustration, consider the malaria in India. Malaria is a more deadly disease in India than typhus, or cholera, or bubonic plague, or cholera. Not only does it take a heavy toll in the death of its victims, but it even heavier cost in the slowing down of the country's energy. It is all the more dangerous because the fact that many of its attacks are fatal, the extinction of malaria depends upon activities of which anyone is capable of doing away with breeding places for the disease. Yet these activities must involve the community's willing effort. Literally, co-operation, such co-operation under foreign control becomes increasingly out of the question.

Years ago when Carranza was in Mexico, Mexico was dreadfully afflicted with cholera. A United States philanthropic organization offered to stamp typhus out of Mexico. Carranza would grant the necessary police control. Carranza refused, and was the world over for inhumanity. He knew what he was about. It would be impossible to get the co-operation of the people for such an enterprise, especially in a land of more than three hundred millions. In a land of more than three hundred millions, the conquest of any great physical plague is impossible without the co-operation of millions. In matters the English in India have, it seems, gone about as far as they can on the present basis. The whole world is under a debt of gratitude to Great Britain for the steps already taken in the battle against disease in India, but Great

Britain taught St. Ambrose, "belongs to all, not to the rich." Pope Gregory I wrote, "When we give necessities to the needy, we do not bestow upon them our goods; we return to them their own; we give them a debt of justice rather than a money." And according to St. John Chrysostom, "No one is able to become rich without injustice." This straightforwardness is far more than an injunction to voluntary giving. It constitutes a firm basis for the statement of Pope Pius that "It is therefore absolutely necessary to reconstruct the whole economic system bringing it back to the requirements of social justice so as to ensure a more equitable distribution of the united proceeds of capital and labour."

These are brave words, but apparently they do not indicate the principal reason for the encyclical. They did, the Pope ought to have devoted more attention to the question how the radical implications of the church doctrine are to be effectuated. At he says on this point seems to be a lame and tired-down conclusion. He talks about a "fair just wage"; co-operation among the various trades, industries and occupations; the prudent application of Christian principles. This is not a rule of economic reconstruction, it is an appeal to those who now control our present economy to good. It is not a recognition of the right of the worker to demand something better, but an injunction to the rich to exercise charity. Unless the full text of the encyclical, which has not been published as we write, contains something more on this, the Church has no new light to offer in the present economic crisis.

The encyclical is addressed primarily, however, to the rich, but to labour. Its message to labour is that he who becomes a Communist loses his soul and that "It is not possible to be at once a good Catholic and a true Socialist." While many of the Socialist teachings are conformable to the teaching of the Church, "any agreement in doctrine remains always absolutely impossible." The Pope is really concerned, not so much with establishing a better economic order, as with saving for the Church the masses who are drifting to types of secular leadership which are beyond Catholic control or influence. We say this not in a cynical spirit; the Church correctly recognizes the danger itself of movements like Communism, and, in a serious degree, Socialism, which really are rival religions, which exert an influence over every aspect of human behaviour, spiritual and moral as well as economic, and which are in some respects well organized as the Catholic Church itself. If the Pope really believes that a person must be a Catholic for the good of his soul, then it follows that he must combat such movements as Socialism and Communism which are bound to diminish the membership and weaken the authority of the Church.

The Soviets and the Workers of the World

The Pan-Pacific Worker reproduces the speech of Joseph Stalin at the Conference of Industrial Leaders of the Soviet Union, in course of which he defines what he considers to be the duty of the Soviets to the workers of the world:

But we have other, more serious and important obligations, namely, obligations towards the world proletariat. These last are in agreement with our obligations to the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, but we place them higher. The working class of the Soviet Union is a part of the working class of the world. We are winning thanks not only to the efforts of the working class of the Soviet Union, but also thanks to the support of the international working class. Without this support we should have been swallowed up long ago. It is said that our country is the shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. That is well said. But for the sake of what is the international proletariat supporting us? Whereby do we merit this support? We merit it because we were the first to plunge into the fight against capitalism, because we were the first to set up the workers' power and that we have been the first to commence to build up socialism. We merit this support because we are accomplishing something which if successful will transform the whole world and emancipate the whole of the working class. What, however, is necessary for success? Liquidation of our backwardness, development of a higher Bolshevik tempo in the building up of socialism. We must move forward at such a pace that the working class of the whole world which is watching us can say, here is our advance-guard, here is our shock brigade, here is our workers' power, here is our fatherland—the cause of Soviet Russia is our cause, well, we shall support it against the capitalists and fan the flames of the world revolution. Must we justify the hopes of the international working class? Yes, we must, if we do not wish to be defeated in the end.

These are our obligations.

You see that they dictate to us the Bolshevik tempo of our development.

I am not saying that in the last few years nothing has been accomplished in regard to the running of industry. Something has been achieved, and in fact very much. We have doubled the production of industry compared with pre-war time. We have created the greatest agricultural production in the world. We should have been able to do even more, however, if we had striven in this time to learn really to master production, to acquire knowledge of its technique and its financial and economic side.

In ten years at the most we must cover the distance separating us from the advanced countries of capitalism. We possess all the "objective" possibilities for this. We lack only the ability correctly to utilize these possibilities. That, however, depends upon us, only upon us! It is time that we learnt to utilize these possibilities. It is time to put an end to the reprehensible attitude of non-interference in production. It is time that we adopted another, a new attitude appropriate to the present period, to interfere in everything. Are you a director of a factory? then interfere in everything. Let nothing escape you. Learn and again learn. The Bolsheviks must acquire a knowledge of technique. It is time that the Bolsheviks became specialists. In the reconstruction period technique decides everything. And a manager who does not learn technique and does not desire to learn it, is a joke but no manager. It is said that it is hard to acquire a knowledge of technique. That is no

true. There are no strongholds which the Bolsheviks cannot capture. We have solved far more difficult tasks. We have captured power. We have diverted the middle peasants on to the path of Socialism. We have already accomplished what is most important from the standpoint of socialist construction. There is still a trifle left for us to do: to learn the technique to acquire a knowledge of science. And when we have done that we shall adopt a tempo such as we do not even venture to dream of to-day. We shall, however, do this if we really have the will.

Sterilization of Criminals

The Literary Digest has an interesting note on the sterilization of criminals.

Sterilization of mental defectives is legal in fifteen States, but the new Oklahoma law includes the sterilization of third-term criminals, and thus raises an issue which, we are told, will undoubtedly call for review by the highest court in the land.

The law, designed not as a punishment for the criminal but as a protection for society, appears to be based on the assumption that criminal tendencies are hereditary.

Any third-term in the State penitentiary or reformatory sentenced for felonies, is subject to the law, according to an Associated Press dispatch. Administration is left to the State Board of Affairs which controls all State hospitals and prisons.

"More attention ought to be paid to the criminals than to persons of unsound mind," said Gov. W. H. Murray, in giving his signature to the bill. As the same dispatch quotes him further he went on:

Criminality and weakness of the brain both unmistakably are due to inheritance.

"Sterilization is not a punishment, but a protection. It carries no stigma or humiliation. It is a human measure for the best interest of all."

Medical boards would pass first on criminals and insane persons subject to the law. Appeal to the courts is possible.

In some States, as Iowa, for example, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* informs us, the law has not been used, in others, such as Indiana, it has been held unconstitutional. In a few, notably California and Minnesota, it has been much employed, and with public approval.

The Wisconsin bill, which revises a previous and little enforced law, applies to feeble-minded persons in State institution and others with certain inherited diseases.

"This," says *The Post-Dispatch*, "follows the urging of eugenicists, who advise the method for preventing continuance of defective strains, with their burden on society," and it continues:

"Aside from letting them run at large, the alternative is segregation and confinement, but the cost and limited facilities generally forbid this. Mississippi, for instance, estimates the annual cost of institutional care for its feeble-minded at \$714 per person. As there are about 600,000 such defectives in the country, the cost of their care would be enormous.

"In forms of hereditary insanity, such as the widely prevalent dementia praecox and manic depressive psychosis sterilization also is urged.

The treatment, which consists of a comparatively simple operation, has Supreme Court sanction, illuminated by Justice Holmes's memorable statement, "Three generations of imbeciles are enough."

But in including sterilization of third-term criminals in its measure, Oklahoma treads on uncertain ground, maintains the St. Louis paper.

"First, such a law is of doubtful constitutionality, for in other States it has been rejected as consisting of 'cruel and unusual punishment.' Scientists frown upon use of sterilization as a means of punishment.

"Although it is the eugenist's dream, control of the right of parentage is a serious matter for the State to undertake.

"It is a pioneering movement in social science, with great potentialities for improving the country's stock, but with pitfalls as well. Its development will be watched with wide interest."

—

Difficulties of Co-operation between Great Britain and India

Bishop Francis J. McConnell is contributing a series of interesting articles on India to *The Christian Century* of America. In one of these he says that the main difficulties as between Great Britain and India are psychological; after which he wisely observes, "that is merely to say that the main difficulties are the main difficulties, for no difficulty can be greater than a psychological one." Then he goes on to say:

As an illustration, consider the conquest of malaria in India. Malaria is a deadlier enemy in India than tigers, or cobras, or smallpox, or bubonic plague, or cholera. Not only does it exact a heavy toll in the death of its victims but an even heavier cost in the slowing down of human energy. It is all the more dangerous from the fact that many of its attacks are so mild. Now the extinction of malaria depends almost wholly upon activities of which anyone is capable—upon the doing away with breeding places for mosquitoes. Yet these activities must involve an entire community's willing effort. Literally everybody must co-operate, such co-operation under foreign direction becomes increasingly out of the question.

Years ago when Carranza was president of Mexico, Mexico was dreadfully scourged by cholera. A United States philanthropic organization offered to stamp typhus out of Mexico if Carranza would grant the necessary sanitary police control. Carranza refused, and was denounced the world over for inhumanity. Nevertheless he knew what he was about. It would have been impossible to get the co-operation of the Mexican people for such an enterprise, especially at a time of strain between the United States and Mexico. In a land of more than three hundred millions the conquest of any great physical plague is impossible without the co-operation of millions. In such matters the English in India have, it seems to me, gone about as far as they can on the present basis.

The whole world is under a debt of gratitude to Great Britain for the steps already taken in the battle against malaria in India, but Great Britain

cannot take any more steps, for the next steps involve the close co-operation of India. The advice that Great Britain handle physical situations like these after the fashion of the United States in Panama is virtually irrelevant when the populousness of India is taken into the account. If sanitary police power is used in India it will have to be the power of the people themselves, to be successful. Experts will indeed have to be called in but if the public tension of the past year is renewed those experts will be German or Japanese rather than English. One of the tragic features of the Indian situation is the possible loss to England of the opportunities for expert service in India. One English expert told me that if he had to work more directly under Indian control rather than under English he would go back to London forthwith. Well, Japanese and German and American experts will work under such direction.

Again, it is apparent that India suffers from unfortunate consequences of some of its religious beliefs. It has been pointed out time and again that the sacredness of the cow in India practically involves the existence and preservation of cattle by the million which are of no economic value whatsoever. The cobras of India are in actual effects on human living less deadly than the cows, for the expensiveness and uselessness of cows by the million which are not well enough nourished to serve as milk producers—means that babies die that cows may live.

He also gives another example of the change that is coming over the British attitude towards India—that of the Lawrence statue at Lahore.

There stood in Lahore until the time of the meeting of the Congress which a year or two ago called for Indian independence a notable statue of Sir John Lawrence. The hero stood forth in a defiant attitude, proclaiming that the people of India could choose whether they would be ruled by the pen or the sword. There are a good many such statues in India, of martial figures with belligerent gesture, though the spectacle is not so bad as in Washington, D. C., where, as has been said, the military statuary display resembles a bronze cavalry charge. During the Congress at Lahore the uproar of the delegates caused the Lawrence statue to be removed. I think it was tipped over and lay sprawling in ridiculous impotence for a day or two. Then it was brought out again in a less conspicuous spot, with the legend changed into the declaration "With pen and sword I served you." Nobody now objects. There is notable contradiction between the firmness, not to say ferocity, of the features, and the mildness of the inscription. As a matter of history, Sir John did serve India and the grueness of his features is thoroughly English after all. All of which has a symbolism the sculptor did not intend. Britain will change her statement of her purpose toward India, and will continue to serve in an entirely altered position. I could wish that Sir John's bronze neck were not quite so bare and tense, but it is a good neck and well worth looking at on its own account.

Lord Beaverbrook and the League

Lord Beaverbrook has launched an attack on the activities of the League in the *Daily Express*. "The League," he says, "is a European concern" and ought to be kept at arm's length by the British Empire. Lord Beaverbrook's arguments are analysed by the *Time and Tide*.

"Our choice must be between Europe and the Empire," he writes. "If we throw in our lot with Europe, we must be content to see the standard of living of our population fall to the European level." But what is "the European level"? The level of Holland and Sweden, or the level of Bulgaria and Spain? And if the British Empire remains outside the tariff union, what is it to do? Effect a United Free Trade unit of its own, with an imperial wage-level? If so whom should we include and whom shut out? The textile workers of India, the African miners, the weavers from Hong-Kong, the British Guaman agriculturists? These, as well as Belgians and Magyars, have their wage-level. Once we begin to repudiate continents or groups wholesale, on account of their lower wage-rates, we find ourselves in a somewhat odd position. The only hope among such confusions lies in the organization Lord Beaverbrook would repudiate—the I. L. O. at Geneva.

Lord Beaverbrook also dreads "the peril of war which our European commitments bring in their

train." He is apparently unaware of a war in 1914 into which we were plunged largely because our commitments were not sufficiently definite. He speaks of the Locarno Treaties involving us in a quarrel between France and Germany, "as remote from us, both economically and culturally, as Poland"—a true comparison, when Poland is at our doorstep. Our voices can reach her; our aeroplanes visit her in a few hours; her corridor to Danzig gives us, as it were, a back street into our naval problems.

Lord Beaverbrook is singularly behind the times. He is living still in the eighteenth century when Poland formed the outer margin of the more adventurous gentleman's grand tour. He is living in a cosy little pre-industrial age before cheap and rapid transport annihilated distance before international cartels annihilated economic isolation; before the affairs of one country became inextricably entangled with the affairs of all others. He would have us say of Europe, "Am I my brother's keeper?" when the answer today is to any state, as it once was to any individual, 'of course.' We are members one of another. We cannot escape, for good or evil. We keep, and are kept by, our neighbours.

It may not be a very serious matter that one rather feather-pated Canadian gentleman does not yet know what century he was born in; but it seems a pity that his secretaries should allow him to give his ignorance away quite so gratuitously in his own press.

Princely Pride*

A BALLAD BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Translated by Nagenbranth Gupta

While the Emperor Aurungzeb was engaged
Rending India from end to end

To him came the Lord of Marwar and said,
'Majesty, late in the silent night Nahur—
'Far famed as the vanquisher of tigers—
'Seized the Chief of Sirohi and brought him
'A captive to my house. Command me now,
'What is your royal pleasure in regard
to him?'

Said Aurungzeb, 'What is this wonderful
thing

That I hear? Has the lightning primed
'With the thunderbolt been caught?

'With a few hundred hillmen the Rajput
roamed

'Over hills and in forests; he was free
'Even as the mirage of the desert.

'We wish to set our eyes upon him. Send
'A king's messenger to escort him to our court'

With folded hands said Yasovanta of Marwar,
'Let the Emperor pass his word that no
indignity

'Shall be offered to the captive Chief and I
'Shall bring him to the court with all honour'

The Emperor laughed as he made reply,
'You are wise and brave, Maharaja Marwar,
'Yet you shame me by your words; is it
for me

'To hurt a proud man's pride and so abase
'The pride that is my own heritage from a
line of kings?'

Put the thought as de and let him come to me,

* This incident is worthy of note as it shows the Emperor Aurungzeb in an unusual mood of magnanimity and generosity. From the Annals of Rajasthan.

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JULY, 1931

eror's court came Surtan of Sirohi.
 'Marwar bearing him company :
 ped Sirohi with his head held high
 s looking straight in front of him
 ndered the courtiers all around,
 nce to the Emperor's Majesty !'
 itly on Yasovanta's shoulder
 led Sirohi with languid grace,
 ead only to the elders of my race !'
 es of wrath shouted one of
 the throng,
 you how a head rolls in the
 dust !'

'Fear and I have b
 The Chief shifted l
 On his sword at a

Held out his hand
 The proud Lord by h
 'What land in Hind
 Answered Surtan, 'Ac
 'There is no land like

ghed the Lord of Sirohi,
 'God forbid
 tear should ever bend my head'

The courtiers laugh
 'Valliant Prince,' said
 'Hold Achalgarh as



on of Mr Ramananda Chatterjee at the railway station Bombay

NOTES

Disunion Among Muslims

Disunion among the people of India is one of the sources of her weakness, standing in the way of her exerting her full strength to win freedom. The inter-communal disunion existing at present does not mean, for example, that all Muslims hold political views different from those held by Hindus. It means that some Muslims hold different political opinions whilst others agree with the Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi has declared his intention to accept whatever unanimous or almost unanimous demands the Muslims may make. Even before this declaration was made, patriotic Muslims felt the need of unity in their community. Mahatma's declaration strengthened this feeling, with the consequence that there were negotiations between separatist Muhammadans and nationalist Muhammadans in which, among others, the Nawab of Bhopal played a prominent part. The last scene of the negotiations was Simla. It was as bad a choice as could have been made. For, though even among leading separatists there were many who were eager for a compromise—and it has been said that they formed perhaps the majority among these leaders—the political atmosphere of Simla did not make for unity. There were sinister influences at work which led to the break-down of the negotiations. That the atmosphere of Simla was unhealthy and that there would be sinister influences at work to make agreement difficult, if not impossible, had been foreseen even before Dr. Ansari published his account of the break-down of the negotiations.

Dr. Ansari has not said who was, or were, the evil genius, exerting sinister influence. But *The Mussalman* of Calcutta, the most noted among English Muhammadan organs for trying to be correct in its statements, has made the following definite allegation, which we believe to be true:

The special representative of the great "Friend of India" at Simla fixed the responsibility for the break-down of the Simla negotiations on the representatives of the Nationalist Muslim Party but it is evident even from the statement of Maulvi Shafi Daud that it was the representatives of

the All-India Muslim Conference, who were responsible for it. And we are informed from a reliable source that Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sir Muhammad Shafi's attitude was highly conciliatory and that it was Sir Fazli Hossain, a Member of the Government of India, who stood in the way and dissuaded the representatives of the Muslim Conference from accepting the proposals which Dr. M. A. Ansari and his colleagues were prepared to consider.

After mentioning the details which go to establish Sir Fazli Hossain's culpable complicity, our contemporary comes to the conclusion:

"It is now as clear as daylight that it was the representatives of the Muslim Conference, and not of the Nationalist Muslim Party, that were responsible for the break-down."

Sir Fazli Hossain, who as a Member of Government had absolutely no business to interfere, carried the day, to the delight of the enemies of India and evidently to the detriment of the interest of the Muslim community and the country."

Government servants are forbidden to take part in politics. It is understood that the rule does not apply to European Government servants. And it is also understood that politics means such politics as supports Indian nationalism and the demands and efforts of Indians to be free. Therefore, if any Indian Government servant promotes anti-nationalism, he is not only held not to have taken part in politics, but is considered to have rendered signal service to the Government. Hence, the cry or half-suppressed cry of some of our Indian contemporaries that Sir Fazli Hossain should be cashiered or otherwise suitably dealt with, is a cry in the wilderness.

Imperialist Britishers generally get their dirty work done by subservient Indians. In the present case, it would be worthwhile to discover at whose instance the Government servant or servants at Simla (whoever they may be) have brought about the break-down of the negotiations. It will perhaps be said, these mischief-makers had not really been given any orders by anybody to carry out. Assuming that to be the case, the mischief-makers must surely have done their evil work for getting *bakhshish*. Who is or are the party in a position to give *bakhshish*?

It is to be regretted that there is persis-

tent disunion in Muslim ranks. If Muslims could have agreed among themselves, Mahatma Gandhi would have been able to agree to their requirements, would have been able, when going to England to attend the Round Table Conference, to feel and say that one condition precedent to his attendance, namely, achievement of communal settlement, had been fulfilled, and he would have been able to confront the British people with the agreed demands of the Indian nation. For the moment, the enemies of India have prevented this possibility. But their triumph is destined not to last long.

R. T. C. and Congress Working Committee

The Working Committee of the Congress, at its last meeting in Bombay, rightly resolved that, even if there were no communal settlement, the Congress should, other circumstances being favourable, take part in the ensuing session of the Round Table Conference, and that Mahatma Gandhi should attend it as the sole Congress representative. Gandhiji himself was opposed to this resolution and fought against it. But he could not convince and make the majority of the members of the Committee accept his view. So, as he is a man of democratic temper, he has agreed to carry out the wishes of the majority. Nothing less was expected of a leader of his eminence and devotion to the cause of the country.

We have never failed to appreciate the value of Mahatmaji's condition that he would attend the R. T. C. provided that there was a communal settlement arrived at and that the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin truce were carried out. We need not now deal with the latter item. As we have said in the previous note, joining the R. T. C. after a communal settlement would strengthen Gandhiji's hands, as then he could carry in his pocket the ultimatum of a united nation, which the British people could disregard only at their peril and at the risk of jeopardizing world-peace. But if a section of the Muslims or of any other community continued to stand out and did not join the nationalist ranks Mahatmaji would not be able to exert his full strength, as he would not be accepted as the spokesman of the entire nation and would not be able to bring the utmost possible pressure to bear on British imperialists and on world public opinion.

And even if in spite of the holding out or defection of a section of the people, *swaraj* were obtained, it would not be *pure* or full *swaraj* or self-rule. For it would not be the expression and embodiment of the will of the entire body of the Indian people. Such being the case, the whole nation would not co-operate towards the concrete realization of the *swaraj* ideal. Nay, on the contrary, the opponents of *swaraj* within the body politic might try to thwart it, and the external or foreign enemies of *swaraj* would find a ready tool in the former to discredit *swaraj* and practically to nullify it.

Having said this much in favour of Mahatma Gandhi's condition of a communal settlement precedent to his joining the R. T. C., we must also say why we were opposed to his making it an indispensable condition.

In the history of national independence movements it is generally found that peoples seeking to be free were not always absolutely unanimous. There were often backsliders to break national solidarity. For example, in the War of American Independence some colonists who then resided in or afterwards migrated to what is now known as Canada, were not with the Independentists. Independence had to be won in spite of these loyalists. Of course, there is a difference between the American War of Independence and the Indian Struggle for *Swaraj*. The result of the former depended on superiority in armed fight. If, as was ultimately proved to be the fact, the insurgent colonists were superior in armed might to the British people and the loyalist colonials combined, the former could be free. In the case of India, as the situation now stands, freedom has to be won by negotiation with the representatives of Britain. So, the greater the unity among ourselves, the better the terms we can dictate and obtain. Of course, if the negotiations break down at the R. T. C., or if owing to unfavourable circumstances Congress and Mahatmaji be not able to take part in it at all, the Indian War of Independence may come to bear a greater resemblance to the American War of Independence, with this difference that in the latter armed physical force was resorted to and in the former the chief declared belligerents, the Congress Party, would wage a war of non-violence. In that case, Congress would have to win in spite of some section of the

people or other passively standing out or even actively helping the enemies of self-rule. Such a contingency we do not look forward to with pleasure. But should it arise, the probabilities are that the majority of Indians would win the day. And that is the usual implication of democracy. By the majority is not meant the Hindu majority community. For all Hindus are not democratic, nor are they all nationalists. By the majority we mean the nationalist majority, consisting of nationalists belonging to all religious communities, Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Jewish, Christian, Parsi, Muslim, Sikh, Brahmo, Arya Samajist, etc.

National solidarity and unanimity has always been a valued ideal. But no nation has yet refused to strive for or accept freedom because of its want of absolute solidarity and unanimity. Mahatmaji also had said that the struggle for freedom would go on even if there were no communal settlement, and it would be only the negotiations with Britain which would not then be carried on.

Another disadvantage of making a communal settlement the indispensable condition precedent to joining the R. T. C., would be to give a strangle-hold to any groups of men who might, for whatever reasons, choose to act as the dog in the manger. This has been perceived by even *The Times* of London. Anti-national groups may act as they do, either because of their narrow outlook and unenlightened selfishness, or at the instigation of official and non-official British imperialists. Usually both causes are present in an inextricably interwoven condition. For these reasons, to have absolutely refused to join the R. T. C. in the absence of a communal settlement, would have been to play the game of the British imperialists, who have all along refused to listen to our demands on the excuse that they were not unanimous national demands whilst all the while trying to strengthen the forces of disunion among us, directly and indirectly.

There is no doubt that it is far more consistent with and conducive to national self-respect to be able to settle our internal disagreements ourselves than to have to look to any outside agency for such settlement. But national disunion being both the cause and effect of national subjection, and national subjection being the lowest point of national political humiliation, it may

be necessary under certain circumstances to use the humiliating factor itself to get rid of it ultimately.

The League of Nations and Indian Minorities

From what we have said above, it will be clear that we quite understand that the most dignified course to adopt for the settlement of communal disagreements is to settle them ourselves. And our leaders have been making that endeavour. But it cannot be said that in no case should a people struggling to be free take any kind of help from any other people. Did not the Greeks take the help of Britishers to shake off Turkish domination? Did not the Americans take the help of the French to liberate themselves from the British yoke? Of course, so far as the Indian struggle for freedom is concerned, these are not exact parallels. But, as the holding out of a section of Moslems is standing in the way of our achieving *swaraj*, we have cited those historical examples to show that submitting the Indian minorities problem to the arbitrament of the League of Nations would be neither an act of national abasement nor of unheard-of lack of absolute national self-reliance, particularly as India herself is a League Member and as many independent countries have availed themselves of the League Treaty.

If India had been in the enjoyment of independence for long, she could have settled her minorities problem in her own way and could have, when asked to sign the League of Nations Minorities Guarantees Treaty, replied like the British and the French that she had no minorities problem. In France there is the Alsatian problem and perhaps also Basque nationalism, and in Britain there are the Scottish and Welsh Home Rule movements. But France and Britain are free and independent countries, and when they claim to be in a higher stage of political evolution than countries which have minorities problems, when they say they have none, and when, therefore, they refuse to sign the League Minorities Guarantees Treaty, who can *effectively* say them nay? Seeing that we are not in the political condition in which Britain and France are, it would be futile and perhaps a little ridiculous to try outwardly to behave like them, though lacking their inward strength.

In an article in *The Calcutta Weekly Notes*, Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerjee has given his view of the question, which is similar to, though not exactly identical with, ours. Says he in the course of that article

The legal position emerging out of the aforesaid facts and considerations, therefore, is (a) that India and his Majesty's Government, as [among the] victorious Powers in the Great War are themselves [with other such Powers] primarily responsible for the minorities Treaty to which they are themselves [with others] the high and contracting parties, contributors, and signatories, (b) that they are instrumental in imposing that Treaty upon nearly as many as 20 sovereign States of Europe, and (c) that having, as victors in the Great War, devised the Minorities Treaty as a step towards Universal Peace, they lodged this Treaty with the League of Nations to enforce its working and provisions in the States bound by that Treaty, like Turkey.

When it is, therefore, suggested that India, being already legally committed to this international scheme for the protection of Minorities now left to the League for enforcement, should apply the scheme to herself, it should not be taken to imply that India is asked to invoke the arbitration of an external authority in a matter of her domestic concern and to take a step that is compromising to her national self-respect. The suggestion is quite the contrary: India is asked to apply to her own Minorities problem the solution which she herself [along with others] has devised for other sovereign States like Turkey. She is asked to function in this matter in her high and dignified capacity as an original member of the League of Nations where her status is equal to that of England, France, Italy, or Germany, and not in her usual capacity of subordination to His Majesty's Government in England. She is asked to operate as a completely free and sovereign power in a sphere where her full freedom and sovereignty are legally established. She is asked to take full advantage of such a position of complete independence which she has acquired by her membership of the League of Nations, carrying with it a higher international status than her membership of the British Empire. It was on her membership of the League of Nations that the present Secretary of State for India laid a great stress in his memorable speech in Parliament that India had already secured "Dominion Status in action." The suggestion in question, therefore, enhances the prestige of India by asking her to adopt the solution of her Minorities Problem which she has herself [with others] framed and guaranteed as a member of the League, that Parliament of Man, to which the British Parliament itself is inferior in status, instead of permitting the British Parliament to force on her a solution.

We are not jurists and have not studied International Law. But, in the particular question under discussion, it appears to us clear that any state which is a Member of the League as Britain and India are, and which

admits that it has Minority problems, as India does, is bound to settle that problem according to the principles accepted by the League and given effect to in some 20 states

"India in 1929-30"

We have received a copy of the official publication bearing this name. But as "the contents of this book are strictly confidential until the third July, 1931," we can say nothing more about it. If the contents had been confidential till the 30th June, we could have said something in this issue, having got it a few days before that date

Decline of White Man's Prestige in India

A *Reuter's* telegram, dated London, June 23, runs as follows in part:

According to particulars of Lord Irwin's meeting with the Conservative India Committee, published by the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Telegraph* Lord Irwin attributed the decline in the white man's prestige to the Japanese defeat of the Russians, the use of Indian troops in the Great War and the influence of the cinema.

Lord Irwin deprecated a Parliamentary debate on Cawnpore as it was likely to increase Hindu-Muslim bitterness, but he was informed that a debate had already been decided on, to be held as soon as possible after the Inquiry Commission's report was available.

The *Daily Telegraph* states that Lord Irwin explained that it was impossible to deal with "boycott" through the ordinary law, and said that the only way out of the difficulty was for the Government of India to put a duty on coarser cloths from Japan and give Britain preference in fine cloths.

This was followed by the sub-joined telegram:

Mr Wardlaw-Milne, Chairman, Conservative India Committee, has issued a statement declaring that the newspaper reports of Lord Irwin's address to the Committee have been issued without authority and in many important points they give an entirely misleading version of Lord Irwin's statement. — *Reuter*

This contradiction does not mean that Lord Irwin did not say anything of the kind he is reported to have said, but that the publication of some portions of the speech has been inexpedient and somewhat embarrassing.

In French the word prestige means illusion, glamour. In English, no doubt, it means influence, reputation, derived from past achievements, associations, etc. But the French meaning sticks to the English meaning at least the atmosphere of the former often

surrounds the latter. Because, the "influence" or "reputation" often persists or tries to persist long after the parties have become incapable of the achievements from which it originated, and others have become capable of the same, or long after the achievements themselves have been shown to be mere illusion. Whatever that may be, the desire to live on the credit of past achievements is unhealthy and betrays degeneracy and a decadent mentality.

If an eastern nation has defeated a western nation, that is an aspect of the reality. No man who loves truth, who loves the reality, should cherish a desire for the persistence of the *prestige*, the illusion (in French) of European invincibility. Similarly, the illusion that Indian soldiers cannot fight like European soldiers disappeared at the Great War, along with the illusion that the former can never beat the latter. Perhaps the Great War has also shattered for ever the belief, if and so far as it existed, among Indian soldiers and camp-followers and their kindred, that Europeans were in every respect morally superior to Indians. European (including British) illusionists may want that the illusion should be everlasting, but no lover of the truth, the reality, should cherish such a desire.

The cinema, along with British and American pictorial and unpictorial newspapers and fiction, reveals to India the seamy side of the West. They enable Indians, no doubt, to know that Western civilization has a dark side. It exposes the claim of moral superiority of the West. But inasmuch as the cinema gives only a partial view of the West, not revealing its nobler aspect also, and, as it may mislead Indians into thinking that there is nothing good in occidental civilization, and also because films with a sexual or criminal appeal have a tendency to degrade Indian cinema fans, it would be good to ban such films altogether in India.

The first two causes reported to have been assigned by Lord Irwin for the disappearance of the white man's prestige in India, are also associated with the rise of nationalism in this country. Hence, to cherish a desire for the permanence of the white man's prestige is indirectly to regret the national awakening in India and to wish that there were no such awakening.

Cawnpore Report and Communal Bitterness

When it is alleged that Lord Irwin said, a debate in the Commons on the Cawnpore riots enquiry report would create bitterness of feeling between Hindus and Moslems, one cannot but be incredulous that that can be the real reason or the strongest reason for any upholder of British rule in India to oppose such a debate. Even setting aside the theory that the riots owed their origin to what agents provocateurs did, it is practically admitted in the official enquiry report that so many murders and the destruction and loot of so much property could have been prevented if the Executive and the Police had taken prompt action instead of remaining like unconcerned spectators for three days. Give the Hindus or Muhammadans or both whatever bad names you like, but the largest share of the blame for bloodshed, arson and plunder must fall on those paid public servants whose bounden duty it was to prevent such things and who had sufficient forewarning, time, opportunity, strength of numbers and resources to do so, but did not. Hence the thing to be most feared from a sifting debate in fearless search for the truth is the exposure of what the officials did and did not.

It is idle, however, to expect that the debate is going to be of that character. There would be speakers to make political capital out of the riots—to throw all the blame on the Congress and Mr. Gandhi and to seek to prove (illogically enough) that the outbreak of such riots necessitated the presence of the British rulers in India—even though the number and ferocity of such outbreaks are increasing *under British rule* and the British rulers *do not or cannot* prevent them or check them in time. Other speakers there might be who would try to show that the officials did all that was possible, that Magistrate Sale could not do more for fear of being sacked and because there was no strong rule in the country, etc.

For his strenuous labours at Cawnpore before, during and after the riots, Mr. Magistrate Sale has taken and got long leave. But such a saviour of the Empire deserves a higher reward. As such reward cannot be given from the public treasury of India, his admirers at "home" may present him a heavy purse by subscription.

Boycott of British Cloth

Lord Irwin is reported to have suggested that the boycott of British textiles in India can be met by placing a heavy duty on coarse Japanese stuff and giving preference to finer stuff from Lancashire. If the Government of India has the power, it may try all such expedients. But they are bound to fail. India is not going to give any preference to Great Britain, or, for that matter, to any other foreign country, as regards the supply of her cloth. India can and will produce all the cloth she requires. It is only a question of time and organization.

The boycott was first tried in India as a politico-economic weapon during the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, with some success. The use of this weapon for political purposes has again been made during the period of Satyagraha, with some success. In fact, the truce is due far more to the boycott than to the sufferings of those who got seriously injured or died in consequence of *lathi* charges or shooting and of those who were imprisoned. Imperialistic hearts are not sensitive to these things like the hearts of tender sentimental school girls. Loss of trade pierces the pachydermatous imperial shopkeepers far more than the sufferings inflicted on others by their agents. So, if necessary, the boycott will have to be used as a political weapon again. But whether its political use be required or not, it should and will be used for economic purposes both before and after the winning of Swaraj. Congress and Mahatma Gandhi have resolved that it should be so used.

Boycott, Lancashire and Mr C. F. Andrews

The news is going the round of the papers that

On the invitation of the Society of Friends Mr. C. F. Andrews is temporarily living among the Lancashire cotton workers in order to gain first-hand experience of the distress suffered as the result of the Indian Boycott. He has been staying with the weavers of Blackburn and Darwen, centres of Indian trade and finds very great suffering among the poor. Without doubt the distress would have been unbearable, although inevitable under the present conditions. He will report to Mr. Gandhi the result of his enquiries.

While sincerely sympathizing with those in distress in Lancashire, we do not know what Mr Gandhi can do to alleviate it. There is and has

been far far greater unrelieved misery among a vastly larger number of Indians for generations than there has been among a comparatively small number of Englishmen for a year or so owing to the Indian boycott. The Lancashire weaving industry, so far as it was meant to supply cloth to India, was in its origin a superfluous and unrighteous industry. The Indians were not naked savages. They made their own cloth with their own cotton for themselves. The Indian weaving industry was ruined by the wicked use of political power in order that the Lancashire weaving industry might thrive. For a long time Indians lay dazed and unorganized at the feet of Lancashire. Now they have come to their senses and are trying to revive their weaving industry. They cannot do so without some sort of protection. So long as the Englishman is master here, there can be no effective law for the protection of the indigenous textile industry. Therefore, the people of India must use the law of economic boycott in self-defence. It is not our intention to hurt Lancashire. If we had money to spare after relieving the misery of our near neighbours for the law of swadeshi is that they should be looked after first -- we would give pecuniary help to Lancashire. But we have no money to spare, and England is so wealthy that she can lend millions and millions of pounds to foreign countries and also invest untold millions there. So England herself is in a position to help her poor in various ways.

We cannot give up our own natural weaving industry for many reasons: because it is natural, as the raw material grows here, and every people has the right and is expected to manufacture its raw material; because it is perfectly righteous for a people to meet its own requirements in that way; and because, if we indirectly or directly helped Lancashire to live and grow rich at our expense, we should be confirming them in the unrighteous and predatory habit of living and growing rich at the expense of others. These are harsh words to use. But we use them only because nothing else will express the exact truth.

Even if Lancashire's textile industry had not prospered by the decline of the Indian weaving industry, we should have the right to build up a weaving industry of our own and give it such protection as it required. Our boycott is directed against all fore gn

textiles British, Japanese, American, Italian, etc

As a humanitarian and a patriotic son of Britain, Mr. C. F. Andrews has been doing his duty. We have no fault to find with him on that score. But the British people should also understand that we are also humanitarians and patriotic children of India, moved, not by hatred of Britain or feelings of revenge, but by love of the land we live in and were born in.

Congress, Swadeshim and Coal

Congress has rightly prescribed that all Indians should use cloth woven by Indians of Indian yarn spun by Indians. There is also a movement for the use of Indian cotton alone for spinning. This also is to be commended.

It is expected that Indian cloth and Indian yarn are to be purchased and used, even if the consumer has to pay a higher price than if he used foreign goods.

While the consumers of cloth are expected to make and many of them are making sacrifices—and it has to be borne in mind that most purchasers of Indian cloth belong to the poorer and poorer middle classes, it would be only fair to ask whether the rich mill-owners who are gainers by the cult of *swadeshi* are prepared to make a little sacrifice.

We ask the question, as the *Sanjivani* has stated that the mill-owners of Bombay Presidency, and perhaps of some other places also, use South African "bounty-fed" coal, which is somewhat cheaper than the coal extracted from the Behar and Bengal coal-fields. If this be a fact, it shows the mill-owners in an odious light; as, if true, it means that they are for *swadeshi* only for making profits. We hope some one will draw the attention of Mahatma Gandhi and the Working Committee of the Congress for prompt enquiry into the matter. If the statement of the *Sanjivani* be not correct, it should be contradicted. If it be correct, the Congress Working Committee should make its opinion known as to whether *swadeshim* includes the use of Indian coal or not. We do not own coal mines or shares thereof, nor cotton mills or shares thereof. So, we cannot say whether the use of Indian coal by Indian cotton mills would make the cost of production of yarn and cloth so high as to make the mills losing concerns

Our impression is that the use of Indian coal may only slightly reduce the profits of the mills. For such comparatively small sacrifice of profits the mill-owners should be prepared, seeing that men far poorer than they have been making relatively greater sacrifices.

Two Princes and the Federal Scheme

Whatever importance British imperialists in India and Britain may attach to the opinions of the Maharaja of Patiala for reasons of their own, the people of India cannot help feeling some repugnance to noticing anything ostensibly emanating from that living political gramophone. That person spoke in support of the Sankey federal scheme at the R. T. C. He has now to say that he has changed his mind. Those of our Indian contemporaries who have a penchant for absolutely new information will be pleased to learn that H. H. has a political mind of his own, with ample room for French, German and other recondite political lore.

Journalists have often to perform tasks for which they have no liking. Hence we were thinking what to do with the latest Patiala stunt, when to our great relief another Maharaja, that of Bikaner, stepped into the arena. So let the two princely antagonists fight and let others remain spectators, waiting for the flooring of the one or, the other or of both.

The Sankey scheme itself, that to which the Princes and their representatives and the British Indian "delegates" gave their provisional assent at the Round Table Conference, cannot be approved by the people of British India and the Indian States. Hence the mere fact of anybody criticizing it need not turn us against him. We dislike it for some reasons, he may dislike it for other reasons. Some of the reasons for our not liking it will be found stated in that portion of the presidential address to the Indian States' People's Conference which deals with the Bikaner Dewan's speech on federation and confederation. There are other reasons which cannot be exhaustively stated here. The tentative list of subjects to be federalized is seriously defective. For example, labour legislation has not been proposed to be federalized and criminal and civil legislation

has been left in an uncertain and amphibious position.

Though the Maharaja of Bikaner has entered the lists against his brother prince, he himself cannot but be held responsible for the speech of his Dewan Sir Manubhai Mehta. The latter could not have spoken without the approval, if not at the bidding, of his master. If that assumption be correct, it may be said without injustice to the Maharaja of Bikaner that the Patiala Maharaja has, to some extent, only carried Bikaner's way of thinking to its logical conclusion. The following words recently used by the Maharaja of Bikaner lend colour to this view:

"Whatever previous unfortunate statements made in British India might have justifiably caused alarm to the states, I decline to believe that anyone in British India and elsewhere would fail to recognize our claims, when justly and clearly put forward, or that they would force the states to have ultimately to refuse to enter federation."

Even before the claims of the states have been "justly and clearly put forward," we have recognized them. But we do not recognize that the rulers have any claims which are opposed to the interests of their people. The people are the essential and the most important factor in all lands. Their rulers have no *locus standi*, qua rulers, except as chief servants of their people.

As for forcing any Prince to enter the federation, even the Sankey scheme as it stands at present leaves it quite optional for any state to enter or not to enter it.

Mr Tairsee's Speech at Indian States' People's Conference

The speech delivered at the third session of the Indian States' People's Conference, held at Bombay, by Mr. Lakshmidas Raoji Tairsee, the Chairman of its Reception Committee, was quite appropriate to the occasion—straightforward, to the point and commendably brief. After welcoming the delegates, he explained the *raison d'être* of the Conference and what it had done so far, which is by no means insignificant. He was right in observing that it would be better for the Conference to meet in some Indian state or other and therefore invited the next session to his "16th Century Cutch." Before closing his speech, he made an appeal to the Princes in the following words:

Before I close I will like to express a hope that the Rulers of Indian States will recognize the

spirit of the times, and recognizing it, respond by a beneficial gesture. Will not the Princes rise to the occasion and make this critical moment in the history of the country a golden epoch in the history of Indian States? What might be voluntarily conceded to-day will have a grace and a substance, a beauty and a joy, which to-morrow might not be there, even if we succeed in achieving our objective by other means. I am temperamentally averse to threatening; and so I would not use any expression which might in the least indicate the People of Indian States resolve to have recourse to measures for the vindication of the Rights of the People, whose efficacy has only too recently and palpably been tried and proved. Time enough, I think, to consider of measures to meet particular eventualities when those eventualities develop.

I. S. P. Conference Resolutions

The resolutions accepted by the Indian States' People's Conference at its last session in Bombay congratulated the political sufferers, repudiated the claim of the Princes to speak for their people, asked for representation of the people in the R. T. C., drew the attention of the League of Nations to the existence of forced labour and slavery in several states, condemned the growing absentee rulership, condemned the policy of repression followed in many states and authorized its Working Committee to receive complaints thereon and take necessary steps, enumerated the states' peoples' demands to be embodied in the new constitution, opposed the representation of the Princes on the federal executive unless certain conditions named were fulfilled, announced the intention to send a delegation to Great Britain and to Europe in view of the next session of the R. T. C., appointed a committee of enquiry to ascertain and publish an account of the condition of some selected states, urged the Government of India to ask all Indian states to publish annual administration reports and itself to publish an annual report dealing with the states as it does with the Provinces, condemned the present currency and exchange policy of the Government and suggested necessary changes, condemned the Government of India's abuse of the Foreigners' Act and the Chief of Miraj's passing such an Act of his own, expressed its appreciation of the steps taken by the Chiefs of Aundh and Phalton for the introduction of responsible Government in their states, condemned the policy of embargoes in some Kathiawar states, urged

an immediate judicial enquiry into allegations of sanguinary oppression in Telri Gailwal, adopted certain articles relating to the constitution of the conference, demanded the introduction of responsible government in the larger states singly and in the smaller states in groups and mentioned some reforms for immediate introduction, condemned the way in which the official Patiala enquiry was conducted (giving detailed reasons), recorded its appreciation of the work done by its own Patiala enquiry committee and extended its full moral support to the people of Patiala and the Panjab Riyasati Mandal, approved of the findings of the "Jamnagar Ijara Tapas Committee," appointed a committee to enquire into the reports of oppression in Bijolia in Udaipur State, urged the Rulers to abrogate all repressive orders, condemned the Cutch State currency policy, condemned the Government for substituting (during the minority of their present rulers) arbitrary government by its Agents for representative Government instituted previously by the rulers in Nabha and Bharatpur appointed an executive committee, and thanked the president of the session. Thus much useful work was done.

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Languages used in I. S. P. Conference Proceedings

The languages used in the proceedings of the third session of the Indian States' People's Conference were Gujarati, Hindustani, Marathi, Panjabi and English. Perhaps most of the speeches were made in Gujarati, a few in Hindustani, Marathi and English, and one in Panjabi. The resolutions were drafted in English, a few being explained in Hindustani. The president began of his own accord to read his speech in Hindi. But before he had read about a quarter of it, he was asked, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to read the English version. So he read it in English till the end.

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President Hoover's Moratorium

During the Great War, America lent very large sums of money to Great Britain and her allies. Considerable proportions of these loans still remain to be paid. As the debtors are said to be finding it difficult to give back what they owe, Mr Hoover, President of the U.S.A., has announced on behalf of his country that he will not demand

any repayment for one year provided the debtor nations treat the debtors in the same way. Whatever the reasons for this American declaration, it may be expected to be of advantage to the debtors. They will have a breathing time during the present economic world depression. Trade may revive in consequence of their not having to pay large sums by way of repayment of loans. And if trade revives, America will have greater chances of recovering her loans. There may be other technical financial reasons for America's move. But, in any case, it cannot be said that she wants to injure anybody.

From the British side it has been said by some financial experts that one year's moratorium will not be of much use; what is required is five years, or at least three years' moratorium. But those who are in debt cannot dictate terms. A still taller demand has been made from the British side—not, of course, officially. It is that America should give up her claim to what other nations owe her! This demand would have appeared at least decent if it had been made in conjunction with the declaration that Great Britain would give up all the vast new territories added to her empire in consequence of victory in the Great War, including her mandated territories. It cannot be a nice proposition that America is to make sacrifices, but Great Britain is to keep what she has grabbed.

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Political Hooliganism

A meeting was arranged to be held in Calcutta last month under the auspices of the Punjab Youth League to voice Indian feeling on the situation in Burma, under the presidency of Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta. But at the meeting some political nonentity, who is probably a tool or a notoriety-seeker, proposed that another similar nonentity should take the chair. And the latter coolly went to occupy the chair, which was (unnecessarily we think) immediately vacated by Mr. Sen Gupta. Then there were loud demands that Mr. Sen Gupta should remain in the chair. The hooliganism which followed and from which even the ladies present at the meeting suffered, need not be described in detail. The meeting broke up.

Burma is not an Indian party question. So, it is not obvious on the surface why there should have been any faction fights over

11. The ringleaders of the hooligans are not Bengalis. Did they work off their own bat? Or are they mere tools?

It is right that another meeting has been arranged to be held to-day to discuss Burma affairs, with Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta in the chair. He would be able to give the right lead, as in addition to his other qualifications, he has some first-hand knowledge of Burma. We hope the organizers have made arrangements for all eventualities.

Stipends For Studies in German Universities

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie announces the award of twenty stipends for the academic year of 1931-1932 to the following Indian graduate students, who are to carry on higher studies in various German universities:

Aix-La-Chapelle Engineering University

1. Engineering—Mr. Kramadishwan Dutt, B. Sc. (Calcutta) and B. Sc. in Engineering (Rangoon University).

Berlin

2. Medicine—Dr. K. C. Chaudhuri, M.B. (Calcutta) formerly of Vienna and now carrying on research in the "Kinder-Klinik" of the University of Tübingen.

Cologne University

3. German Literature—Mr. N. K. Gharpure, M. A., LL. B. Lecturer in German Language in the Fergusson College and New English School, Poona.

4. Medicine—Dr. J. C. Gupta, M. B. (Calcutta) House Surgeon, Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Calcutta.

Hannover Engineering College

5. Chemical Engineering—Mr. B. S. Sukantam, M. Sc., Research Scholar, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

6. Civil Engineering—Mr. Balwant Singh, Asst. Engineer (Thomason College of Civil Engineering), Roorkee.

7. Railway Engineering—Mr. R. K. N. Iyengar, B. E. (Mysore University).

Hannover Veterinary University

8. Veterinary Science—Dr. B. B. Mundhe, Veterinary Surgeon and Sanitary Inspector, Bombay.

Hohenheim University

9. Agriculture—Mr. F. I. Gupta, B. Sc. (Calcutta) and B. Ag. (Agricultural College), Poona.

Karlsruhe University

10. Fuel Research—Mr. R. K. Dutt Roy, M. Sc., Research Scholar, Economy Department, Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., Jamshedpur.

Munich University

11. Medicine—Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M. B. (Calcutta), House Surgeon, Chittaranjan Seva-Sadan Women's Hospital, Calcutta.

12. Chemistry—Dr. Satish Chandra Das, Asst. Lecturer, Department of Chemistry, Dacca University.

13. Physics—Mr. Narayan Chandra Chatterjee, M. Sc. formerly Lecturer in T. N. Jubilee College

Bhagalpur (Bihar) and now Demonstrator in Physics, Benares Hindu University.

14. Philology—Mr. Bata Krishna Ghosh, who is carrying on studies in Indo-Germanic Philology under Prof. Dr. Gertel and researches in collaboration with Dr. Wüst of the University of Munich.

Munich E.

15. Mechanical Engineering—Mr. N. Orake, M. E. (Bombay) Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay.

16. Applied Chemistry—Mr. Chitta Rangan Barat, M. Sc., Research Scholar, Department of Applied Chemistry, College of Science and Technology, Calcutta University.

Munich Academy of Art

17. Music—Prof. P. Sambamurthy, Professor of Indian Music, Queen Mary's College, Madras.

Stuttgart Engineering University

18. Aviation Engineering—Mr. D. M. Pradhan, B. Sc. (Bombay).

19. Pharmaceutical-Chemistry—Mr. J. Mukherji, Chem. Engineer (College of Technology and Engineering of Bengal), Jadavpur.

Tübingen University

20. Medicine—Dr. Ananda Swarnap Gupta, M. B., B. S. (Lucknow University); formerly Principal Bishukul Ayurvedic College, Hardwar.

Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, writes:

About 300 applications, representing almost all the important Indian Universities and colleges were received. Some of them reached our office too late for the consideration by the Committee on selections of successful candidates. It is most gratifying for us to record that the majority of the applications bore testimony of excellent academic careers. In every case, competition was very keen. Possibly the keenest competition was in case of one Fellowship for Physics, in the University of Munich. There were some seventeen applications from distinguished Indian graduates (most of them had degrees of M. Sc.) for this coveted opportunity. Therefore we wish to emphasize the fact that many of the applicants who did not receive stipends are in no way inferior in academic qualifications to the successful ones. We regret very much that we did not have more stipends at our disposal to offer to a larger number of worthy Indian scholars.

We hope that those applicants who were not fortunate enough to secure stipends will not feel discouraged. We sincerely wish that at least some of the best qualified applicants will find some opportunity in future to carry on higher studies in German universities, through the support of Indian educational and cultural organizations or through the generosity of wealthy Indians, interested in the welfare of the people. There are already a few Indian scholars in Berlin and Munich, who are supported by the Governments of Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad. We sincerely wish that the number of Indian scholars in German universities will increase every year; and this will aid the cause of promotion of cultural co-operation and friendly understanding between the great peoples of India and Germany.

Cawnpore Riots

The Cawnpore riots are now definitely relegated to the past. The Inquiry Commission has delivered its report, the Governor-in-Council of the U. P. Government has passed a resolution, The Magistrate in-charge, Mr. Sale, has been replaced and given fifteen months' leave to go "Home" and recondition himself, the European superior officers of the Police have been exonerated, the titled Indian next-in-command of the Police mildly admonished, the *moral* of the Police praised to the skies, and lastly, the Governor-in-Council has taken this golden opportunity to trounce roundly that *bête noire* of the "Steel Flame" cadre, the Congress! And everyone is happy—excepting the poor sufferers and their sympathizers.

"Remember Cawnpore" has become a slogan with all the reactionaries and anti-progress campaigners of Britain. Sir John Simon coined this happy catchword with reference to the granting of Self-government to India and the wide-awake Saviours of India have chanted it in chorus. *The Daily Mail* with its characteristic veracity has regaled its two million (or is it three?) readers with the very palatable news that Mahatma Gandhi was the party responsible for the murder of the five hundred killed during the riots!

It is true that the findings of the Commission—free as that body was from Nationalist taint—goes directly against this wonderful flood of British truth and candour, but does that really matter?

The only discord in the harmony lies in the attempt of the Governor-in-Council to shoulder part of the blame for the genesis of the riots. The Government Resolution says that the leniency shown to the Civil Disobedience campaigners is one of the main causes of the riots. We hasten to exonerate the Governor-in-Council of any blame. We at least have not been able to find the least trace of any laxness or leniency in the methods adopted in his province for the putting down of the Civil Disobedience movement.

On the whole the Report of the Cawnpore Riots Inquiry Commission shows some degree of advance in comparison with the reports of previous Commissions of this nature. Vague and inconclusive as its findings are, there is no deliberate attempt at white-washing. But, all the same, many salient facts have been ignored and although there

is no condoning, there is a total absence of a straightforward indictment of the dereliction of duty by the officials in charge. Even the summing up of evidence as presented by the report—leaving aside the actual bulk of evidence—would have amply justified a strong and vehement condemnation by any court where real justice is dispensed, whereas all that we find in the report is a half-hearted attempt at excusing the most flagrant neglect of duty—to put the most charitable aspect on the matter—on the score of chance, lack of foresight and inexperience. It seems as if the bulk and nature of the evidence was too large for the cloak of "Prestige" to cover it. And so we are permitted to have glimpses of the real truth. The everlasting faith of officialdom in "Prestige" is famous by now, but it is about time they realized that this article, far from being a fairy cloak of invisibility, is fast becoming a foul garment the stench of which would render the wearer unclean if he does not cast it off in time.

During the riots we were told by the high officials in charge at the Central seat of Government, that the Police and the Executive were doing all that was possible to stop the riots. Hardly had the riots subsided before Sir George Lambert, the acting Governor, broke out in a paean of praise for the district authorities and for the excellent measures they had adopted for dealing with the highly dangerous situation. The report of the Commission has exposed it clearly and without the least possibility of doubt how far those declarations were away from facts. What have these gentlemen to say now?—"Prestige" no doubt!

The Genesis of the Riots

The Commission on the evidence before it has declared that the Congress cannot be blamed, directly or indirectly, for the riots. Indeed it goes so far as to acknowledge that the riots went directly against the interests of that body. The Commission propounds a theory of "spontaneous combustion" due to the gradual increase of tension between the communities. The Governor-in-Council of U. P. has gone beyond the findings of the Commission and has fastened the whole blame on the Civil Disobedience movement as being the root cause. But neither the Commission nor the

ii. The ringleaders of the hooligans are not Bengalis. Did they work off their own bat? Or are they mere tools?

It is right that another meeting has been arranged to be held to-day to discuss Burma affairs, with Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta in the chair. He would be able to give the right lead, as in addition to his other qualifications, he has some first-hand knowledge of Burma. We hope the organizers have made arrangements for all eventualities.

Stipends For Studies in German Universities

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie announces the award of twenty stipends for the academic year of 1931-1932 to the following Indian graduate students, who are to carry on higher studies in various German universities

Arr-La-Chapelle Engineering University

1. Engineering—Mr. Kramadiswar Dutt, B. Sc. (Calcutta) and B. Sc. in Engineering (Rangoon University).

Berlin

2. Medicine—Dr. K. C. Chaudhuri, M.B. (Calcutta) formerly of Vienna and now carrying on research in the "Kinder-Klinik" of the University of Tubingen.

Cologne University

3. German Literature—Mr. N. K. Gharpure, M. A., LL. B., Lecturer in German Language in the Fergusson College and New English School, Poona.

4. Medicine—Dr. J. C. Gupta, M. B. (Calcutta) House Surgeon, Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Calcutta.

Hannover Engineering College

5. Chemical Engineering—Mr. S. Srikantam, M. Sc., Research, Institute of Science, Bangalore.

6. Civil Engineering—Mr. Balwant Singh, Asst Engineer (Thomason College of Civil Engineering), Roorkhee.

7. Railway Engineering—Mr. R. K. V. Iyengar, B. E. (Mysore University).

Hannover Veterinary University

8. Veterinary Science—Dr. B. B. Mundhe, Veterinary Surgeon and Sanitary Inspector, Bombay.

Hohenheim University

9. Agriculture—Mr. R. K. Gupta, B. Sc. (Calcutta) and B. Ag. (Agricultural College), Poona.

Karlsruhe University

10. Fuel Engineering—Mr. R. K. Dutt Roy, M. Sc., Research, Economy Department, Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., Jamshedpur.

Munich University

11. Medicine—Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M. B. (Calcutta), House Surgeon, Chittaranjan Seva-Sadan Women's Hospital, Calcutta.

12. Chemistry—Dr. Satish Chandra De, Asst. Lecturer, University of Chemistry, Dacca.

13. Physics—Mr. Narayan Chandra Chatterjee, M. Sc., formerly Lecturer in T. N. Jubilee College

Chandapoor (Behari) and now Demonstrator in Physics, Barisal Hindu University.

14. Philology—Mr. Bata Krishna Ghosh, who is carrying on studies in Indo-Germanic Philology under Prof. Dr. Gertel and researches in collaboration with Dr. Wiest of the University of Munich.

Munich Engineering University

15. Mechanical Engineering—Mr. N. N. Ogale, L. M. C. (Bombay), Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay.

16. Applied Chemistry—Mr. Chitta Ranjan Barai, M. Sc., Research Scholar, Department of Applied Chemistry, College of Science and Technology, Calcutta University.

Munich Academy of Art

17. Music—Prof. P. Sambamurthy, Professor of Indian Music, Queen Mary's College, Madras.

Statgart Engineering University

18. Aviation Engineering—Mr. U. M. Pradhan, B. Sc. (Bombay).

19. Pharmaceutical-Chemistry—Mr. J. Mukherji, Chem. Engineer, College of Technology and Engineering of Bengal, Jadavpur.

Tubingen University

20. Medicine—Dr. Ananda Swarni Gupta, M. B., B. Sc. (Lucknow University) formerly Principal, Bisukul Ayurvedic College, Hardwar.

Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, writes:

About 500 applications, representing almost all the important Indian Universities and colleges, were received. Some of them reached our office too late for the consideration by the Committee on selections of successful candidates. It is most gratifying for us to record that the majority of the applications bore testimony of excellent academic careers. In every case, competition was very keen. Possibly the keenest competition was in case of one Fellowship for Physics, in the University of Munich. There were some seventeen applications from distinguished Indian graduates (most of them had degrees of M. Sc.) for this coveted opportunity. Therefore we wish to emphasize the fact that many of the applicants who did not receive stipends are in no way inferior in academic qualifications to the successful ones. We regret very much that we did not have more stipends at our disposal to offer to a larger number of worthy Indian scholars.

We hope that those applicants who were not fortunate enough to secure stipends will not feel discouraged. We sincerely wish that at least some of the best qualified applicants will find some opportunity in future to carry on higher studies in German universities, through the support of Indian educational and cultural organizations or through the generosity of wealthy Indians, interested in the welfare of the people. There are already a few Indian scholars in Berlin and Munich, who are supported by the Governments of Mysore, Baroda and Hyderabad States. We sincerely wish that the number of distinguished Indian scholars in German universities will increase every year; and thus will aid the cause of promotion of cultural co-operation and friendly understanding between the great peoples of India and Germany.

Cawnpore Riots

The Cawnpore riots are now definitely relegated to the past. The Inquiry Commission has delivered its report, the Governor-in-Council of the U. P. Government has passed a resolution, The Magistrate in-charge, Mr. Sale, has been replaced and given fifteen months' leave to go "Home" and recondition himself, the European superior officers of the Police have been exonerated, the titled Indian next-in-command of the Police mildly admonished, the *morale* of the Police praised to the skies, and lastly, the Governor-in-Council has taken this golden opportunity to frounce roundly that *bete noire* of the "Steel Flame" cadre, the Congress! And everyone is happy—excepting the poor sufferers and their sympathizers.

"Remember Cawnpore" has become a slogan with all the reactionaries and anti-progress campaigners of Britain. Sir John Simon coined this happy catchword with reference to the granting of Self-government to India and the wide-awake Saviours of India have chanted it in chorus. *The Daily Mail* with its characteristic veracity has regaled its two million (or is it three?) readers with the very palatable news that Mahatma Gandhi was the party responsible for the murder of the five hundred killed during the riots!

It is true that the findings of the Commission—free as that body was from Nationalist taint—goes directly against this wonderful flood of British truth and candour, but does that really matter?

The only discord in the harmony lies in the attempt of the Governor-in-Council to shoulder part of the blame for the genesis of the riots. The Government Resolution says that the leniency shown to the Civil Disobedience campaigners is one of the main causes of the riots. We hasten to exonerate the Governor-in-Council of any blame. We at least have not been able to find the least trace of any laxness or leniency in the methods adopted in his province for the putting down of the Civil Disobedience movement.

On the whole the Report of the Cawnpore Riots Inquiry Commission shows some degree of advance in comparison with the reports of previous Commissions of this nature. Vague and inconclusive as its findings are, there is no deliberate attempt at white-washing. But, all the same, many salient facts have been ignored and although there

is no condoning there is a total absence of a straightforward indictment of the dereliction of duty by the officials in charge. Even the summing up of evidence as presented by the report—leaving aside the actual bulk of evidence—would have amply justified a strong and vehement condemnation by any court where real justice is dispensed, whereas all that we find in the report is a half-hearted attempt at excusing the most flagrant neglect of duty—to put the most charitable aspect on the matter—on the score of chance, lack of foresight and inexperience. It seems as if the bulk and nature of the evidence was too large for the cloak of "Prestige" to cover it. And so we are permitted to have glimpses of the real truth. The everlasting faith of officialdom in "Prestige" is famous by now, but it is about time they realized that this article, far from being a fairy cloak of invisibility, is fast becoming a foul garment the stench of which would render the wearer unclean if he does not cast it off in time.

During the riots we were told by the high officials in charge at the Central seat of Government, that the Police and the Executive were doing all that was possible to stop the riots. Hardly had the riots subsided before Sir George Lambert, the acting Governor, broke out in a paean of praise for the district authorities and for the excellent measures they had adopted for dealing with the highly dangerous situation. The report of the Commission has exposed it clearly and without the least possibility of doubt how far those declarations were away from facts. What have these gentlemen to say now?—"Prestige" no doubt!

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Government Resolution produces any direct evidence as to in what precise way the Civil Disobedience movement caused this trouble. The Civil Disobedience campaign was conducted on the same lines all over India, thousands of prominent Moslems took an active part in it and innumerable Moslems were in active or passive sympathy with it. There are other cities in the United Provinces with a large Moslem population where the Civil Disobedience movement was vigorously conducted, Cawnpore is the only city in which riots took place and yet the Civil Disobedience movement is to be held responsible!

The Commission mentions the Tanzeem—an anti-Congress body—in a cursory way. It says "One remarkable thing is that so far as we could ascertain, no leading Moslems belonged at any time to the Tanzeem. But the Commission feel that the Tanzeem had its effect in stiffening the determination of the Moslems and *that its importance cannot be ignored.*"* The Governor-in-Council has ignored it altogether and there is no mention of this body in the Resolution.

When we turn to actual evidence we find that respectable witnesses have deposed that the Tanzeem, though a religious body in name, became more and more political and communal in nature progressively. Large bodies of men were organized, who used to march through the streets armed with dangerous weapons, and their attitude became rapidly truculent and offensive. But although warnings were given both to the Moslem leaders and the authorities, no steps were taken. Indeed, from the deposition of Mr. Hoon, a Barrister of Cawnpore, we find that his remonstrances to his Moslem friends were in vain. Only when that body came out in its true colours, those leading Moslems who were only too eager to back it in the beginning were equally eager to dissociate themselves from it.

Tacit support from leading Moslems is amply indicated in the evidence. Outsiders like Maulana Shaikat Ali were also mentioned as having encouraged the movement. But the most outstanding feature of this affair was the apathy of the authorities towards the bellicose attitude of this movement. Considering the time and period, and contrasting this benevolent attitude with the handling of the Nationalist and Congress organizations by the authorities, one is almost

forced to the conclusion that the Tanzeem at Cawnpore had the tacit approval of the local authorities.

It is well known that the Congress was straining every nerve to bring the two principal communities together during the Civil Disobedience movement and before it. Further the Government itself admits that Law and Order was firmly established, by firm handling of the Civil Disobedience movement prior to the Delhi Pact, that is about a month before the riots. This coupled with the Commission's own statement, "We do not attach much importance to this in itself as a cause of the outbreak. Its effect in Cawnpore was probably indirect," is enough to condemn the Government's fixing the blame on the Civil Disobedience movement as irrational and forced.

So it is evident that the origin and the fostering of the communal tension came from some other source than those indicated by the Commission or the Governor-in-Council.

The Immediate Causes of the Outbreak

The Commission's report fixes on the enforcement of the Hartal following Bhagat Singh's execution as being the immediate cause of the outbreak. Much play has been given to the allegations of the "tyranny of the Congress" made by a single witness who did not produce any testimony in support of his statements.

It is also stated that the enforcement of the Hartal by the Vanar Sena started the preliminary fracas. The Congress has vehemently denied that the Hartal was enforced anywhere and there is no direct evidence to refute the Congress statement. Indeed the methods adopted by the Congress in these Hartals *all over India* give overwhelming support in favour of the Congress.

In short there is no evidence adduced in favour of the "enforcement of Hartal" theory of the origin of the riots. Indeed, since Hartal was observed all over India, and nothing untoward happened elsewhere in spite of the Moslems giving very scanty support in many places, and since there were no complaints about enforcement of Hartal—if there had been any it would have been loudly proclaimed and summary action taken by the authorities—the Congress statement to the contrary seems to be proved.

* Italics ours.

On the other hand the Commission has not hesitated from summarily rejecting the *agent provocateur* theory advanced by some witnesses, "as the evidence supporting the story was vague and meagre." There was some evidence at least, and until, if ever, the Congress inquiry report is published, we may not know the full volume of that evidence. In any case one respectable witness and a non-Congress man, Rai Saheb Rupchand Jain, Honorary Magistrate, banker and ex-chairman of the District Board, clearly stated that he saw a man practically start the *fracas* which led to the general outbreak. On enquiring he was informed from many quarters that this man was a C. I. D. head-constable in plain clothes.

The Commission has fixed upon the *hartal* as the primary cause of the riots, although there was no direct evidence to that effect. The circumstantial evidence, as admitted by the Commission, shows that the riots were directly opposed to the interests of the organizers of the *hartal*. Further, the evidence clearly shows that the local Congress Committee was the *only body, official or non-official*, that sincerely and strenuously tried to pacify the rioters and rescue the distressed, during the first three, the fiercest days of rioting. The President of that committee was seriously wounded and the Secretary, the late Mr Vidvarthi, lost his life in these endeavours. All these facts, together with what we have written above, should be taken as clear and conclusive proof that the *hartal* had nothing to do with the riots, *excepting perhaps to serve as a pretext*. Yet the Commission lays the blame on the *hartal*—although exonerating the organizers from culpability—and the Government goes even beyond that and fixes the liability on the Civil Disobedience movement, without any reason, logic or evidence in support of its conclusions. But the *agent provocateur* theory is dismissed summarily. That the evidence given before the Commission in support of the *agent provocateur* theory was vague and meagre can well be believed by us, for the following reasons. First, because the local Congress people refused to give evidence, for the reason that the Government officials did not give evidence before the non-official Congress Inquiry Committee, and therefore, the largest source of information and fearless evidence was left untapped. Secondly, because the inferences from the *agent*

provocateur theory are sufficiently dangerous to make the average witness extremely nervous and wary, which is not the ideal condition for the deposition of clear and strong evidence. All the same, in spite of the last mentioned handicap, some evidence, however vague and meagre, was given in support of that theory.

Still, in all fairness, want of positive evidence must be treated as such. As regards circumstantial evidence, it may be argued that the practically unanimous evidence regarding the indifference and inactivity of the police during the most violent and dangerous period of the riots goes very far to support the *agent provocateur* theory. If there was an *agent provocateur* in reality, who came from the police, the natural inference would be that the interests of the police lay in the riots attaining some magnitude. And that would explain in a way the otherwise strange neglect of duty by that body. But, as we have said before, one cannot come to such a serious inference in the absence of stronger evidence.

The only definite conclusion we can come to is that the real origin of this tragic affair has not yet been correctly indicated.

The Riots

As far as can be judged from the tangled mass of evidence, the disturbances started with an outburst of anti-Government feeling at the execution of Bhagat Singh. Then followed an incident which changed the entire aspect of the affair. A small band of street urchins followed a supposed police spy in plain clothes, howling and jeering at him. This man raised an outcry that he was being assailed by Hindus. An armed band of Moslems rushed out to help him and started a *fracas* with the Hindus of that neighbourhood. Soon after, a Hindu temple was burnt and demolished and a general attack was started on Hindu property. In the meanwhile, Hindus started reprisals, during which they also demolished a mosque. The Congress leaders were out and were trying to pacify the rioters. A rumour spread that Mr. Jog, the President, had been killed (he was really wounded seriously). The destruction of the temple and the mosque, coupled with this rumour, resulted in a violent explosion, followed by a general conflagration.

The tragic and sickening details of the terrible orgy of destruction, pillage and murder that followed is sufficiently well-known by now, and need not be repeated. According to the Commission about five hundred persons were killed. Other statements put it at a much higher figure. There was enormous destruction of property, many temples and mosques were demolished. Murder, arson, loot and violence raged furiously all over the town. Cawnpore became a veritable inferno. The most violent phase was during the first three days, the 24th, 25th and the 26th of March. The fury of the riots then diminished but sporadic outbreaks continued till a long time after.

The outcry against the conduct of the authorities in charge was insistent and general during the disturbances. The Member in charge at the Central Government stated that everything possible was being done from the very beginning to quell the riots. The Report of the Commission clearly says that hardly anything at all was done at that period. Directly the riots were over the acting Governor of U. P. praised the conduct of the police during the riots. The report of the Commission gives absolute and damning proof of the gross and almost universal neglect of duty by the same body.

However, the statements made by the Member in charge and the acting Governor did not stop the persistent demand for an investigation into the conduct of the local authorities. By a strange chance, the local Europeans also joined with the others in the criticism of the officials and this last factor probably led to the formation and holding of an inquiry commission.

The Riot and the Local Authorities

The Magistrate's activities should be taken first as, according to the Commission, the part played by him is of first importance, he being in charge of the peace of the district.

The Magistrate, Mr. Sale, *was forewarned about the likelihood of an outbreak* and, according to the Report, in the initial dispositions he acted with care and foresight. "But at the critical stage . . . *when his presence was desirable in the city*," he went away to write and issue a curfew order" says the Report.

The use of the word *desirable* in place of *imperative* is curious, as further on the Commission declares that the personal presence of the District Magistrate under such circumstances is very important.

The Magistrate knew, according to the Commission, that the temple and the mosque in Meston road, which stand facing each other, was the scene of a serious riot in 1913 and that Muslims and Hindus both have bitter memories connected with these shrines. So, instead of going away, he should have remained there to prevent the recurrence of similar trouble. The report states :

"Had he taken quick and decisive action and gathered a small force of police which was available down the road and gone straight to the temple, he would have almost certainly have beaten off the attack and saved the temple . . . and in all probability . . . the Bazaza mosque and Safa mosque too. . . . He was not far from the spot. It was no time for him to turn aside and leave it."

Prior to these incidents, we learn from the report, he had gone with some Muslims to see the damage done to their shops and the Bazaza mosque in the Thathra and Chauk quarter. While there, a large number of Hindus ran to him saying that an attack was going on in Sarrafa. The Magistrate, *instead of going with them, as he had done with the Muslims, turned back and went away*. In going he did not go by the direct route through Meston Road, in which the first temple burnt stood, but *went through some bye-lanes* and thus back to his car. He could not tell the Commission exactly why he did this, but he thought it was because he was told brickbats were flying about in Meston Road. It was then about 4 P.M. on the 24th of March.

The report says that the Meston Road temple was attacked and set on fire at this time and it was about this time (in reality a little while after) that the Chauk mosque was attacked and set on fire, as was probably the Sarrafa mosque. "Word was brought almost at once by a Deputy Magistrate of the firing of the Meston Road temple. *This was a grave situation.*"

How did the Magistrate deal with the "grave situation"? He "turned aside" and left the spot to write a curfew order which, as every sensible person knows, is worthless while active and unchecked rioting is going on.

We have seen how in the Commission's opinion the Magistrate could have saved the Meston Road temple and mosque by taking personal and direct action and he

* Italics are ours.

himself has told the Commission that *it is a fact that the sudden fury of passion* which swept the riot out of control and carried it with unprecedented speed all over the city.

The Magistrate was forewarned and had all arrangements ready before the 23rd of March. On the 24th he had early notice of trouble, which made him send out two experienced Indian Deputy Magistrates to investigate and report. They found rioting going on and took action energetically to stop it and telephoned the Magistrate to come in person as the situation was serious. On his arrival he held a consultation near the Maulgany cross-roads. Before the consultation was over, news came about rioting having broken out again at Maulgany. The Superintendent of Police and the Kotwal left for the place. The Magistrate did not go there. He went instead with some Muslims to inspect the damage done to their shops. When Hindus came in their turn and brought news about *active rioting* he did not go with them. In spite of all his experience and his admitted knowledge about the history of the temple and the mosque on Meston Road he took no active steps to prevent the conflagration from becoming general. He did not go that day anywhere where active rioting was going on *even when he was told that the rioting had affected the most dangerous quarter in the town, namely the Meston Road temple and mosque.*

The Magistrate was an experienced man and must have known that trouble was brewing, but we do not find that he took any steps to forestall it in the pre-riot period.

In all these lapses the Commission and the Government has only seen failure of judgment and slowness of perception. He has accordingly been given fifteen months leave to go home. It has been stated that immediately after his unfortunate errors the riots assumed such proportions that the forces at his disposal were inadequate to deal with it. This excuse we find hard to believe, since we find in the statement of the Officer in Command of the troops at Cawnpore that there were "110 armoured carmen, 597 infantry soldiers and 145 men from the battery" in the barracks, of which 80 291 and 45 respectively were available to the Magistrate. As the mob had hardly any fire-arms *the armoured cars alone*

could have topped it to say nothing about the other troops the armoured police and the police sowars.

The Indian Deputy Magistrate seems, to have acted energetically, strenuously and in some instances with great courage and initiative, as in the case of Pandit Rameswar Dayal. But they were badly let down by police neglect, and the want of direct action from the superior officers.

The Police

There is not sufficient space in these columns to discuss in full the responsibility of the police forces for the virulence, duration and spread of the riots. We shall only attempt a short summary.

The report of the Commission says.

"Every class of witness before us, who gave expression otherwise to widely different points of view, agreed in this one aspect that the police displayed indifference and inactivity in dealing with the various incidents in the riot. These witnesses include *European business men* Moslems and Hindus of all shades of opinion *Military officers*, the secretary of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, representatives of Indian Christian communities and *even Indian officials*" (Italics ours)

The Report gives some cases in support of the remark, "there is no doubt in our minds that during the first three days the police did not show that activity in the discharge of their duties which was expected of them." We know how crucial was the position at the beginning and how terrible was the conflagration during *those very three days*. The instances given in the report and others taken from the evidence given before the Commission would show how unjustifiably mild were the above remarks of the Commission. The incidents referred to are the following:—

At Parmat the trouble started on the afternoon of the 25th. There is a police Chalki there and in addition to this at 5 P.M. that day an armed guard was also posted. During the night of the 25th there were murders, arson and looting going on and by noon of the 26th about 19 persons were murdered, a number of houses looted and set on fire. All this happened not very far from where the police force was posted. They appear to have paid no attention to these crimes.

At Gwalton, Mr. Ryan tells us how he found on the morning of the 26th the whole bazar on fire and saw huge crowds armed with all sorts of weapons ready for a fight. A police armed guard was there but it was not making any attempt to interfere. Mr. Ryan got between the two crowds and stopped them from coming to blows. He asked the guard what they were supposed to do

doing and they said that they had come from Lucknow the day before and had been left there without any definite orders.

At Sadar Bazar, on the morning of the 26th there were two armed police pickets on guard and yet eight people were butchered, a house looted and set on fire, at least one of these pickets was not very far from the place of occurrence. They must have been aware that this was going on as large gangs were engaged in committing these crimes in a leisurely manner.

In Sabzimandi, on the morning of the 26th a number of murders were committed and Mr. Islam Nabi Khans Deputy Magistrate, has told us that from the place of occurrence a police armed guard which he had posted the day before and which was still there, was only at a distance of about a hundred paces.

In Patapur, there is a police outpost and in addition to this there was also a police picket, and yet the Juma Musjid and the temple of Annapurna Devi were attacked and set on fire.

A number of witnesses have cited instances of serious crimes being committed within view of the police without their active interest being aroused.

Besides the above cases there is a huge mass of evidence much more to the same effect. We shall give just a few more to show the irrefutable nature of the accusations against the police.

Lt Col. MacCullam, Captain MacCartney-Filgate, Lt. Lucky Ewing, Major Lowe and Major Neely, all in their evidence spoke of the utter indifference of the police to murder, arson and loot committed in their presence.

Mr. Gavin Jones saw a Moslem shop burning and a man "laid out." A policeman armed with a rifle was standing by, doing nothing. Mr. Gavin Jones got angry and asked him why he was doing nothing. He did not reply, but quietly walked towards another policeman near by. According to this witness this job must have taken at least half an hour, while a few shots would have driven the miscreants away. Mr. Gavin Jones mentioned this incident not as a solitary instance but to show the mentality of the police.

The Deputy Magistrates deputed to restore order gave many such instances. Further they stated that they could get no police help when they wanted to take the initiative. Pandit Rameswar Dayal (one of the Deputy Magistrates) gave several such instances where arson and loot went on in the presence of the police. In one such incident the police stood up after he had remonstrated with them. Directly they stood up the miscreants fled. Another Deputy Magistrate, Mr. Islam Nab Khan said that on

every occasion they had asked for a police escort they were "refused on some excuse or other."

The report of the Inquiry Commission makes a definite statement that the Watch and Ward department of the Police totally gave up working and not content with it brought false news in to the bazaar.

Even the Divisional Commissioner of Allahabad who arrived at Cawnpore on the 26th, admitted that he found the Police "slack." *But the D. I. G. of Police, Mr. Bell found no slackness on their part!*

It is needless to give any further instances. What the police could have done was shown in sharp contrast by Deputy-Suptd. of police, Onkar Singh, who on being sent to stop the riot in the Sisaman quarter, by vigorous and firm action dispelled the rioters, effected fifty arrests and totally quelled the disturbances. In the rest of Cawnpore the arrests during the first three (and the most violent) days of riot were only eight in number. And to cap all this we have the definite statement of a Deputy Magistrate, Mr. Ananda Swarup, that he had arrested two Moslems red-handed in the act of throwing brick-bats at a temple, and that the *Kotwal* had released them without bail the same evening.

The Government has totally exonerated the superior (British) officers of police, admonished the above mentioned *Kotwal*, Khan Bahadur Saiyid Ghulam Hassain, for not displaying "leadership," promised an enquiry about the conduct of the lower rank and file, and wound up the proceedings with high praise for the police of U. P. and their unimpaired morale!

The Magistrate failed miserably in the safe-guarding of his charge. It does not matter whether the failure was due to aberration or any other cause since that did not lessen the gravity of the consequences.

The Police as a body were guilty of criminal neglect of duty. There can be no other logical and just deduction from the unanimous and the vast mass of evidence. Further comments are useless as things stand.

We also repeat Sir John Simon's slogan "Remember Cawnpore."

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The Late Lamented Mr. Vidyarthi

The Commission have given high praise to Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi for his selfless devotion and the fearless manner in which he met his death while succouring

the distressed. The Governor-in-Council has gracefully associated himself in the paying of this tribute. The U. P. Kirana Seva Samiti and their Hony. Secretary Mr. Bhahin have also received just praise for their relief work under very trying circumstances. Deeply grieved as we are at the death of this very brave gentleman, treacherously murdered by the very people whose co-religionists he was so gallantly and fearlessly rescuing, still our sorrow is leavened by the memory of the courageous devotion to duty of that Great Soul and that of his co-workers. He has by his noble self-sacrifice covered the cause of *Ahimsa* with glory and fully vindicated the claim of his countrymen for fitness for self-determination.

The Work of the Indian Sandhurst Committee

By the time this issue of *The Modern Review* reaches our readers, the Indian Sandhurst Committee will have finished its labours. But the goal of complete or even substantial Indianization will not be brought any the nearer thereby. In saying this, we have in mind not so much that ideally desirable condition in which India will be perfectly self-contained and self-reliant as regards defence, but the much more modest objective of the substitution of Indian commissioned officers for the British in the purely Indian portion of the armed forces under the Government of India. Even from this restricted point of view, the scheme prepared by the military authorities and placed before the Indian Sandhurst Committee is wholly unsatisfactory. In the notes of the last month we expressed the opinion that this scheme of Indianization was a very skilful attempt, on the part of the Army authorities in India, to short-circuit the discussion of Indianization and confront us with a *fait accompli*. All that has happened since has only served to confirm that impression.

This is not the place for a full-length analysis of the work and the decisions of the Indian Sandhurst Committee. That must be postponed till its report is published. Meanwhile, all that we shall attempt to do is simply to suggest a few obvious criticisms.

To take the question of nomination *versus* competition first. The Committee has decided that only forty per cent, or twenty-four out of sixty cadets to be taken annually into the college are to be recruited by

open competition, the rest being nominated. To anyone familiar only with the practice in Great Britain, the United States and other civilized countries in the world, this may seem like putting a premium on intellectual incompetence. But the British have always held that India is quite a peculiar country, to which the ordinary civilized standards do not apply. The Simon Commission, for example, stated "Broadly speaking, one may say that those races [in India] which furnish the best sepoys are emphatically not those which exhibit the greatest accomplishment of mind in an examination. The Indian intellectual has, as a rule, no personal longing for an army career." And in making this statement it was only uncritically echoing the ignorant or over-subtle military opinion of the day. It is interesting to note how opinion in these matters remains constant through decades in India. The evils of recruiting officers of the Indian Army by open competition we eloquently dwelt upon by Lord Roberts more than forty years ago. "In India," he wrote, "the least warlike races possess the highest intellectual capacities. The Gurkhas and Pathans, and to a less extent the Sikhs, are notoriously as averse to mental exertion as they are fond of manly sport—as apt to fight as they are slow to learn. *Once make education the chief criterion of fitness to command, and you place the most desirable candidates at a disadvantage possibly overwhelming.* These counsels apparently still hold sway over the Army Headquarters in India.

We cannot tell how our Panjabi fellow-countrymen relish these compliments to their brains. For our own part we refuse to accept this libel on a whole section of the Indian population. The real objection of the military authorities to high educational qualification lies not in its deleterious effect on the fighting quality of the men, but somewhere else. During the debate on Indianization in the Council of State on February 25, 1931, Sardar Bahadur Shiv Dev Singh Uberoi cited the instance of a young Panjabi, whose father and grandfather had both been Risaldar-Majors in the Army, whose family was intimately known to Field-Marshal Sir William Birdwood himself but who happened to possess very good educational qualifications, having taken a first in arts, whose name was not sent up for admission to Sandhurst. The fact of the matter seems

to be that the Indian military authorities, if they must have Indians in the commissioned ranks, would at least not have Indians who would have the capacity to pass the examinations for promotion or staff college examinations, but have only those who would look up to their British colleagues and tell them in respectful whispers, as one Indian officer said to Lord Roberts: "*Sahib, ham log larai me bahut tez hai, magar jang ka bandobast nahin jante* (Sahib, we can fight well, but we don't understand strategy or tactics.)"

Another proposal of the Indian Sandhurst Committee which is open to serious objection is the suggestion to abolish the Indian officers with Viceroy's commissions, in the formations and units selected for Indianization. From the point of view of strict logic there is perhaps not much to be said against the proposal. For this class of officers is really an anomaly, being neither N. C. O's nor full-fledged commissioned officers. But to adopt the British pattern of organization at the present stage in India would mean an enormous, if not a prohibitive increase in the cost of the army. Besides, we do not at all like the argument which has been put forward in favour of the proposal. It is said that the position of the Indian officers with King's Commissions would be intolerable if they had to get on with an officer with Viceroy's Commission under them because the latter would not accept the leadership and superiority of young officers of his own race, particularly if they do not belong to one of the so-called martial races. This is an extremely mischievous argument, and we believe we are quite justified in saying that there are persons who are actively encouraging these discriminations and prejudices.

Our third objection is in connection with the estimated cost of education in the military college. Exclusive of certain items it will reach the sum of Rs 4,600, which is prohibitive for most middle-class families.

Taken as a whole, therefore, the proposals of the Indian Sandhurst Committee will not mean even the small but sound beginnings of the Indianization of the army. On the contrary, they only seek to perpetuate the existing disabilities, injustices and invidious distinctions on which the Indian State is based. The theory of the martial races of India, which forms the background of all these schemes and proposals, is historically false and untenable. Until that theory is done away with and the field of enlistment thrown

open to all Indians without distinction of province or race, there is no hope for a national army for India.

"Civilized" Barbarity in Burma

The reader must have seen a picture in some newspapers of sixteen human heads severed from the trunks, kept arranged on a table. They are heads of Burmese rebels, who fell in an encounter with the British Government forces in Prome district, Burma. People thought and said they were displayed at the military headquarters at Prome for the purpose of striking terror into the hearts of those who might be rebelliously inclined. So a Government *communiqué* was issued giving the Government's reasons for this act. It was said therein that as the dead bodies could not be conveyed to the military headquarters and as the dead rebels required to be identified, their heads were cut off and carried there. But why could not the dead bodies be carried a distance of only four miles? The military headquarters at Prome near by, to which they were carried, are certainly equipped with conveyances for the sick and wounded and for carrying provisions, munitions and the like. Could not some of these vehicles be used for carrying the dead bodies of the rebels? Failing any such vehicle—a very unlikely contingency, could not the dead bodies be photographed on the spot? The war lies against the Germans during the Great War were thought to have beaten previous records of inventive genius in that line. But we do not remember the Germans to have been accused of such a barbarous atrocity as cutting off the heads of dead enemies. The very fact that the Government *communiqué* states that directions have been given to prevent the repetition of such an act, shows that even Sir Charles Innes's Government has got at least an inkling of the enormity of this sacrilegious and mean act. When this deed is added to that Governor's previous record, it is clear that he has fully earned more than a recall.

Protraction of Military Operations in Burma

Sufficient data are not available to enable us to judge whether the grievances of the Burmans were such as to goad them into rebellion. But apart from the question of the preferability, from the ethical and spiritual

points of view, of adopting violent or non-violent means by way of remedy, it must be said that the Burmese insurgents were unwise in taking the steps they have done. Because, for a numerically small and unorganized nation like them, unprovided with up-to-date weapons and appliances of warfare, there could be no chance, humanly speaking, of their prevailing against the powerful British Government.

This is a reason why, from the very beginning of the rebellion, Government should have adopted conciliatory measures. For nobody could have thought that Government sought peace because of its want of ability to crush the rebellion. But as it wanted to crush the rebels by force, it should have done it expeditiously, as it certainly had the power to do. The unnecessary protraction of military operations is attended with many evils. One is the economic injury that it inflicts on the country on account of the inevitable plunder, burning, etc., and on account of the suspension or postponement of agricultural and other industrial operations. Another evil is the prolongation of racial bitterness aroused by such military expeditions. This can be understood from the example of the Moplah rebellion. That was a comparatively petty affair which could have been disposed of very quickly. But it was allowed to linger for months, with the result that the mutual hatred of Hindus and Muslims was roused to the utmost. In the case of the Burmese it is clear from the leaflets originally broadcast by the rebels that they thought that it was only the Britishers who were their enemies. But the employment of the Indian troops against them and other circumstances have enabled the enemies of the Indians in Burma to create an impression among even non-combatant Burmans that the Indians are their greatest enemies. This impression is being taken advantage of by those Britishers and Burmese who want the separation of Burma from India.

Position of Indians in Burma

Diplomatic Britishers who want a thing to be done, adopt, long ahead, many direct and indirect means with that object in view. Sir Charles Innes is the protagonist of the Burma separation plot. No wonder, then, that he made that famous convocation speech in which the Indians and the

Chinese were painted as the worst exploiters of Burma, though this was not the exact language used. In their zeal to bring about the separation of Burma from India and to win support for it, some Government officials have in their public utterances used expressions, liable to be interpreted as signifying that Indians were the only cause of the economic backwardness of the Burmans. The use of such expressions has resulted in creating acute anti-Indian feeling among the Burmans. The idea has caught on. In English and Burmese, in doggerel verse and prose, in newspapers and leaflets, and in the cinema, Indians are being vilified practically without let or hindrance by some Burmese. We have seen some of the stuff in English.

Violence had begun to be used against the Chinese. But they have a government of their own. A plain hint from that government has set matters right.

As regards the Indians, according to one account placed at our disposal, in addition to the many murdered, "since the 7th March up to the 6th June last, 21000 Chittagonians, 21600 Tamilians, and 47000 Oriahs and Telugus have fled from the province of Burma. These 89600 people are the cultivators and labourers from the districts. Besides, thousands of Hindustani labourers fled from the Province by Calcutta steamers. Their numbers cannot be correctly estimated. Their huts, houses and haystacks were burnt, property looted, and cattle sold for a paltry sum of Rs. 2 to Rs. 5. Every day hundreds arrive in Rangoon to catch the earliest steamers possible." And yet all unprejudiced persons of all races and creeds residing in Burma must admit that Burma cannot do without Indian workers of various kinds.

The present anti-Indian feeling and anti-Indian outrages in Burma had their breeding ground in the not distant past. The Indians in Burma are peaceful and law-abiding people and had been living on friendly terms with the Burmans for decades past, contributing to the economic prosperity of Burma by their labours. But laws, such as the Expulsion of Non-Burman Offenders Act or the Sea Passenger Tax Bill, created the feeling that Indians were undesirable aliens. Whatever may happen in the future, Burma at present is (and has been) a province of the Indian Empire. For one province to

legislate against the people of other Provinces is a pernicious principle.

The calamitous consequences of official utterances and of the general trend of Government policy, which is believed to be due to anti-Indian tendencies, were clearly perceptible in the Telugu riots which broke out in Rangoon in May last year. It was then perhaps for the first time that Indians realized that they could hardly rely upon the authorities responsible for the preservation of law and order for the protection of their life and property. The manner in which the Indians were treated, the attitude of the police, the failure of Government to protect Indian life and property, the principle on which the settlement of the dock strike was based and the events that followed have, rightly or wrongly, given rise to a feeling of uncertainty among the Indian community as regards their general safety in Burma. The fact that not even a single person was arrested for murders of and murderous attacks on Indians during the riots, in which, even according to the Report of the Rangoon Riots Enquiry Committee, over 100 Indians were murdered and over 700 wounded, justifies such a feeling.

The terrible manifestation of anti-Indian feeling ought not to have been allowed to develop unchecked. The Government of Burma, in their Press *Communique*, dated the 19th May 1931, have expressed the view that this movement is largely, if not entirely, economic in character. While it is possible that economic depression has contributed to making the movement more aggressive, the view cannot be accepted that it is largely, if not entirely, economic in character. The whole world has been suffering for some time past from the effects of economic depression, but nowhere else has this led to riots, bloodshed and plunder on the part of one section of the population against another; nor could it be considered as justifying lawlessness. All other provinces of India have been suffering no less acutely than Burma from economic depression, but in no province do we find such astounding defiance of law. There is appreciable mingling of different provincial populations in every province, but we do not find any instances of violent and sanguinary hostility on the part of the indigenous population against the peacefully settled people of other provinces. The economic factor can, therefore, be easily set aside as a cause of the anti-Indian feeling

or at least as its justification. Indians in Burma have the same claim for protection upon the Government as the indigenous races. It is a supreme duty of the Government which it should not shirk. The relations between the people of this province and other provinces settled here have been until lately of the utmost cordiality. It only requires impartial investigation to determine what influences have been at work to change this mutual friendliness into enmity. The movement does not appear to be spontaneous, but to have been persistently promoted during the last few years by several agencies.

So far as we are aware, in no other province of India have the census authorities required the people to state during the recent census whether they were temporary or permanent residents of the province. But in Burma Indians were required to make such a statement without due previous intimation and without being informed by what tests or qualifications a man was to decide whether he was a permanent or a temporary resident.

Those who know the details are not at all convinced that the authorities in Burma grappled with the situation created by the anti-Indian outrages in a satisfactory manner from the start. We are informed that for about three weeks after the trouble had commenced in the Pegu and Toungoo districts, no official information about the anti-Indian outrages was given to the public. Nay more, it appears that for some time even the local Government was completely ignorant of the state of things in those districts.

Women's Education in Bengal

The demand for collegiate and university education for women has increased, with the result that several men's colleges have made arrangements for admitting women students. And the Calcutta University also admits women students to the post-graduate classes. At such a time Bethune College (for women) could have got a satisfactory accession of students by improving its accommodation. We are not, of course, in favour of overcrowded classes. We refer to the fact that, though for several decades we have been hearing of proposed improvements in that College, practically little has been done. This woman's college, the only Government College for women affiliated to the Calcutta University, will compare unfavourably

at every other Government College for you, men and the province as regards class rooms, common rooms, professors' rooms, hostels, etc. The missionary colleges for men are also certainly better in these respects. And some of the private unaided colleges for men are also better.

Perhaps at present Government would say, education being a transferred subject, the Minister in charge of education must be held responsible. That may be technically true, and for recent years. But what had the Government been doing before this so-called transfer of power in some departments?

Our M. L. C.'s are also much to blame. They do not take any interest in the higher education of women. Perhaps to excuse their indifference, some of them would trot out the theory that the kind of education which may be good for men is not good for women. Let us assume that that is so. Even then the question would remain, what these arbiters of the destiny of the province have done to promote what may be the right kind of education for women in their opinion. Perhaps the truth is that, in their opinion, no-education is the right kind of education for women.

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Calcutta Honours Prof. C. V. Raman

Last month the Calcutta Corporation presented a suitably worded address to the eminent scientist Professor Sir Chandrasekhar Venkata Raman. In the course of his reply to the address, he spoke of Calcutta as being the intellectual centre not only of India but of the whole of Asia, and referred to the intellectual atmosphere of this city as its chief attraction for him. As we are citizens of Calcutta ourselves, we must leave it to others to judge of its cultural position among cities. Prof. Raman expressed his gratitude to the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar for having founded the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, which provided him with a laboratory for scientific research before he had become Palit Professor of Physics in the Calcutta University. It was in fact his work in that laboratory which attracted the notice of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who selected him to fill the Palit chair. To Sir Asutosh also, therefore, he paid a tribute of gratitude.

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The Practicability of Retaliation—A Safe-guard and a Panacea

Advance writes:

"Muslims must remain fortified with the conviction that the treatment meted out to them by the Hindu majorities shall not be worse than what the Hindu minorities would expect to receive in the provinces where the Muslims are in a majority," said Dr. Ansari in course of his presidential address at the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference at Faridpur.

Once this proposition is clearly understood, he said, all recriminations, all scrambles for leaves and fishes, for offices and seats in the legislatures would disappear and give place to a manly confidence and a spirit of healthy competition, which would ultimately change the entire outlook in so far as inter-communal relations in India are concerned.

It is to be regretted that a man of Dr. Ansari's high position in the public life of India should hold the opinion that Muslims can expect just treatment in Hindu-majority provinces only if the Hindus there know that, if they ill-treat the Muslims there, Hindus in Muslim-majority provinces will be similarly ill-treated. But since that idea has occurred to him, it was best that he gave expression to it, and told his Muslim audience to banish all fears of Hindu oppression and fortify themselves with the conviction that in the practicability of such retaliation lay the safety of the Muhammadans.

It is an odious idea this—of holding Hindus in Muslim-majority provinces as hostages for the good behaviour of Hindus in Hindu-majority provinces. It smacks of a state of war, of siege, of armed truce. It betokens a war mentality, not civic co-operation and friendship. We confess, we are not enamoured of this particular brand of Nationalism. It is possible that some Bengali Muslim nationalists are not exactly of the same way of thinking as Dr. Ansari.

In the province where Dr. Ansari spoke thus, many districts in the north and the east, with a Muslim majority, are in the grip of famine. And of such a district, Rangpur, *The Mussalman* writes:

There are many landless people who will not get anything by way of agricultural loan and they are the most helpless of the lot. Of course, relief work is being done by the Ramkrishna Mission, the Marwari Committee; the local Congress Committee; but the Government also has granted a total of Rs. 10,000 for gratuitous relief. We are thankful to the Government of Bengal for what it has done. But, we are afraid, the measures so far taken do not seem to be sufficient. There should be found more money

for gratuitous relief. May we hope that Government will kindly see to this?

If Dr. Ansari cannot ask his co-religionists to return good for evil, according to the well-known Hindu, Buddhist and Christian doctrine, he will, we hope, at least ask his co-religionists where they are in majority to reciprocate not only the evil done by Hindu majorities but also to reciprocate the good done by Hindu minorities to Muslim majorities, as in Bengal now and for decades past.

Are Hindus to be Feared?

We do not claim that Hindus are angels; they are not. Neither do we claim that there has not been oppression of Hindus and non-Hindus by individual Hindus and groups of Hindus. What we say is that Indian history down the ages and the composition of the Indian population should be studied to ascertain whether Hindus have oppressed as much as or more than they have been oppressed.

Christians settled in India and converted others to Christianity centuries before any Muslims or any Christians conquered parts of India. Jews settled in India in ancient times. They never came here as conquerors. Parsis took refuge in India from persecution in Persia. They received hospitable treatment. Even before the Muhammadan conquest of Sind (which was the first province to be conquered by foreign Muslims), Muslim Arabs traded with the Malabar coast and received friendly treatment, and some of them settled there. Before any foreign Christian people conquered any part of India in the middle ages, every one of them came as traders and obtained facilities for commerce.

Before the Christian and Muslim conquests in India, the Hindus, who were then independent and had the power to exclude at least small knots of foreign traders or refugees or emigrants, did not try to exclude any foreigners. Before and after the Christian and Muslim conquests of parts of India, it may be said with truth that there was no such Hindu movement for the extermination of non-Hindus as are to be found in the history of some non-Hindu countries. We speak, of course, of times of peace.

The result is that in India there are to be found indigenous followers of all the great historical religions. It cannot be said that among them the Hindu majority have been

the oppressors. If Hindus had been oppressors, the Muslims, for example, would not have increased in numbers to the extent that they have done—becoming in some regions the majority from a minority.

This state of things is due either to the fact that the Hindus are a people who follow the principle of "live and let live", or to the fact that they are too weak to actively exclude and persecute others. Whichever view is accepted, it is a figment of the imagination of interested Europeans or of ignorant and prejudiced non-Hindu Indians to think that safe-guards are required against Hindu oppression. We, of course, speak of things in the mass.

Shoe-polishing an Offence!

"The story of how acute economic distress had made an educated Bengali Brahman youth desperate enough to take up the avocation of shoe-polishing for want of an employment, was stated before Mr. Roxburgh, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, when Amalendu Goswami, said to be a graduate and a son of the Head Master of a High English School at Asansole, was placed before the Magistrate, having been arrested under section 71 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

"It was alleged that Goswami was arrested on suspicion while polishing shoes in Bentinck Street.

"He was ordered by the Magistrate to be released on a bail of Rs. 100, but on his failure to furnish bail he was remanded to jail custody till June 24 for the verification of his antecedents. *Goswami is a young man possessing a good physique*"

So, shoe-polishing is a legal offence, or cause of suspicion, for an educated young gentleman! Perhaps, Goswami's offence lay in the sentence italicized above. He has been discharged or acquitted, or whatever the legal phrase goes, by Mr. S. K. Sinha, the officiating Indian Chief Presidency Magistrate.

It is to be hoped, educated young men who hang about the purlieus of mercantile or Government offices in quest of jobs, will have the moral courage of Goswami. Any honest work is better than loafing.

Calcutta University Finance

Bombay University, though it has enough to do with its saving of Rs. 150,000, has perhaps invested the sum in securities, leading old-fashioned Mr. K. Natarajan to wonder whether he was a member of the Senate of an educational body or was merely present

at the business meeting of a joint stock company

The other picture is the big deficit shown by Dr. B. C. Roy in the estimates for the next session's working of the Calcutta University. It was reported that, as the result of recent consultations between the representatives of the Government and the University at Darjeeling, Government would come to the rescue of the University. Dr Roy wired to the Education Minister to authorize him to make a definite statement to the Senate. But the Minister has not given any such authority! So, the University may have either to close many sections of its post-graduate departments at no distant date or to ask its lecturers—none too highly paid—to work on quarter rations. All the while, the Olympians, white and brown, with their myrmidons, must have their exodus to the hills and other extravagancies, in spite of financial stringency.

"The Calcutta Builders' Stores Ltd."

We are glad, "The Calcutta Builders' Stores Ltd" of Shalimar Road, Howrah, founded by Mr. Jogesh Chandra Mukherji, a self-made man, has been making good progress. It deals in many kinds of wood work, and trains young men of the genteel classes in the craft. Many of them have attained skill and proficiency in their avocation. The utility and importance of such enterprises lie in the facts that they open new avenues of employment to educated "high-caste" men and that they show to our artisans and craftsmen that their ancestral occupations are not at all to be despised.

Dr. Ansari's Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference Speech

The most important portion of Dr. M. A. Ansari's presidential address at the Faridpur session of the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference is printed below:

The proposals we are placing before you, and through you before the country, are based on the democratic principle that a majority, however small or large, must not be allowed to be converted into an equality or a minority, and must be placed in such a position as to function as a majority, and the legitimate fears and apprehensions of a minority should be removed by just and reasonable safeguards—safe-guards which do not cut across the basis of responsibility and self-government. Here are the proposals:

1. That on the basis of adult franchise should form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

"2. (a) That with adult suffrage, reservation of seats only for minorities less than 25 per cent in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be permitted, on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

(b) That in the provinces where Muslims are in a minority of less than 25 per cent, seats shall be reserved for them on a population basis with the right to contest additional seats, but in case other communities are given weightage Muslims shall be similarly treated and the present weightage enjoyed by them shall be maintained.

"(c) If adult franchise is not established, or franchise is not extended so as to reflect the proportion of the population on the electoral register, in the Panjab and Bengal seats shall be reserved for the Muslims, until adult suffrage is established or franchise is extended so as to reflect the proportion of population on the electoral register, in such a manner that the Muslim majority is not reduced to a position of minority or even of equality.

"3. That the representation of Muslims in the Federal legislature shall be one-third of the respective houses.

"4. That all appointments shall be made by a Public Service Commission, according to a minimum standard of efficiency, without at the same time depriving any community of its fair share in the services and that in the case of the lower grades no monopoly shall be permitted.

"5. That in the Federal and Provincial Cabinets, Muslims' interests shall be adequately recognized by means of a convention agreed to by all the parties in the different legislatures.

"6. That Sind shall be constituted into a separate province.

"7. That the N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan shall have exactly the same form of Government and administration as other provinces in British India.

"8. That the future constitution of the country shall be federal and the residuary powers shall vest in the federating units.

"9. (a) That there shall be a provision of fundamental rights in the constitution guaranteeing to all the citizens the protection of their cultures, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion, religious endowments and economic interests.

(b) That the fundamental rights and personal laws shall be effectively protected by a specific provision to be embodied in the constitution.

"(c) That there shall be no change in the Constitution so far as fundamental rights are concerned except with the concurrence of a three-fourths majority of each House of the Federal legislature.

These proposals are substantially the same as those embodied in the principal resolution passed at the conference of Muslim nationalists from all parts of India, held at Lucknow in April last. Minus joint electorates, they are substantially Mr. Jinnah's 14 points. This is not merely the prejudiced and tainted Hindu opinion. That it would be that of reasonable non Hindu minority opinion

also, would be evident from the following passage extracted from *The Week*, a Roman Catholic organ of Bombay:

The Ansari school has already swallowed the camel. We mean by this the whole of that new revelation which was vouchsafed to Mr Jinnah and which is embodied in the fourteen commandments. Separate Muslim provinces, residuary powers in the provinces, communalism in the services and Government, and all the rest they have agreed to. The gnat they are straining at is the separate electorate which somehow or other has become the dividing line between the nationalist and the communalist. That after swallowing all the rest they are straining at this, is one more proof of want of a sense of values and proportion which is such a painful mark of Indian politics. Even in this matter of separate electorates the Muslim nationalists were prepared to compromise. They were prepared to accept them as a *pis aller*, but one thing they insisted upon. The separate electorates were to lapse automatically after a definite period. But this was more than the Shafi and Shaukat Ali schools could stomach.

The defect in the political way of thinking of Muslims of all parties, nationalist and separatist, is that they cannot get rid of the idea that majorities and minorities must be communal. Nationalism and true democratic politics, however, require that the dividing line between majorities and minorities must be politico-economic and that each party may and should consist of men of different creeds and castes in varying proportions at different times. The parties must not be a practically constant quantity in their composition and numerical strength, as they would be if they were communal. They must be comparatively variable and 'fluid,' as they are in all democracies, being politico-economic.

Having commented in detail on the Lucknow resolution in our May number, it might be thought superfluous to discuss Dr. Ansari's proposals again. But public memory may be short. So we may be permitted to repeat some of our observations.

It may be recognized that Dr. Ansari was perhaps obliged to make proposals like the above, which are communalistic in the main with a little admixture of the nationalist element, in order perhaps to get the support of as large a section of the Muslim community as possible to the idea of joint electorates.

We are opposed to vesting the federating units with residuary power. Federated India must have a strong central government, in order that the centripetal, unifying and strength-giving forces may be conserved and developed and dissipated and centrifugal

tendencies may be discouraged and combated. In no other way can India's existence as an independent and free political entity, able to defend itself by its own strength, be assured.

The United States of India to be are not comparable to the United States of America. The British provinces of India are not autonomous units coming together voluntarily to form a federation. What little autonomy they have at present is a gift of the Central Government. That they may become somewhat more autonomous in future, is another question. Muslims want residuary powers to be vested in the provinces, most probably because they fear that their interests will not be safe in the hands of a Hindu majority in the Central Government. It is true, there may be Hindu majorities in many of the provinces also. That is the reason why Muslims want three more Muslim majority "Governor's provinces," namely, Sind, Baluchistan and N-W. Frontier Province, in addition to Bengal and the Panjab, in order that the Hindus in these five Muslim majority provinces may remain like hostages for the good behaviour of the Hindus in the Hindu majority provinces.

If our provinces were separate States, with direct subjection to Great Britain as the only common element in their political status, and if the fact were that they were going to be now separately independent but for the sake of developing greater strength and a more efficient administration they were federating by giving up part of their sovereignty and keeping the rest to themselves, then one could understand residuary powers vesting in them. But the facts are quite different.

Dr. Ansari's underlying idea seems to be medieval and communal, namely, that the unit of the State is the religious group. But the modern idea is that the unit of the State is the individual citizen, whatever his religious belief or disbelief may be. In a modern State there must be the open door for talent, irrespective of creed or caste. To be strong, efficient, prosperous and progressive, the modern State must secure the maximum efficiency in its employees for any given emoluments. To plead for jobs for any community on the basis of a minimum standard of efficiency is practically to conserve its backwardness as well as that of the entire nation. There is no objection, however, to the making of special provisions

for raising the efficiency of those who are backward in education and other means.

So, the fourth clause is a result of thinking communally and cannot make for raising the standard of efficiency of the communities in whose supposed interests it has been framed.

We have stated our objections to the constitution of Sind, N.-W. F. and Baluchistan into separate "Governor's Provinces" again and again. They need not be repeated. But we have not only no objection to these three regions having laws, judiciary, administration, educational system and agricultural, health and other departments of as enlightened and progressive a character as the rest of India, but we positively want that they should have them.

We are opposed to the reservation of seats either for majority or minority communities. But if Muslims will not co-operate with other communities unless seats are reserved for themselves in provinces where they are in a minority, we are disposed to agree to their having such reservation *for a short definitely fixed period*. It is to be regretted, however, that they have sought to deprive Hindu minorities in the Panjab and Bengal of the advantage, as they think, of reservation of seats on the population basis.

But in Bengal and the Panjab the Hindus are in a minority. In both they, however, form more than 25 per cent of the population. It is clear that this proportion of 25 per cent has been fixed in order to prevent the Panjab and Bengal Hindus from claiming reservation of seats, should they be disposed to do so. No one should grudge to others what one claims for one's self.

It is true, both in Bengal and the Panjab the Hindus are a comparatively large and progressive minority. But people should not be sought to be penalized for their progressiveness and numerical strength.

If Dr. Ansari wants reservation of seats for Muslims on the population basis, how is it consistent for him to ask one-third of the seats in the Central Legislature for them, who are not even one-fourth of the population?

The Wilfully Blind British *Observer*

The *Observer* (London) has developed a special type of concern for the welfare of the Indian people, specially the Muslims

of India. Its first and last editorial was set by the news that the Indian Nationalist Muslims had declared themselves in favour of joint-electoralates and were opposed to "separate" electoralates. He does not know or he pretends that he does not know the fact that recently more than twelve thousands of Muslims of India went to jail for championing the cause of Indian freedom. He advises the British Government to support Muslim reactionaries of India in their demand for separate electoralates. Some time ago the *Observer* made the following editorial comment:

Last week a meeting of pro-Gandhist Moslems was held at Lucknow. They represented only an insignificant percentage of their co-religionists. Yet, unaware of this fact, most British newspapers gave prominence to their proceedings—but almost ignored a gathering vastly more important! This was the meeting of Moslems at Allahabad under the presidency of Dr. Shaiq'at Khan, one of the ablest delegates to the Round Table. They demanded unconditionally separate electoralates. That this is the true Moslem demand is certain and not less so, that the British Government must make up its mind to concede it unless India is to plunge to disaster.

How those who know the facts most will feel amused at the magnification of the insignificant Allahabad meeting!

From interested motives, British imperialist and Anglo-Indian papers believe or pretend to believe that the Nationalist Muslims are unimportant and a handful and the separationist Muslims represent and form the majority of that community. Nationalist Muslims assert that the truth lies exactly the other way, and to prove their assertion they throw out a two-fold challenge: (1) Let the organizers of the so-called Muslim All-Parties Conference, held at Delhi in March last, which the separationists consider their biggest and most representative gathering, publish the names of the delegates who attended it with the names of the places they represented; and the Nationalist Muslim party will also publish the names and constituencies of those who attended the Lucknow Conference; (2) Let those among separationists who are M.L.A.s. or M.L.C.s resign and seek re-election on the separate electorate issue, and let it be decided by their success or failure whether the Moslem community is for joint or separate electorate. Why do not Maulana Shaikat Ali and his followers take up this challenge?

Ethical Character of British Prosperity

British Tories, especially the Churchill-Rothermere group, are much upset by the determined demand of Indian Nationalists to become masters of their native land. These politicians of Britain, who are pretending to uphold the cause of righteousness and justice, declare that India belongs to Britain and the British people should retain control over India at any cost. They also assert that if Britain ever loses control over India, she will be reduced to a third-rate power and a poor country. Yet the British officials in India preach that they are in India for pure philanthropy and for the good of the Indian people.

The following interesting letter recently appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* (Paris):

To the Editor of *The Tribune*

Sir:

I do not know whether to regard Lord Rothermere's article in his *Daily Mail* of April 15 as the language of a rich man, poor man, beggar or thief. The first portion of that same article is neatly built up to emphasize this following point: Portugal was once a poor nobody. She obtained India somehow or other, and became rich. Likewise England was once a poor nobody. Somehow or other Portugal lost India and England got it. England likewise became rich.

Gandhi, on the other hand, seems to be saying that the English were placed in England, and the Indians in India. And he seems to feel that the Indians have some right to India. Lord Rothermere's article, however, appears to feel that if this right of the Indians is respected, and they are raised out of their poverty, and thus become a little richer, England will be lowered from her wealth and become a little poorer.

Exactly in what relation does all this stand to the language of rich man, poor man, beggar or thief? It is to be hoped that the prosperity of England is not founded upon an immoral basis, and that British rule in India is not a polite name for bloodsucking. But if this is so, then we cannot but feel grateful to Lord Rothermere for standing manfully for truth and justice, by pointing this out.

J. B. GOWER-JONES,
British Embassy Church.

Paris, April 27, 1931.

Financial Plight of Great Britain

The *Chicago Tribune* (Paris) publishes the following:

London. Writing in the *Aldershot News*, L. Graham Scott former member of the British diplomatic service, who is well known in the United States and other countries, asserts that unless the present fiscal policy of the country is revised, Great Britain is heading for insolvency.

"Few people have the smallest conception of the perilous financial plight Great Britain finds itself in today," he declares. "Americans in particular fail to realize sufficiently that although the British Empire occupies nearly a fourth of the globe's surface, the major part of its wealth is created within the small British Isles by our own men and women directed by our business leaders."

Four things will lessen the financial dis- of the country and return prosperity, Mr. Scott believes. They are, voluntarily re-adjusting the existing paper currency system and monetary values without waiting for the pound to crash, returning to gold coinage, however limited, liquidation of British debts on an entirely different basis to the unbusinesslike Anglo-American agreement; and the adoption of a protective tariff.

There may be much truth about the fact that Great Britain is heading for insolvency. If "boycott of foreign goods," including British, is carried on by India in an effective fashion, Britain's financial position will certainly be worse than it is to-day.

For the recovery of the British financial position, Mr. Scott suggests among other things, that Anglo-American debts should be re-adjusted in favour of Britain. He also advocates that Britain should adopt the policy of protective tariffs. Indian statesmen would do well to make use of Mr. Scott's suggestions of *debt revision, and application of protective tariff* for the best interest of India. India should demand "revision" of her debts to Britain and reject all veiled measures for Imperial preference.

T. D.

A Japanese View of Indian National Awakening

That even foreigners think that two of the things mentioned by Lord Irwin have had something to do with the national awakening and national movement in India, will appear from the following extracts from an article in the June number of the *Japan Magazine* by Dr. Minoru Maita:

The Indians remember with bitterness the unfulfilled pledges made to them when Britain was in the throes of the European war.

Again:

The reasons why the nationalist movement has gained force so rapidly are various; but among them may be mentioned the dumping of Lancashire goods in India with a tariff and political privileges that rendered it impossible for India's home-made goods to compete against the machine-made goods of Manchester. Then there came the compulsory and arbitrary division of Bengal. After Japan's victory over Russia the Indians

began to see the possibility of doing something for their own emancipation. Upon India's realizing how much she had contributed to the defeat of the Central Powers in the Great War, the nationalists began to demand greater powers of self-government. India believed that after the war she would be elevated to a status corresponding to that of Australia or Canada but her faith met with no proper response from England. The notorious Rowlatt Act and the massacre at Amritsar, with the return of martial law, all enraged and discouraged Indian ambitions and hopes, until the national temperament flamed up to a dangerous pitch, and revolution was in the air.

The Japanese are not Russophiles. So, when a Japanese writer says that Soviet influence has had nothing to do with unrest in India, his opinion cannot be discounted. Dr Minoru Maita writes :

Some English publicists have maintained that Soviet influence has caused much of the unrest now seething in India. Evidence of the hidden hand of Russia on the nationalist movement in India is not sufficient to prove much, and consequently there is a suspicion that this is used as a convenient excuse for official blunders and short-sightedness. There are communists in India, because they are now everywhere, but their number or influence in that country is almost negligible. The main force is the Indian Nationalist movement for self-determination, which has definitely set its face against what it calls economic imperialism. Above all, there hovers the spirit of an awakened India, India in renaissance nationally, racially, politically, economically and socially.

This Japanese publicist has something to say on the effect of the Simon Commission also :

...the Simon Commission failed to make sufficient investigation of the measures to be taken for granting self-government to India. This irked the Indians more than almost anything else. The Commission made a big mistake in omitting Indians from its membership, thus exacerbating racial feeling and national sentiment, and consequently the Indians boldly question the right of any aliens to dictate to them the measure of their progress. But this nationalist movement may be traced back to the eighties of the last century, since when it has gained momentum year by year.

A New Branch of the Central Bank of India

The Central Bank of India, the largest Indian bank, have opened their third branch in Calcutta, which they have called the New Market Branch. We are glad to note that the bank is making good headway even in these days of financial crisis and stringency. The area chosen is the very heart of the shop-land of Calcutta, Chow-



S. C. Mazumdar

ringhee, Park Street, Dharamtala, Lindsay Street and the New Market. The agent, Mr. S. C. Mazumdar, is also a genial young man with an old head on his energetic shoulders. He is a man of ideas and ability, and we expect, he will soon make this new branch an established institution of financial Calcutta.

The Industry Year Book, 1931

We have received a copy of the *Industry Year Book and Directory* for 1931. This is the third year of publication of this useful volume and we congratulate the publishers on the improvements they have effected in this edition. The useful things one finds in the 800 pages of this year book are many and the price of Rs 5 should not be considered too high by any purchaser. For instance, apart from the usual postal, railway, shipping, money-market, weights and measures, trade terms, legal and other information, the directory gives one a good summary of the progress of trade and industries during 1930-31. This is followed by a chapter on banking development during the year. One then gets chapters on insurance, cotton mills, jute mills, agricultural resources, mineral resources, factories (classified), cottage industries, chemical industries, industrial research, foreign trades, etc., etc. The most important feature comes next. It is a detailed list of the market-places of India, given province by province, as well as by districts. Each market-place is shown with its peculiar

of things bought and sold. Finally, one gets a classified list of the trades and industries of India, a list of the newspapers and periodicals of India as well as one of technical institutions. There are also indices of commodities, industries and places. Altogether the *Year Book and Directory* is quite useful and handy. We can recommend it to those of our readers who are interested in trade, industry or in matters economic.

American Clergymen on War and Peace

A questionnaire on War and Peace was sent to 53,000 American clergymen by ten prominent American citizens. 19,372 replies were received. *The World Tomorrow* thus classifies the replies :

A total of 12,076 persons, or 62 per cent of those who responded, express the opinion that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war; and 10,427 or 54 per cent state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants. The number who regard the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war as sufficiently valid to justify their sanctioning or participating in a future war of "defence" is 8,316, or 43 per cent. A total of 8,700 or 45 per cent say they could conscientiously serve as official army chaplains on active duty in war-time.

Substantial reductions in armaments, even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do, is favoured by 15,449 clergymen, or 80 per cent of those replying. The number favouring military training in our public schools and civilian colleges or universities is 2,574, or 13 per cent. A total of 12,017 ministers, or 62 per cent believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by

our Government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means. The immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations is favoured by 12,700, or 66 per cent.

We are not militarists. We love peace. But conditions in respect of India are different from those as regards the United States of America. There is no greater believer in *ahimsa* (non-violence or non-injury) than Mahatma Gandhi. Even so thinks that it would not be practicable for India to do without an army for a long time to come.

There must be military training in all provinces in India for all classes of inhabitants.

An Alleged Letter from an Indian Prince

We publish on the plate opposite a slightly reduced facsimile of a letter purporting to have been written by His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanganur to his brother princes, received from a reliable source. As we cannot vouch for the genuineness of the letter we shall be very glad to publish a contradiction from His Highness.

THE FRONTISPICE OF THIS NUMBER

The picture by Mr. Kanu Dasi, which forms the frontispiece of this number, illustrates the story in the *Ramayana* of the squirrel who offered to help Ramachandra to bridge the sea by bringing him sand and dust.



THE DAWN OF LIBERTY
By Manindrabhusan Gupta

Calcutta



AUGUST, 1931

WHOLE
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The Influence of History in the Development of Modern India

By SISTER NIVEDITA

In which confronts India today
of passing completely into the
age. The present is an age of
ness. Owing to the discovery
electricity it is now possible
adventurous of us to explore
modern trade has already done
science is struggling to follow
every drawing-room contains
every country and every era.
of individual human mind, as
as a whole, the planet earth in
being visualized. geographically

This age is also an age of exploita-
most precious things. Europe
to other eras, or to commu-
modernized. The rugs of
Turkey, the needle-work of
of porcelain and the metal
Chinese, and all other things are
they have to be found like
in old-world gardens, secluded
sooner do the suburbs of
d themselves to include these
they are straightway trodden
under. Even the industries of
rowing vulgar, under the foot-
passing tourist. London is

teaching drawing to the children
board-schools, but why? In order that
may *understand* the works of B
and of Michael Angelo. The dreams and
that made such work possible, they
cannot give. Everyone today can
Shakespeare, but where is a new Shak
to be looked for? Even the prayers
satisfy us most deeply, are they
utterances of rapturous lives lived
in workshop or in cloister? In a
maybe, we can patter off all the prayers
Chrysostom and Teresa and Ignatius
put together, but it would have taken
of concentration to have been the first
of one such word as theirs. The
age is an age of exploitation, not of a

The modern age is an age of o
tion. In the case of the machine, a
here or a wheel there enables us
ourselves of vast areas of force, o
inaccessible. Similarly, the crowning
tion of the modern world is to treat
areas from the same point of view.
apt to think of whole populations, a
only question to be considered were
usefulness to ourselves, to our comfort
luxury, our culture. We have learned
organize life and masses of men

regularity and precision of machinery. We see this in shops and offices and factories, and we also see it in the government of empires, and in the constant annexing of slices of one country by the official classes of another.

The modern age is an age of the people. We are all familiar today with questions of expediency and of responsibility which were hitherto the preserves of monarchs and of cabinets. Our habits are those of kings. Yet we are not kings. Our education also is of a kind which was once open only to the privileged. The exploitation of the people leads to the criticism of the people, the thought, the responsibility, ultimately to the organization of the people. The genius of Toussaint L'Ouverture announced and that of Napoleon Bonaparte echoed "all careers are open to talent," but had they failed to proclaim it, the decree must have gone forth sooner or later, for it is one of the master-notes of the modern world. Such then are a few of the characteristics of the modern age. India is to a large extent mediæval still. What does this imply? The middle ages were ages of production, rather than exploitation. The strenuous dreamers dreamt by the light of more or less childlike beliefs. The masses of the nation were less widely-informed than now, and vastly simpler in their aims and habits. Political responsibility was somewhat of a monopoly—each life and each group was more concentrated in its activities than is the case today. Science is the characteristic product of the modern world. Art was the characteristic product of the mediæval. Work was performed by hand, not by machinery. Hence it was slow, and productions could only be accumulated very gradually. Generation followed generation therefore in the attempt to furnish, or in the work of using a single room, and for this reason an old farmhouse kitchen, in any part of the world, is universally admitted to be more beautiful than a modern drawing-room.

Most of us will feel that wherever it is possible to retain the mediæval and refuse the modern, it is desirable to do so. But in India, the possibility is not open to us. The mediæval suffers here from a mortal wound. It has been wounded, in the first place, by the touch of trade. The mechanical productions of the West, quickly created, quickly worn out, rapidly succeeding each other have driven out of mind the patient accumulations of succes-

sive generations. Squander and voracious, the two horns of the modern dilemma in taste, are now threatening the lovely old simplicity of India, with increasing force. And this means that the crafts themselves are passing out of being,—the men of the crafts-guilds, or castes, being starved or turned into work for which they have neither desire nor aptitude.

Mediæval India has been wounded to the death also, by Christian proselytism. "The simple faith of strenuous dreamers" persists to some extent, but it is more individual and less congregational, than it was. The women's lives are of the old world, and the men's, touched but not inspired by modernity are out of all relation to them. The situation would already have been fatal to a people less profoundly moralized. As it is, it strains nobly even that character which is the organic upgrowth of three thousand years of faith and works. And finally, mediæval India is under sentence of death, through the existence of those political conditions which make the country an English-speaking territory. For good or for evil, the work of modernizing has gone too far to be undone. India is now a figure in the twentieth century part of the world. As proud as ever, and as sensitive as ever, she is no longer isolated, no longer sure of herself, no longer satisfied with her specific achievements. Every country has a right to a scheme of things which shall not only provide incentive and ambition to her noble children, but shall also tend increasingly to call her meanest to higher aims. In India today however, the meanest are frankly and revoltingly imitative. The noblest work against incredible difficulties towards ends that the society around can hardly comprehend. And the majority stand between, uncertain in what direction to bestow their efforts. Spiritually, morally, intellectually, and socially, we shall best understand the India of the present moment, if we conceive of her as bewildered and in doubt.

In order, then, to co-ordinate her efforts, it is clear that she has to face and carry through vast changes, which we may designate conveniently as the assimilation of the modern consciousness. That is to say, accepting the modern method of thought and expression, she has so to increase the content of the existing expression, as to prove herself equal, if not superior, to those other nations with whom she will thus be competing on equal terms.

Instead of merely learning modern science, she has to prove herself able to apply the methods of modern science, to the solution of some of its unsolved problems. Instead of merely accepting other men's steamships and mechanical contrivances, she has to produce great inventors, who will add to the convenience and potentiality of life. Instead of enjoying a foreign literature, she has to pour into that literature masterpieces of a new type. Instead of admiring national evolutions and heroic leaders in other countries, she has to consolidate her own forces and bring forth her own heroes, to constitute an army of nationality on her own soil.

Perhaps in nothing is it so easy to understand this, as in the matter of art. The old Indian school of painting produced very beautiful works of art. But the method and its continuity of effort have suffered destruction in the modern catastrophe. Thousands of young art-students today are simply toiling along, in the struggle to put colour on canvas in the European way in order to express thoughts and illustrate poems, in a fashion only would-be European and not genuinely anything. It is clear that what we want here is workers who after a training in technique, can catch and express a great inspiration of their own, in any manner whatsoever, that they feel to be adequate. It is clear that, acquiring mastery of materials, what we really want is a great Indian school of artists, a national art-movement. And here it must not be *method* of work, but the message which is sought to be conveyed, that constitutes nationality.

In other words, all for which that country is precious will vanish out of the world, unless the children of the land can grasp the thought of India as India, and learn to live and work in expression of this idea alone.

There can be no doubt that one of the most important features of such an awakening would lie in a movement towards the study of Indian history. A man's face contains, for the seeing eye, his whole past. A national character is the résumé of a national history. If we would know what we are, or whither we tend, we must be made aware of our own antecedents, and the study of Indian history ought to possess unusual attractions for the Indian people, inasmuch as it is a history which has never yet been written, which is even, as yet, unknown.

Nothing, if well understood, can be more beautiful as a historic spectacle, than the process of the Indian evolution. The orderly sequence of consolidation and individuation by which new elements are worked into the nationality in each age, is something that could never have been so perfect, had the Himalayas and a forbidding coast-line not combined to isolate the experimental field. Already there have been two Indias,—Hindu India, under the Asokan Empire, and Mogul India, under the House of Babar, and it remains for the people themselves to produce a third, the National India. All preceding or intervening periods are to be regarded as preparatory to these, as periods merely of the incorporation and elaboration of new elements. We are able to understand and state this, because it is today clear that history is dynamic, it never dies. If a nation at any period reaches great spiritual or intellectual achievements, these do not exhaust, they conserve and heighten the national vigour. The strength spent in physical energy of any kind is indeed spent, but the energy that shone forth as Vikramaditya and his brilliant court, represents so much gained for eternity by the nation as a whole. In this respect there is a polar difference between attainment and enjoyment. The effort to produce a great art, great science, or a world-religion, never exhausts a people. If they subsequently show exhaustion, we may be certain that a close search will discover forms of luxury and excess which, occurring simultaneously, sowed the actual seeds of premature decay. Water will always rise to the level it has once reached. Similarly, the height that a people have once captured, they can always achieve again.

For one thing, the past in this way patterns the future. It is not by imitation of foreigners, but by renewed apprehension of their own intention, renewed effort at self-expression,—in other words, by movements of national revival,—that nations rise. History is *ashirbad*,—the promise that the nationality makes to each one of its children. This is so deeply understood by the human mind that a church will be formed round any single character—Ah, "The Lion of God," for instance, or Martin Luther, or Ignatius Loyola, or Chaitanya,—that is felt to mark an epoch of the race. It remains for India to show that the passion which the past has seen men give to churches, with their

sectarian calendars, will yet be seen concentrated on a nation in which the saints of all sects finds common canonization. Islam represents, amongst other things, the tendency to multiply to infinity the personality of Ali, and the equally wonderful personality of Fatima. Hinduism represents a similar hope for the characters of Savitri, of Buddha, of Sita, and perhaps of Saunaka.

The calendar of the saints of the nationality, however, includes all these, and a thousand more. Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh has his place there, side by side with Sivaji, and the story of the heroes of Rajput and Sikh and Mahratta peoples, cannot dim the shining of Akbar and Sher Shah. Do the Indian people doubt that they are a nation, with a national character of their own? Can they doubt, when they look back on their literature, on their epic, on their heroes, on their history? Could they compare the corresponding possessions of any other people with their own? Does the Indo-Mohammadan doubt his own power, his own part in a consolidated Indian nationality? What, when he reviews the glories of Indo-Saracenic architecture, or the records of his Indian sovereigns, Indian soldiers, and Indian chivalry?

No, history is the warp upon which is to be woven the woof of nationality. Only the mirror of her own past can India see her soul reflected—and only in such vision can she recognize herself. By the study of history alone, therefore, can she determine what are to be the essential elements, of her own nationality when grown to its full height of manliness and vigour.

When we compare the Empire of Asoka with that Akbar, we see a certain combination that distinguishes both, the combination of Hindu culture with the idea of democracy. The personal message of the Buddha falls upon the heart of a Sudra sovereign, in the one case, to give him the intellectual franchise of his age, and the result is an enthusiasm, at once of personal piety and of kingly opportunity, which the world has rarely or never seen equalled. In the other case, a less stable empire is built up on the basis of a personal temperament that makes for culture, and the Islamic idea of the fraternity of man. There can be no doubt that, coloured by these two master-facts, the delight of the four great Moguls in the throne of India, was comparable to that of Asoka himself.

In the Indian nation of the near future

the democracy itself, enfranchised by the modern spirit, will play the leading part, and the idea of nationality will form the motive and inspiration.

India is a country born to be the instrument of ideas. There is nothing there which it is desirable to compass, that cannot be compassed by means of an educational process.

Now nothing is more desirable than the finding of some solvent for purely social crystallizations. The whole power of a barrier between two communities depends on the value which the members ascribe to it, and there is nothing like knowledge of facts for dispelling fictitious self-hypnotisms. For this reason, a really valuable history of India presupposes a certain training in sociology. When definite knowledge is available, partisanship falls gradually into disuse. It is better, surely, to understand caste, than either to praise or to vilify it. Here based upon race, there upon occupation, and elsewhere upon period of immigration, it is clear enough that its significance is manifold. A world of unwritten history and an encyclopædia of folklore, are likewise contained in it. So multitudinous are its local refinements that it would take an archaeological department consisting of the whole people, merely to tabulate them. It is clear, then, that the limitations imposed by caste cannot be by any means uniform. But it is only in relation to the history of similar institutions, as they have existed in other countries, that we shall be able to deduce the law of the growth and development, with the warning or the hope, of Indian caste.

We can see that it is essential also to know where to dub a given institution matriarchal, patriarchal, or primitive. It is further probably necessary to understand the way in which place spontaneously relates itself to work,—how riverbank or sea-board makes fisher-folk, fertile plains peasants, deserts and uplands shepherds, forests and mountains hunters, foresters, and miners. With these definite conceptions in our minds, we may attempt to unravel the history of India. But even here more is necessary. How much can we know of India, if we know nothing of the world outside India? How shall we recover the truth about ancient Pataliputra, if we know nothing of Persepolis of Petra, of Babylon of China, and the international relations of all these? Or how

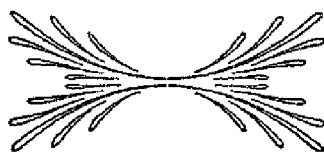
are we to understand the growth and significance of Benares, if we have never studied Cologne, Chartres, Durham, or Milan? What will the history of Hinduism mean to us, if we have never considered that of Christianity, or of Islam?

Even in the study of the prehistoric then, the comparative method is essential. If we should rebuild the India of early ages, we must be prepared also to build up and place beside it, Phoenicia, Egypt, Chaldaea, and the rest. Degenerate moderns, we cannot explore the world without the aid of railways, but we need not think that our ancestors were like us. The international consciousness of early periods is one of the most fascinating subjects that could be offered to a student, and certainly would well repay whatever labour he might spend upon it. Thus it is not only necessary that the Indian historian should have a grasp of sociological method, and of such facts as are known in regard to the development of civilization, it is also requisite that he should be thoroughly abreast of the research of his time as to the formation and movement of ancient empires. Here we enter upon something more like the firm ground of history. Archaeology is every day revealing more and more of the part in Egypt, in Chaldaea, in the old Empire of Hittites, in Crete and Knossos. India, whether pre-Aryan and Dravidian, or post-Dravidian and Aryan, was an integral part of the world and the epochs to which these belonged. Asoka himself was a modern in his day, the heir of a universe unrecorded, but not perhaps at that time unremembered, history. What has India herself to tell us of this past?

The idler may be satisfied to answer that already European scholars are at work upon these problems. They are not. But if they were, what answer would that be, for the son of India to offer? European scholars are blind and deaf to many of the problems and many of the lines of work that Indian history opens up in abundance. But even

if it were not so, he who answers thus, or puts forward the ability of an alien scholarship to write a true history of India, proves himself ignorant of the first conditions of higher research. The first and highest necessity of such work is *a heart, a passionate love, the insight of a child*. These things no foreigner can boast. Nor does the foreigner live in the world where constant brooding would enable him to catch those loose ends of the threads of history that lie blown by the winds of the common life. Half the history of India lies written in religious and domestic custom. What does the alien know of these? What does he know of tradition, of the proverbs of the race, of its etiquette, of its theology? Or, if all these were open to him, where would be the burning hope to teach him unerringly the road by which to grasp the significance of the past in the future?

The tale of her own past that the motherland awaits must combine the critical acumen of the modern, with the epic enthusiasm of the ancient writer. Remorseless in its rejection of legend, it must nevertheless know how to seize the core of truth that legend so often conveys. Supported and adorned by a knowledge of the external world, it must for its own part be the poem, the psalm, of the Indian country. And above all, it must not end with the past, but must know how to point the finger onwards to the future. It must be not only reminiscent, but also suggestive. It must not only chant the word 'Remember!' but also find ways to utter the whisper 'Determine!' It must be critical, but also fiery, proud, constructive. The foreign scholar writes annals, memoirs, chronicles, but can this song of the Land be sung by any not of her own blood?*



The Austro-German Customs Union

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

The proposal of Austria and Germany to conclude a customs union is one of the most important developments in the history of post-war Europe. And yet, so encouraging an effort has raised a political storm which throws Europe into two antagonistic groups of nations,—France and her allies on one side and Germany and her sympathizers on the other. While France is struggling for military and financial supremacy, Germany is fighting her way to a place of equality among nations. Such being the conflict between the aims of the two greatest continental powers, the German and Austrian proposal is looked upon by France as a step towards *Anschluss* (political union) between the two Teutonic peoples. This attitude on the part of the French is natural enough, for during the past decade the habit has been formed in France to regard every move towards the uniting of Central Europe with suspicion, if France herself was a non-participant in it.

THE BERLIN-VIENNA PACT

Soon after the failure of the European tariff truce proposed by the League of Nations, the Germans and Austrians got together to arrange between themselves a customs union, and about the end of last March they informed London, Paris and Rome of the intention of the two Germanic Governments to create an agreement of a unified customs and trade practices. It was further notified that the Austro-German move being designed only as a first step towards a European customs union as envisaged in M. Briand's memorandum on pan-Europe, other nations, if they so desired, are invited to join the customs pact. The removal of the burdensome tariff walls in Europe is what the British Government and M. Briand have been eloquently advocating, and yet the Austro-German proposal for the achievement of the same end has called forth indignant and bitter protests from France and her allies.

According to the Berlin-Vienna pact the independence of each of the two countries

is to remain unimpaired; tariff administration is to be maintained separately, each retaining the right to make trade agreements with other States so long as they do not infringe on the well-being of the other. An arbitration court with equal representation is to be formed for settlement of disputes. No duties are to be imposed on traffic between the two countries, and their total customs receipts are to be pooled and divided on a scale to be determined later. Further, it is proposed to bring the tariff laws and rates of Austria and Germany into complete harmony with one another. On some such lines the Austrian and German Governments decided to begin negotiations towards a treaty to harmonize trade regulations between them.

The Austro-German plan, by inviting other countries also to join this scheme, links itself pretty well with the Briand conception of pan-Europe. And there can be little doubt that this point was stressed to forestall as far as possible the objection that the Berlin-Vienna pact involves a violation of the treaty provisions. The sections of the peace treaties governing Austro-German sovereignty and political relations are as follows:

TREATY OF VERSAILLES
SIGNED JUNE 28, 1919
SECTION VI, ARTICLE 80

Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria within the frontiers which may be fixed in a treaty between that State and the principal Allied and Associated Powers; she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

TREATY OF ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE
SIGNED SEPT. 10, 1919
SECTION VIII, ARTICLE 88

The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly, and until her admission to membership of the League of Nations, by participation in the affairs of another Power.

It is clear therefore that according to the terms of these treaties a political union between Austria and Germany is forbidden, and safe-guards are provided for the maintenance of Austria's political independence.

The Germans, however, point out that, while a political union is forbidden, a customs union of the type described above, which tends to knit the two countries into a close economic unity, is not expressly mentioned in these treaties. The immediate problem forced to a head by the present economic situation is the creation of a single economic unit out of the two German-speaking peoples. The Austro-German accord certainly amends the spirit of the peace treaties. But the French regard it as the first instalment of the union between the two countries which the war victors thought they had prohibited in the treaty of St. Germain, and safe-guarded by a clause in the Geneva convention of 1922. The Berlin-Vienna pact has been so skilfully manoeuvred and so cautiously framed as to evade successfully not only the hindrances arising from the treaty terms, but also the barrier of the most-favoured nation clause, upon which many a promising Central European preference scheme has been wrecked. Since the European tariff truce failed, and the realization of the pan-European scheme in its entirety is far distant, the attempt is made, so the Germans say, to begin with regional agreements between two or more European States with reciprocal necessity, and prepare an economic union to improve trade relations between them.

BASIS OF FRENCH FEARS

It is not any danger seen in reciprocal benefits between the Reich and her small Teutonic neighbour which arouses the storm of protest from France. Indeed, from this standpoint alone France would perhaps have little objection to an arrangement which would improve the trade prospects of little Austria. But Paris sees something more. She sees in the project a development of a plan,—about which the Germans have talked so much in previous years,—for the political union of Germany and Austria. Such a union would mean in itself a considerable strengthening of the Teutonic political position on the Continent. And if that alliance were to result in the formation of a Mittel Europa bloc, it might easily mean a force which could challenge French hege-

mony in Europe much more effectively than could Germany single-handed. Hence the French are opposed to the removal of tariff barriers under the leadership or to the advantage of Germany. They favour, of course, an economic partnership among Austria, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, but a customs union between Austria and Germany is quite another thing.

Just to avoid giving rise to suspicion that the customs pact is a political union, the Austrians and the Germans extended an invitation to other States to join the combination if they so wished. But this general invitation does not seem to have helped in any way to clear the suspicions of the French. They still persist that the Berlin-Vienna pact is nothing but a move towards political union. The Germans, on the other hand, declare that all they are trying to do is only to apply the principle of M. Briand's European Federation proposal. Since European economic co-operation could not be achieved by the methods hitherto followed, they have adopted, say the Germans, a new line of approach to the same problem. M. Briand, on the other hand, asserts that the Austro-German pact is illegal as it violates the treaty terms. But Germany replies that she is quite within her rights as limited by the peace treaties, and that she does not propose to be bluffed out of her plan of resuscitating Central Europe, and as much of the Continent as cares to join the proposed union.

It is interesting to note that at present the French are not basing their protests on the terms of the treaty of Versailles but on the protocols signed at Geneva in 1922, when the League undertook to float a loan for Austria, when she was almost on the brink of a financial disaster. Those protocols stated more or less that Austria would not only give fair treatment in the economic field to other nations, but would not involve herself economically without the knowledge and consent of the League powers floating the loan. Perhaps the Quai d'Orsay thinks it more feasible to make out a case against the proposed economic union on this basis than on the terms of the peace treaties, since there seems to be no danger to Austrian political independence in the Berlin-Vienna project.

It would, of course, be quite impossible now or in the near future for Germany and Austria to obtain from the Council of the

League of Nations authorization for their political union. Nevertheless when the announcement of the Austro-German customs union was made, France took the position that Austria and Germany should be told emphatically that they must abandon completely, and for all time, any such attempt at unification of their interests. Fortunately however wiser counsel prevailed. Arthur Henderson, the British Foreign Secretary, seeing the dangerous situation, started at once to make the classic opening in the diplomatic chess game of trying to gain time. It is perhaps the strength, and sometimes also the weakness, of the English that they always play this move in diplomacy. Informing himself of exactly what was proposed, he gathered together all the texts and engagements involved, and submitted them to the legal section of the Foreign Office. His second move was to avoid the direct opposition of one country to the plans of another. The Council of the League of Nations supplies that impersonal intermediary to meet such situations. France and her allies agreed to the proposal of the British Foreign Secretary that the Council of the League should be asked to examine this situation in the month of May, and that nothing should be done until after the Council had said its word. Certain aspects of the proposal have now been referred by the Council to the International Court of Justice for opinion.

AUSTRIAN VIEW OF THE UNION

Dr. Richard Riedl, the former Austrian Ambassador to Germany and Austria's leading authority on foreign trade, says that he was requested as far back as 1912 to submit an expert report on a customs union of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy with Rumania and Serbia. Careful investigation revealed that a union of essentially agrarian countries would result in such an over-production of farm products as to ruin the farmers themselves. The committee of experts then observed that partners to an effective customs union must be industrial and agricultural countries; in other words, it was suggested that Austria should look to the west to a country like Germany for a partner to absorb her agricultural surplus. By 1914 matters had advanced so far that Dr. Riedl was expected in the week of the Kiel regatta to discuss the subject with responsible

Germans. But Sarajevo and the outbreak of the war, says he, frustrated the plan. From Dr. Riedl's account one gathers that this Austro-German Customs Union was not a new idea. It is not right therefore to accuse Germany and Austria of having suddenly sprung upon an innocent world a cunning scheme. This old scheme was not taken up earlier because of the hope that the Briand plan for an economic union of all Europe would be realized or at least some group of nations, more inclusive than Austria and Germany, would create a unified economic area.

As to the fears that the customs union merely represents some deep hidden plot for imperialistic expansion of Germany, it could be refuted no better, so the Austrians maintain, than by tracing the history of the customs union idea. Besides, inasmuch as the initiative came from the Austrian side, it could not be said that the Austro-German accord is a German expansionist plot. The truth of the matter is, the new method of mass production and the competition of the United States and Soviet Russia are forcing Europe more and more to the necessity of organizing larger economic units, and it is but natural that the movement towards union should find ready response between countries speaking the same language. Treaties may hold this movement in check for some time or to some extent, but it is obvious that they cannot prevent it for ever without a war. The only peaceful way for small States to rob the Austro-German customs union of the danger of German domination would seem to be in their acceptance of the invitation to enter the combination. In other words, a safe cure for pan-German union is pan-European union.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that one of the aims of M. Briand in fathering the European federation scheme was to forestall the German political union. He started the pendulum swinging towards a European customs union with the tariff truce, but his own country, along with others, thought that there was no need to hurry. Hence his attempt ended in failure. Now, thanks to the Germans and Austrians, that fear, which has always been the chief driving force in the European union movement, has been revived once again. The basic problem in uniting Europe is the problem of uniting France and Germany.

France strengthened her position by the naval agreement with Italy, and Germany was sore. Now the Germans are strengthening their economic position by the tariff agreement with Austria, and the French are furious. Meanwhile the equilibrium is restored, and those, who believe that such equilibrium is *sine qua non* of any real union or understanding between the two proud powers, are inclined to rejoice at the indications of a better future.

UNION WILL BENEFIT EUROPE

Even if the Austro-German customs union is not actuated by purely economic motives,—especially on the part of Germany, it would nevertheless be as advantageous in the long run as commercial agreement. Considered simply as an economic undertaking, leaving the political aspects out of it the Austro-German proposal should be received warmly, since any lowering or removal of tariffs in Europe is something that all economists would look upon with favour. The greatest obstacles to Europe's prosperity are tariffs and armaments. In fact, M Briand has been one of the most powerful critics of this situation and the most earnest advocates of a general arrangement for cutting down customs in the interest of a freer flow of trade and a better standard of living. The Austro-German customs union holds out many advantages to the countries involved. While there were 52,000,000 inhabitants in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, the peace treaties reduced Austria's inland market to a population of 6,500,000. But the proposed customs treaty would open up for Austria a wide market in Germany with a population of 70,000,000. These Austrian farmers would find ready market for their cattle, butter and cheese. In fact, Germany alone imports, in spite of tariff barriers, some Rs. 225,000,000 worth of these dairy products.

However, the readjustment would work hardship on small Austrian industries. Most of the factories in Austria were created on the basis of protection against Germany and other industrial nations. With the tariff knocked off many manufacturers would be unable to compete with their German rivals. Though an interim tariff is envisaged to protect small industries from being swamped yet some industries are bound to suffer in the readjustment. Nevertheless,

a market ten times as large as Austria's present domestic market cannot but be beneficial in the long run to a production limited by the shrinkage of Austria's market after the war. Anything in fact would be better than the present situation in which Europe is split up by too many frontiers, and trade movements are hampered by too many tariffs.

Similarly, the customs union would open up for Germany also a wider market. And what is more, it would give her a greatly increased supply of tariff-free iron, this is exactly what she wants as Germany has been short of iron since the Lorraine ore deposits were given over to France after the war. Further, in 1929 Austria consumed some Rs. 380,000,000 worth of German products, and with the tariff off she would provide even a better market for Germany. Besides these benefits in the field of economics, the customs union would serve Germany as a salve to her pride. It would be a step towards that equality among the powers, of which the peace treaty deprived her, and which she is determined to regain. The proposed union would increase her population by nearly that much as was decreased by the peace treaty. It would also partly make up for the loss of the Polish Corridor and Alsace-Lorraine. Apart from political advantages, such regional agreements for tariff reduction and economic co-operation are widely recognized as not only sound but essential if the handicap of too many frontiers are to be overcome.

We are witnessing in Europe a general increase in tariffs and a steady closing down of markets as a result of the economic isolation of all nations. Unless a different policy prevails in Europe, the European nations are heading straight for acute problems of unemployment and class conflicts. The shortest way out of her economic problems is undoubtedly that offered by a European federation. But, after the failure of all efforts to achieve a tariff truce, the Austro-German free trade agreement is the first practical step towards the reduction of customs barriers in Europe. By inviting other States to enter into similar regional agreements, Germany and Austria have opened the door to new trade parleys. It is to be hoped that the era of fruitless conferences is ended and that the Council of the League of Nations would now move in the

direction of encouraging definite action in bringing about closer economic co-operation in Europe. The Austro-German customs union marks the first independent and constructive step Germany has taken since the war in the field of foreign policy. The

Austrians and Germans must be given credit for having made through this proposed scheme the first practical attempt to rehabilitate the theory of free trade and larger markets as the salvation of the distressed Continent.

Rammohun Roy as a Journalist

(A SUPPLEMENT)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

In the April and May numbers of this *Review* I published an article under the above heading, in which, among others, an account was given of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, a weekly journal in Persian—edited by Rammohun. The account was necessarily brief, as details on certain points were not available, by reason of the Calcutta libraries not having complete files of the newspapers of that time, particularly Silk Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal*.¹ I have since been able to obtain from the British Museum transcripts of an editorial which the *Calcutta Journal*, in its issue of 10th April 1823, translated from the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*. These are reproduced below and will furnish the grounds which led Rammohun to terminate the career of his Persian paper so untimely and so abruptly :

MIRAT-UL-UKHBAR

Friday, April 4, 1823.—(Not included in the Regular Numbers).

It was previously intimated, that a Rule and Ordinance was promulgated by His

Excellency the Honourable the Governor General in Council, enacting, that a Daily, Weekly, or any Periodical Paper should not be published in this City, without an Affidavit being made by its Proprietor in the Police Office, and without a License being procured for such publication from the Chief Secretary to Government ; and that after such License being obtained, it is optional with the Governor General to recall the same, whenever His Excellency may be dissatisfied with any part of the Paper. Be it known, that on the 31st of March, the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaghten, Judge of the Supreme Court, expressed his approbation of the Rule and Ordinance so passed. Under these circumstances, I, the least of all the human race, in consideration of several difficulties, have, with much regret and reluctance, relinquished the publication of this Paper (*Mirat-ool-Ukhbar*). The difficulties are these :—

First—Although it is very easy for those European Gentlemen, who have the honour to be acquainted with the Chief Secretary to Government, to obtain a License according to the prescribed form ; yet to a humble individual like myself, it is very hard to make his way through the porters and attendants of a great Personage ; or to enter the doors of the Police Court, crowded with people of all classes, for the purpose of obtaining what is in fact, already [?unnecessary] in my own opinion. As it is written—

Abrooe kih ba-sad khoon i jigar dast dihad

Ba-oomed-i karam-e, kha'jah, ba-darban

ma-farosh

The respect which is purchased with a hundred drops of heart's blood

Do not thou, in the hope of a favor, commit to the mercy of a porter

Secondly To make Affidavit voluntarily

¹ For want of newspaper files for 1822, I was obliged to lay under contribution certain extracts from an article on "Ireland : the Causes of its Distress and Discontents," as reproduced by Miss Collet in her biography of Rammohun Roy. Though she mentions the fact that this article appeared in the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, dated 11 Oct. 1822, Miss Collet is silent on the source from which she derived its English translation, as quoted by her. I have since been able to ascertain that the English translation of the article in question first appeared in the columns of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, dated Tuesday, Oct. 15, 1822, the files of which are in the possession of the India Office Library, London. Miss Collet's version of the article, which was reproduced by me, suffers from at least two misprints which require correction, viz :

Modern Review, May 1931 :

P 511 col 1 line 29 for "royal" read "kingly"

30 Ireland read England

in an open Court, in presence of respectable Magistrates, is looked upon as very mean and censurable by those who watch the conduct of their neighbours. Besides, the publication of a newspaper is not incumbent upon every person, so that he must resort to the evasion of establishing fictitious proprietors, which is contrary to Law, and repugnant to Conscience.

Thirdly—After incurring the disrepute of solicitation and suffering the dishonour of making Affidavit, the constant apprehension of the License being recalled by Government which would disgrace the person in the eyes of the world, must create such anxiety as entirely to destroy his peace of mind, because a man, by nature liable to err, in telling the real truth cannot help sometimes making use of words and selecting phrases that might be unpleasant to Government. I, however, here prefer silence to speaking out :

*Gada-e goshah nasheerne to Hafiza
makharosh*

*Roomoon maslabat-i khesi khoosrowan
danand*

Thou O Hafiz, art a poor retired man,
be silent :

Princes know the secrets of their own
Policy.

I now entreat those kind and liberal gentlemen of Persia and Hindoostan, who have honoured the *Miral-ool-Ukhbar* with their patronage, that in consideration of the reasons above stated, they will excuse the non-fulfilment of my promise to make them acquainted with passing events, as stated in the introductory remarks in the first number, and I earnestly hope from their liberality, that wherever and however I may be situated, they will always consider me, the humblest of the human race, as devoted to their service.*

* The Calcutta Journal, Thursday, April 10, 1823. Asiatic Department. p. 557.

Salt in Bengal

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

THE decision endorsed by the Indian Legislative Assembly that an additional duty should be imposed on salt imported into Bengal from foreign salt works other than those situated in Aden has drawn the attention of the inhabitants of this penalized Presidency to the question of the possibility of Bengal providing her own supply of salt. The decay and ultimate disappearance of the industry in Bengal is due to the competition of foreign salt, the preference of the people for white salt and their neglect of improved methods of manufacture.

In 1834 the Government of India had a memorandum prepared, as a conspectus of the system and methods of the administration of the Indian salt revenue in all its branches and in all provinces. In that memorandum we have the following :

Bengal and the greater part of Burma obtain their salt by importation under the Muhammadan

rule a tax was levied on salt by means of imposts on the privilege of manufacture, and by duties on the transport of salt from the places of manufacture to the interior of the country. Later on a system was gradually matured which provide for the control, the manufacture, and the sale at the agency of the Company's servants. It was introduced by Clive and perfected by Warren Hastings in 1765 to 1780, and it survived in a modified form till 1862.

The trade in Cheshire salt rose to importance about the year 1835 and thenceforth imported salt gradually ousted the native product in Bengal proper, until by 1873-74 local manufacture had ceased and the accumulated stocks had become exhausted. The dampness of the climate and the large amount of fresh water discharged into the Bay of Bengal by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra tell against efficient salt-manufacture on the Bengal coast, but the manufacture of salt was not finally abandoned in Orissa until 1898

But the sea-coast was not the only place where salt was manufactured in Bengal. In Sir George Wath's monumental work—*A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (1893), we read:

Formerly salt was manufactured in Midnapore and Jessore, but at the present day only a small quantity is made at Behar, Bhagalpore, Monghyr and the neighbourhood of Calcutta as a by-product in the saltpetre manufacture in Orissa, however, salt is still manufactured from sea-water by solar evaporation. Formerly, it was also made by artificial heat (*panga* salt), but this has recently been prohibited.

The importance of this industry will be apparent from Grant's *Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* (1786). In this *Analysis* pages are devoted to the industry under the head "Salt Lands, Ceded and Dewany" and we quote the following extracts from it:

The woody inhospitable tract of country, which, for the sake of distinction, may be henceforth termed Noondeep, bordering the sea-coast in a curve, stretching across the mouths of the Ganges, about 330 British miles from Jellapore West, on the frontiers of the Chukleh of Midnapore in Orissa, to Islamahad, the port and capital of Chitturong, near the S. E. extremity of Bengal, and comprehending (inclusive of the Sunderbunds) an area at least of 7,000 square miles in the isles and continent, already comprised in the general dimensions of the soubah, hath always been of considerable importance, as a strong natural barrier against foreign invasion, or as yielding the necessary article of salt for internal consumption. But it is only within period of British administration, that its soil and growth of wood, both essential to the production of this valuable manufacture, have been turned to the proper financial account of the State, instead of enriching, with greater burthen on the people two or three corrupt fomedars with a few favourite Mogul or other foreign merchants who always, exclusively, under Musulman government, possessed the entire trade of the country, while the large body of Hindoo natives, employed in this and any other branch of commerce, were as they still for the most part continue to be, mere carriers, brokers, shroffs or agent banians, receiving indefinite commission settled at discretion by themselves.

Anciently, and still in common, the quantity of this article made for and consumed annually in Bengal, may be estimated on an average, at twenty *lacks* of maunds each of 80 lbs. weight, produced by the labour of 45,000 Molungees; who with superior agents, including all expenses paid in money, were entitled to an allowance of about 20 rupees, usually advanced by contracting merchants, besides what was deemed equivalent to 40 rupees more furnished constantly in land, and returned to the states from the original standard price of delivery at Hooghly, fixed latterly at 60 rupees per.....Mds.

And now the whole quantity in yearly demand (being on a medium 28 *lacks* of maunds) is manufactured in the proportion of one-third in the ceded and two thirds in the dewany lands of Bengal

for the use probably of 10 millions of souls there, and one-fourth of that number in Behar; imposing only a moderate charge for one of the comforts of life, at the utmost calculation of 6½ annas or thirteen pence each individual per annum allowing the gross sales, inclusive of all expenses, to be Sixty Rupees 51,50,000

Mr Grant estimated that the quantity of salt annually manufactured in High (Midnapore) alone was 8,53,428 maunds which was sold to the people at an average price of Rs. 2 a maund during the first half of the seventeenth century. The *malgoojary* land in High was divided into Mudhoor and Nemocky.

The latter, or salt land, is that portion exposed to the overflowing of the tides, usually called Chars, where maunds of earth strongly impregnated with saline particles are formed, then classed into kahlaries or working places. Each on a medium, estimated to yield 233 maunds of salt, requiring the labour of seven Molunge manufacturers, who by an easy process of filtration, and boiling afterwards the brine with firewood, collected from the neighbouring jungles, of annual growth, are enabled to complete the operations from November to June, before the setting in of the periodical rains and with the savings from six months wages fixed by the government with the zemindars, retire to their respective homes for the remainder of the season to cultivate their proper Madhoory lands, held free or on very favourable terms, under the denomination of chakran as a subsistence for the rest of the year.

Reference has already been made to the work of Warren Hastings in perfecting the system which provided for control of the manufacture, and the sale of salt at the agency of the Company's servants. Vansittart must be credited with having helped the Company in this matter. In *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company* this has been mentioned prominently.

On the 7th October, 1786, died, after a few days' illness, Henry Vansittart Esq., universally beloved, admired and lamented. In him the Company have lost a faithful and most able servant to whose integrity and indefatigable assiduity, they are indebted for the success which has attended the plan for the manufacture of salt, whereby the revenues have been increased 50 lakhs of rupees per annum.

Manufacture of salt in Orissa was continued long after it had been abandoned in Bengal proper. In that mine of information, *The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company*, is to be found an illustrated account of the process of salt manufacture in Bengal. It will prove interesting.

The season of manufacture dates from December to the setting in of the rains. In carrying on the manufacture there is a good deal to contend with Heavy rains and onab y

high or low tides greatly impede it. The produce is also affected by fogs and cloudy or hazy weather. But supposing that everything is in the Molunghee's favour, and the time for manufacture has arrived, we will proceed to look at the various processes which the sea water undergoes before it becomes the article found on our table as edible salt.

There is the *khallaree*, or spot of ground, about three *bighas* in extent, divided into three equal portions which are bounded. These divisions are called *Chatturs* or salt fields, into which the salt water is introduced.

In each *Chattur*, at a convenient spot, is dug a reservoir or *jooree* to contain the quantity of salt water necessary to carry on the manufacture. The Molunghee has to be careful in keeping his *jooree* well supplied from the adjacent river or canal on each returning spring tide, and to effect this he excavates a small drain communicating with the river or canal, through which the salt water is conveyed at high water spring tides into the reservoir.

On each *Chattur* is constructed the *maidah*, a primitive filterer composed of a circular mud wall $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad at top, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cubits at the base; at its summit is a basin of about one and a half cubits depth, and 5 cubits diameter. The bottom is prepared of clay, ashes and sand, it is extremely clean and hard, and quite impervious to water. A hole is pierced in the centre of this basin, and an earthen pot or *koonee* is carefully fitted thereto so as to admit of the insertion of a hollow reed or bamboo to connect the basin with the *nad*, or receiving vessel, and which is intended to act as a pipe to draw off the brine from the former to the latter. This *nad* is capable of containing from 30 to 35 *ghurrahs* of salt water, and is attached to the *maidah*. Over this *koonee* is laid a light bamboo frame upon which is placed a layer of straw, and on that again a stratum of the *chattur* saline earth is thrown, and stamped down hard with the feet.

Into the hollow or basin of the *maidah* the saline earth, which has been scraped off the salt fields, is thrown until it is filled to the brim. Afterwards 3 or 4 men stamp it well down with their feet, and then pour upon it about 80 *ghurrahs* of salt water from the *jooree* or reservoir already described. This quantity of water is however poured on the *maidah* at intervals, so as to insure its not overflowing, but percolating gently and emptying itself, charged with the saline properties of the earth already there, through the reed pipe into the *nad* or reservoir near the base of the *maidah*. The above quantity of water is calculated to fill the *nad* with about 32 *ghurrahs* of strong brine ready for boiling.

After the saline earth has been thus partially deprived of its saline properties, it is taken out and used as a manure, being scattered over the salt field to increase its fecundity for the next season.

The brine is now carried in *ghurrahs* into the *thannah nad*, or receiver, previously prepared, which is capable of holding 30 to 40 *ghurrahs* and is close to or outside the boiling house, where he (?) allows it to settle for about 24 hours to precipitate all impurities previous to boiling. When sufficiently clear, it is baled out and carried into the boiling house.

The *Bhoonee ghur* or boiling house is generally situated close to the salt fields and is built

north and south, within the boiling house or in its northern compartment is erected a mud or earthen furnace raised from the ground about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 cubits, over its centre is the *phant* or boiler, the diameter of which is about 5 cubits. It is made quite circular and is usually called a *phant chukkur*.

On this *chukkur* are arranged very carefully in circles, rising one above the other in the shape of a pyramid, from 200 to 225 little conical shaped earthen pots, called *koonee*, each capable of containing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers of brine, these are cemented together merely with the same mud or clay with which the *phant chukkur* is made, and this clay hardens around them by the heat of the furnace until the whole forms itself into a solid pyramid of little boilers capable of boiling, in from four to six hours, in the aggregate, two baskets full of salt, or from two to three maunds in weight, the contents of these baskets is called a *jah*, and the fire place or *choolah* is immediately under the *phant*.

These little earthen pots or *koonees* are filled with brine brought from the outside *thannah nad*, the boiling now commences. When the brine in *koonee* is partly evaporated, the Molunghee adds more with a primitive laddle made of a coconut fixed to a piece of bamboo, which he dips into the *ghurrah* of brine placed near the *phant*, and thus he continues doing till the *koonee* is about three parts full of salt. At the back of the boiler is a hole, into this all the ashes from the straw and grass burnt is collected from the bottom of the *choolah*.

After four or five hours boiling, all the aqueous contents of the *koonee* having been evaporated in steam, the salt is taken out with iron laddles and deposited in baskets which are placed on either side of the *choolah* on bamboo frames, and there it is allowed to drain for about 24 hours while the Molunghee repeats the above process for another boiling.

An improved method of preparing sea salt in India was introduced into Calcutta, in 1842, and a company formed to carry on work in the Lakes to the east of the town and in the Sunderbans at Narainpore and at Ghorda where, after the first difficulties inseparable from a new undertaking were overcome, salt of a very superior quality was manufactured in large quantities.

A reference to *Bengal MSS. Records* will show that salt formed an important source of revenue to the Government and was regularly manufactured in several districts of Bengal.

In his account of Orissa Sir William Wilson Hunter gave the following account of the manufacture of salt in Parikud in Orissa:

The manufacture begins at the commencement of the hot season in the latter half of March. In the first place, a little canal is dug from the Chilka Lake, with sets of broad shallow tanks on either side. These sets of tanks run out at right angles from the canal in rows of four. Each tank is 75 feet square, by from 18 inches to 3 feet deep. On the first day of the manufacture, the brackish water of the lake is admitted by the canal into the first tank of each of the sets of rows. Here it stands for twenty-four hours and as the depth of the first series of tanks is only 18 inches evaporation

goes on very rapidly. Next morning the brine is transferred from tank No. 1 to tank No. 2 in each or the sets of rows. Tank No. 2 is 24 inches deep and each successive one deepens by 6 inches till the brine reaches No. 4, which is 3 feet deep. The water stands for a day in each, gradually thickening as it evaporates. On the fourth day it is transferred to tank No. 4; and on the morning of the fifth, some of the brine is laddled from that tank into an adjoining network of very shallow pools, each pool being 5 feet square by only 6 inches deep.

Here it stands during the intense heat of the day. In the afternoon the manufacture is complete, and the salt is raked out by the network of shallow pools.

The same process goes on, with slight variations, from day to day..... Each working is composed of a row of four tanks and a network of shallow pools, and is managed by from three to five men, who are paid by piecework.

Hunter gave the following estimate of cost per maund:

	Annas	Pies
Cost of labour	2	6
Land rent	0	6
Excavation of canal, etc.	0	6
Part cost of workmen	0	3
Part cost of establishment	0	3
Total	4	0

Thus Hunter estimates the manufacturing cost of salt prepared in Orissa at 4 annas a maund, while Grant has stated that its price (to the public) in Bengal used to be about Rs. 2 per maund. Yet Indian salt could not compete successfully with foreign salt in Bengal!

The reason, however, is not far to seek. We have attributed the decay and disappearance of this industry mainly to three causes—the competition of foreign salt, the preference of the people for white salt and their neglect of improved methods of manufacture.

Regarding the first it would be enough to quote what Hunter has said: "Liverpool salt comes out at very low rates, often indeed as ballast, to Calcutta."

The preference of the people for white salt need no longer be counted as an obstacle to the progress of the industry in Bengal. Not only are the people prepared to

use brown salt, provided it is chemically pure, but what is more, it has been conclusively demonstrated that the salt manufactured at Mahisabathan and Kalikapur near Calcutta during the days of the civil disobedience movement, was perfectly white. This salt was also free from any element injurious to the human system.

We have quoted descriptions of the methods of manufacture adopted in Bengal and Orissa and it is needless to say that they were crude and primitive. It is a pity details of the "improved method of preparing sea salt," introduced into Calcutta in 1842 and mentioned in *The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company* are not available, nor have we been able to find out why it was abandoned. But it is evident that modern methods of manufacturing salt were never tried in Bengal.

The memorandum prepared by the Government of India in 1894 mentioned that "the dampness of the climate and the large amount of fresh water discharged into the Bay of Bengal by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra tell against efficient salt manufacture on the Bengal coast." But we have seen that the salt manufactured during the months from November to June was sufficient to meet the requirements of the people. By the adoption of modern methods of manufacture the quantity of salt manufactured during these dry months can easily be increased. Salt manufacture, moreover, can be taken to as a cottage industry in several districts in Bengal. It has to be seen if the amount of fresh water discharged into the Bay of Bengal can be regarded as an insuperable obstacle to the industry being successful in Bengal.

If it is held that for the supply of an important commodity like salt India should not depend upon foreign sources there is no reason why a province like Bengal where salt can be manufactured from natural sources should depend on Karachi and Okha and far off Aden which is not a part of India.

The Redistribution of Provinces—Greater Bengal

By JATINDRAMOHAN DATTA

IN the coming Federal India, the provinces as the constituent units are bound to play an important part. Whether the residuary powers of the Government reside at the centre or in the provinces, the Provincial Governments are going to play a vital part in the national life of the people.

The present distribution of the provinces is highly irrational. The Simon Commission observes that "in India there are only a number of administrative areas which have grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquests, supersession of former rulers or administrative convenience. No one of them has been deliberately formed with a view to its suitability as a self-governing unit within a federated whole." The Nehru Report also says that "the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis. It is merely due to accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India. As a whole it has little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons. Even from the purely administrative point of view it is not a success. It is clear that there must be a redistribution of provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, others prefer large provinces. But small or large, the question of redistribution has to be tackled."

The Simon Seven are of opinion that in spite of developments they cannot regard the present provinces as in any way ideal areas for self-government. Although they are well aware of the difficulties encountered in all attempts to alter boundaries and of the administrative and financial complications that arise, they make a *definite recommendation* for reviewing, and if possible resettling the provincial boundaries of India at as early a date as possible."

There is a considerable body of opinion in India which calls for some readjustment of boundaries and redistribution of areas. The existing provincial boundaries in more than one case embrace areas and peoples of natural affinity, and sometimes separate those who ought

under a different scheme be more naturally united. There are, however, very great difficulties in the way of redistribution and the history of the partition of Bengal stands as a warning of the caution needed before undertaking any operation so likely to run counter to old associations or to inflame suspicion and resentment. Moreover, the consequential administrative and financial adjustments are bound to be of an extremely complex character. In this connection, the Simon Commission refers to the chapter in the Nehru Report, which deals with the redistribution of provinces and discusses the difficult subject of "linguistic areas." The Simon Report observes that if those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for the provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast-line and interior may all be relevant factors. Most important of all, perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of the area that is gaining and on the side of the area that is losing territory.

The Commission goes on to observe that "so close a union as now exists between Orissa and Bihar is a glaring example of the artificial connection of areas which are not naturally related."

These (*i. e.*, provincial) boundaries, as a rule, have none of the characteristics of a natural frontier; the lines they follow are largely due to the way in which British authority happened to spread over the sub-continent and to the order of time in which different accretions became joined to what was already organized as an administrative unit. As long as the Government of India was entirely centralized and both the administrative and the finance of any

area were provided and directed from the centre, the line taken by a provincial boundary was of less importance. But now that the provinces have a real political existence of their own, the situation is changing, and the time is coming when each province will not only have its own provincial Government and its own provincial resources, but will form a unit in a federated whole, it is extremely important that the adjustment of provincial boundaries and the creation of proper provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any mal-distribution will be still more difficult to correct. In view of these considerations the Simon Commission proposed, and regarded it as a matter of *urgent importance*, that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman, which would investigate the main cases in which provincial readjustment seems called for, and should endeavour to work out schemes with a view to seeing how far agreement is possible.

According to the 1921 Census, the total of the Bengali-speaking population throughout India is 49,291,099, of these 43,769,394 reside within the present administrative boundaries of Bengal including the native States of Cooch Behar and Tippera. The total number and proportion per 10,000 of the Bengali speaking in the adjoining British provinces are given below :

	Total	Proportion per 10,000
Assam	3,525,220	4413
Bihar & Orissa	1,568,138	437
Burma	301,039	229

The present province of Assam may be said to be an annexe of Bengal. No other language is spoken by so many men in Assam : the proportion of Assamese spoken in Assam is 2160 per 10,000. About 12.6 per cent of the Bengalis reside outside Bengal.

The number of Bengali speaking persons in the rest of India is quite small, being 41,456, of whom 23,160 reside in the U. P., mostly in the sacred cities of Benares, Mathura and Brindaban.

In a possible redistribution and readjustment of the boundaries of the provinces, only those areas which are contiguous to each other can be amalgamated together. This would concentrate the Bengali speaking in their home province increase the

potentialities and reduce the causes of friction and heart-burning and lastly prevent them from being slowly absorbed in a different culture.

It is universally admitted that progress and general culture depends upon language. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature.

At the All-Parties Conference in 1928, when the Nehru Report was discussed, the following principles of redistribution were agreed to :

Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. It is most desirable for provinces to be *regrouped on linguistic basis*.

The Indian National Congress recognized the principle as early as 1921, and so far as the Congress machinery is concerned India has been divided into linguistic provinces.

With regard to the union of the Bengali-speaking population, the Congress in 1911, after the announcement of the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, but before the actual creation of the province of Bihar and Orissa, passed the following resolution :

"That the Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty, the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and prays that in readjusting the Provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

As stated above, 12.6 per cent of the Bengali-speaking people reside outside Bengal. The actual proportion is really greater, as many of the Bengali-speaking people in the border regions of Bihar and Orissa have been returned in the census of 1921 as Hindi-speaking. The following is a summary of the conclusions of the Bihar and Orissa Census Report for 1921 about this question.

Bengali is spoken by 1,656,990 persons in the province (i.e., of Bihar and Orissa) of whom 1,530,111 or 92.3 per cent are found in the border districts and States of the province on the east from Purnea to Balasore. In 1911, the number was 2,294,944, the difference being accounted for by the Kishanganj dialect in Purnea being recorded as Hind on the present occasion. In Bhagalpur also though the numbers involved are

not great, there has been a fairly marked decrease of Bengali speakers, but generally speaking in Bihar there has been a slight if unimportant increase. In Orissa there has been a decrease, of which the greater part has occurred in Balasore district. the increase (?decrease) has occurred in every *thana* but is marked in Bhadrak. In the Chota Nagpur plateau Bengali shows a big increase of 52,000 in Manbhum. In Singhbhum also there is an increase of over 14,000 or 13.3 per cent.

In Purnea Hindi has greatly increased at the expense of Bengali. The figures in the foot-note give the number of Hindi and Bengali speakers in this district at the last three Censuses. The fluctuations are caused by the varying treatment of the mixed dialect of Hindi and Bengali, commonly referred to as "Kishanganja," which is described in the index of languages as the equivalent of Surpura "a form of the Northern dialect of Bengali spoken in Eastern Purnea," the number of speakers then being estimated at 403,623.

No special instructions were issued as to how this dialect should be returned in the schedules and it was generally entered as Hindi, though ten years ago (in 1911) it was generally entered as Bengali.

The Sub-Divisional Officer explained that in his opinion a pure Hindi speaker would be more at home in this area than a speaker of *pure Bengali* (The italics are ours), and that therefore the record of the dialect as Hindi was in his opinion correct. If the entry had been "Kishanganja" it would have been classified as Bengali in accordance with the index and the classification adopted in 1911, but the entry was "Hindi" and could not simply be changed to Bengali. On the other hand, the fluctuations show fairly accurately the number of persons who speak this dialect and that the estimate in the Linguistic Survey is not far wrong, it is spoken in the Kishanganj sub-division except on the borders of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri where Bengali is spoken and in the eastern half of the Sadar sub-division.

So, the nameless Sub-Divisional Officer was allowed to over-ride the mature conclusions of Sir George Grierson and of the Linguistic

Survey of India. The real reason seems to be political. In the present census of 1931 the enumerators in Singhbhum have been asked to note the race of the Bengali-speaking persons, as if these half-illiterate and ignorant enumerators are expert physiognomists and authorities on anthropology. The real reason seems to have it included in the new Orissa and oppose its possible transfer to Bengal.

The 1921 census report discussing the influence of court languages on the number of speakers speaking that language makes many interesting observations.

In Sambalpur, it says, the proportion of Hindi speakers now stands at 5.2 where ten years ago it stood at 9.5 per cent. This reduction in Hindi is owing to a heavy transfer to Oriya which has occurred in every police station in the district. The Deputy Commissioner states that since the court language of the district was changed from Hindi to Oriya in 1905, there has been a steady decrease in the number of Hindi speakers.

In Serampore also, according to the report, the proportionate number of Hindi speakers has dropped to about half of what it was, but the absolute figures are small. The drop has a good deal to do with the fact that "Oriya has been introduced as the Court language and that education is largely conducted through the medium of Oriya."

The District Officer says that Purnea is "essentially a border district." The effect of its situation is noticeable both in the varying physique and character of the population, and also in the language. More remarkable, however, is the ethnical, religious and linguistic boundary formed by the river Mahabanda. The country to the east is more nearly allied to Bengal, and the bulk of the inhabitants are of Rajbansi (Koch) origin, while to the west the castes are the same as in the adjoining Bihar districts. Mussalmans number two-thirds of the population east of the river, but only one-third to the west of it. On the confines of Dinajpur and Malda, Bengali is the mother-tongue of the people.

The Shenkhs (670,000 out of 18,75,000 in 1901) who are chiefly found in the east and north of the district, form more than one-third of its total population. Their features, characteristics and habits show that they are mostly the descendants of converts from Hinduism, and they still join with Hindus in several religious rites. Four sub-castes are recognized locally, *viz.*, (1) Bengali, (2) Kularya, (3) Habalyar and (4) Khutta of which the

*	Difference		Difference		1901
	1921	1911-21	1911	1901-11	
Bengali	192,905	-447,013	749,013	+657,141	91,877
Hindi	1,874,971	+672,408	1,202,568	-570,887	1,773,455

Bengali sub-caste is numerically the strongest. The Mahananda may fairly be taken to be the boundary between them and the other Sheikhs.

The Kaibarthas (53,000) speak a dialect of Bengali, and in their habits resemble their fellow castemen of the neighbouring districts of Bengal.

The Dhanuks (42,000) of Purnea differ in several important respects from the Dhanuks in other parts of Bihar.

The Haris (10,000) appear to be Bengali in origin, and as such speak a Bengali dialect.

The Mahananda seems to be the boundary between the Bengali castes and the Bihari castes.

Historically, eastern Purnea was always considered to be a part of Bengal. From the *Ain-i-Albani* it appears that the present district was included in Sarkar Tajpur east of the Mahananda and Sarkar Purnea west of that river. Within its limits were also two *mahals* of Sarkar Audumbar and one *mahal* of Sarkar Lakhanauti in the south, all these Sarkars belonging to Subah Bengal. The old Kosi was at this time the boundary between Bengal and Bihar, and continued to be so till the eighteenth century.

The effect of this early separation is reflected in the revenue practice of the district. There are two *taux* serials—(1) a Fasli series for the Fasli *Mahals* and (2) a Bengali serial for the Bengali *mahals*. Of about 1,700 revenue paying estates, 450 are in the Fasli and 1,250 in the Bengali serial. Another respect in which Purnea is unique, is that unlike the Bihar districts there has been little sub-division of proprietary interests. *Patni* tenures are especially numerous in the Kishanganj sub-division. One peculiarity which formerly attached to *Patni* tenures was that arrears were realized by a civil suit and not by the summary procedure under Regulation VIII of 1819, owing to a notion that *Patni* law was inapplicable to Fasli *mahals*.

Kishanganj sub-division is the most fertile portion of the district and more densely populated. It is more nearly allied to the

neighbouring districts of Northern Bengal than to Behar, and the bulk of the inhabitants are of Rajbansi or Koch origin, though most of them are now converts to Islam.

The weights and measures in use in Purnea vary considerably. The standard seer of eighty tolas is in general use, but for weighing grain, tobacco and jute, a seer of different values is used in different localities. They vary from 64 to 132 tolas, but Kishanganj does not use any below eighty-five. "Agricultural labourers are also generally paid in kind. Every reaper is expected to cut in a day two *bojha* and six *mutis* of rice; each *bojha* consists of twenty-one *mutis*, i.e., literally, handfuls but the *muti* is a conventional measure, considerably exceeding what can be held in the closed fist. In fact, the measure varies according to local usage. That of Kishanganj is quite different from that of the rest of the district.

Mango trees are extensively grown in the district. It is at least noticeable that most mango gardens are found in the west, where there is a predominance of Hindus, with whom the planting of mango groves is an act of religious merit.

Enough has been said to justify the return of Purnea,—at least of Kishanganj, to Bengal. It has more Muhammadans than Hindus, yet one of Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points is that there should be no redistribution of the boundaries of Bengal and the Panjab.

It will also be seen that there is a greater number of Bengalis outside Bengal than the census figures indicate; and that they are in the process of being absorbed in non-Bengali cultures. In a civil suit from Kishanganj, Purnea, where both the parties were governed by the *Dayabhaga* school of Hindu Law, the Patna High Court observed "that as the *Mitakshara* prevails in Purnea, no reason or motive has been assigned for" the transactions which took place, etc etc. On the error being pointed out, they reviewed their own judgment and reversed the decision.

Thus there is every practical reason to urge for the re-transfer and re-amalgamation of all Bengali-speaking tracts within the same home province.

Paharpur

By SAROJENDRANATH RAY, M.A.

It is now known as Paharpur
district of Rajshahi in Bengal
one of the noblest historical

Bengal should justly be
ancient and a more precious
it has not yet been discovered
ultimately connected with
at least six spacious centuries
and three or four great
deeply influenced the minds
of his country.

sandy bed full of mica and gold
a flight of steps leading to it.
The tradition also speaks of its existence.

Although it is now a very
village and its importance as an
ancient find was unknown even to the
it has got very romantic traditions.
in the vicinity of other mounds, which,
will prove equally precious.
the mounds of Satyapir and Dīp-
ganj, called after



Paharpur before excavation

By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

It is three miles away from
the local Railway station, Jamal-
pur, in a very fertile locality,
bordered by a beautiful river
which has been filled up. The
ruins can still be found in the

robed monks, who lived in the
Dīpganj, now in ruins). The local
tradition says that the ruins represent the
city of a Hindu king named Mahidala-
nanda who had a very beautiful
daughter named Sandhyaman. Once the princess

she would be the virgin mother of a famous saint who would convert all the people to his faith. On questioning how the birth was possible, she learnt that when bathing in the river, a flower would float down to her, which she would smell and conceive. This baby, we are told, later on, became the famous saint *Satyapir* whose mound near by is visited and worshipped by a large number of people, generally Muhammadans. The saint *Satyapir*, we learn from traditions, like the medieval saints, viz., Kabir, Dadu and Nanak, preached a monotheistic religion and asked his mother's relations to abjure idolatry and worship God only in spirit. The *Satyapir* cult which was preached in the local dialect and was a mixture of Islam and Hinduism had a large number of adherents. The most important part of the worship is the offering of an uncooked sweet gruel consisting of meal of scented rice, fruits and milk.

Traditions apart, the names of the surrounding villages testify to the importance of the place, viz., Rajapur, Malancha, Dharmapur, Bhandarpur, etc. Paharpur, it seems, was not the ancient name of the place. Before the excavation was taken up the ruins presented the spectacle of a hill surrounded by a chain of hillocks. This explains the present name. The original name of the village appears to be Somapura, as a seal bearing the words Somapura-Dharmapala-Vihara has been found out from the ruins. Now an inscription discovered in the ruins of Budh Gaya in Bihar mentions a famous monastery in Bengal of that name. The existence of a neighbouring village, called Ompur lends credence to the hypothesis.

The site covering about ten acres of land seems to have been that of a monastery built round a shrine of the *Sarvabhadra* type, i.e., having fronts on all sides. As Bengal is poor in stone almost the entire fabric is built with bricks supported by stone pillars and corner stones. According to the orthodox Hindu traditions people should live only in front of a temple. Thus the three other sides should be left vacant. To avert this difficulty temples were erected as projections on each of the four sides of the central shrine—a square-sized brick-built tower about 75 ft high, supposed to be a reliquary of the *stupa* type. It has been entered through the top after removing the earth. But no relic casket has been found at the chequered

bottom though built for the purpose of receiving it there. Each temple consists of an inner sanctum with a pedestal where the deity was kept. In front of it there was the *Mandapa* built on stone pillars, it was again skirted by the *Pradakshina-path* open walk round the temple which leads from one temple to the other. The walls are found to be decorated with a long band composed of a single line of terracotta plaques. By the side of the path there are brick-built benches. The main entrance to the monastery which could be reached by a flight of steps from the plains was on the north—an auspicious thing according to Hindu traditions. The main portal which was wide and built of stone was connected with the temple by a straight broad avenue gradually sloping up to the *Pradakshina-path*. Branching on left and right of the main gate were cells, fifty-one in number, arranged in straight rows on each of the four sides—all connected by a broad corridor supported on stone pillars and fenced off by railings. Nothing but the plinth and floor is in existence now, and it is difficult to state whether the monastery was single storeyed. In between the shrine and the row of cells there were courtyards, temples, halls and wells which are now in ruins. Sanitary arrangements were not lacking. Not only were there conduits from room to room, yard to yard but also sewers on the southern side of the monastery over looking a ditch there was a large number of latrines all arranged in rows. The slanting drains of the latrines are still in good order. On the eastern side of the monastery there was the river spoken of above. There are ruins at least of one house outside the quadrangle of the monastery on the river bank. The foundation of the shrine has been considerably depressed, so that a good many feet of the structure which were formerly above ground have now passed under the water level. The result has been that the basement which is the only decorated portion unravaged by time is constantly under water. On the upper portion of the plinth just below the cornice a long line of terracotta plaques representing birds, beasts, fishes, tortoises, serpents, rocks, plants, creepers and flowers which the rich soil of Bengal possessed abundantly is found round the base of the structure. The lower portion of the basement however is decorated at regular intervals particularly at angles with



After excavation—showing the Stupa
By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

terracotta tablets fixed in niches depicting important events relating to Hindu gods and goddesses and also some remarkable stories connected with mythical heroes and heroines—celebrated in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Some of them, however, have not yet been identified while a few are supposed to be of Buddhist saints. At least one plaque bears all the signs of a Sreefambara Jain saint, the *Jinna Sashtika* being visible on the chest. Carvings on several of them are strongly reminiscent of the later Gupta age. Among the Brahminical deities we notice Siva in several postures and forms, Durga, Ganespati, Kartikeya, Sri Krishna, Balaram, Agni. None of them, however, bears any resemblance to the popular gods and goddesses that are worshipped now-a-days in Bengal, such as Durga with ten hands, Kali, Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Jagaddhatr, etc., which, therefore, belong to a comparatively recent age.

Representations on the plaques are too numerous to be described in detail. Some of them are figures of single persons, such as a man or a woman dancing or an archer with a bow and a quiver. Some of them are groups, such as, a mother and a child or an amorous couple. Other interesting subjects exhibited are a man being killed by a lion, a soldier armed with a sword carrying a file, an archer with a vase and

beard and hair tied in a knot over head, an emaciated ascetic, a dancer in a perfect *tribhanga* pose, a man striking a gong, a gentleman with a sword in the Bengal fashion. Among a pair of monkeys lovingly inter together or poring over each other, elephants of various sizes, shapes and postures, standing or crouching inside caves, bears, foxes and buffaloes are noted. Large varieties of birds, e.g., cocks, peacocks, parrots and flamingoes claim our attention. Besides snakes, various kinds of crocodiles, conch-shells, crabs, tortoise and porpoises remind us of the character of the land which because of its proximity to the sea remained submerged under water for a considerable portion of the year.

The most prominent objects of worship so far as ascertained, were the phallic emblem, the relic casket, the Buddhist wheel of Law (*dharma-chakra*), and the lotus (*sadda-pundarikā*). No big image graven in stone or any metal has been discovered as yet, although there exists a large number of pedestals where the deities were worshipped. The conclusion that the images were made of wood is irresistible under the circumstances as is the prevailing custom in Bengal. Some of the images have been removed elsewhere. Had they not been removed or destroyed by the Muslims,

r mutilated heads, bodies and have been found amongst the

epigraphical records consisting of inscriptions on stone, seals and short inscription on a votive. The inscription on a votive is dedicated to the Lord of the Buddhist monk called Sthavira. In the 5th regnal year of the evidently the Gurjara-Pratihara name, son of Bhoja, deserves our consideration. The great Bhoja in the half of the 9th century had



Sri Krishna

by the Archaeological Survey of India

after a strenuous struggle in the growing power of the Palas of the Rastralutas of the Deccan. In respective turns had established supremacy in Northern India and the holy city of Kanyakubja, the Rome of early Medieval India. Mahendrapaladeva 890-910 A.D.

the son and successor of that celebrated monarch, not only inherited the vast empire of his father but extended his dominions on all sides, particularly in the east, where the sceptre of Dharmapala and Devapala, the paramount rulers of Northern India in the last half of the 8th and first half of the 9th centuries, had passed into the hands of such effete kings as Vignahapala and Narayanapala. It is not, therefore, surprising to see that he had prostrated the contemporary Bengali ruler so successfully that in a monastery in the very heart of his kingdom, nay, one that bears the name of his proud ancestor, Dharmapala, the date used is the regnal year of Mahendrapaladeva who must have been in possession of the *Visaya* (Kotivarsa ?) at that time.

But besides Dharmapala and Mahendrapala, the name of Budhagupta appears to be connected with the shrine. A copper-plate inscription of the 159th year of the Gupta era (i.e., 479 A.D.) records the donation of the land by a Brahmin couple for the maintenance of worship at the Vihara of Nirgrantha or Jaina ascetics presided over by Guhanandi and his successors at the village of Vata Gohali. Budhagupta, who ruled from 476 to about 500 A.D., was, according to Dr R. C. Majumdar, the last of the Imperial Guptas. His dominions extended from Bengal to Malwa, if not further west. At that time as also during the times of the Palas, northern Bengal was in the Pundravardhana-*bhukti* (province) and the southern part of the *bhukti* was comprised by the *visaya* (district) of Kotivarsa. The principal city of Pundravardhana is now identified with Mahasthan in the district of Bogra. It seems, therefore, clear that the Somapura-Dharmapala-vihara of Paharpur was included in the *visaya* of Kotivarsa in the *bhukti* of Pundravardhana. It is likely that Budhagupta was a provincial governor (or *Uparika Maharaja* of those days) of Pundravardhana before he became the Emperor at Pataliputra, as it was customary in ancient India for the *Rajaputra-deva-bhattarakas* or princes of the blood royal to pass their novitiate as provincial governors. Budhagupta was possibly, therefore, intimately connected with the foundation and embellishment of the *stupa*. The style of carving and predominate Hindu character of the plaques also support the theory of Gupta connection



Lower portion of pediment with Terracotta plaques

By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

During the Pala regime a monastery dedicated to the Buddha as will be clear from an inscription on a stone of the proto-Bengali type, of the 11th or 12th century, was caused to be erected at Nalanda to please the three Jewels (Buddha, Samgha) for the good of all beings. There came a time when the monastery had become so crowded that the Hindu cult could boast of no more and rich image worship of Mahayanist Buddhism) was to be found for them in the other temples erected elsewhere. A large number of images existed, but curiously of an image worthy of the Buddha. Only recently a small

statue of a Bodhisatva has been found in the south-east corner of the temple.

Besides the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of the temple at one time in its history it must have enjoyed royal patronage. For the Gubbananc inscription mentions the fact that it was the residence of the *nirgrantha*. A long inscription on a stone-plate was discovered from the debris but it has not yet been deciphered, is not open to the public. It is expected, however, that it will throw a flood of light on the history of the monastery.

Thus in the chequered history of the monastery, beginning from its foundation as a *stupa*, three waves of culture and rulers of at least three dynasties passed over its foundation, each adding to its exaltation to the position of a great and celebrated seat of learning.

Three Vishnu Sculptures from Hmawza, Prome

BY N. HARRIS RAY, M. A.

IT is, indeed, very curious and interesting as well for a student of Burmology to know that Hmawza¹ or Old Prome that has yielded the earliest *Pali* inscriptions² up till now discovered in Burma relating to the subject-matter of *Hinayana* Buddhism is also associated with a strong and the earliest Brahmanical, mainly Vishnuite, tradition so far brought to light within the Peninsula. In fact, the earliest *Vaishnava* tradition in Burma is, for all practical purposes, connected with Hmawza, one of the oldest seats of kingship in Burma. The city is said to have been founded by a *Rishi* whose name the Burmese chronicles have failed to take into notice.³ *Mahayazun*, the Burmese text that describes the foundation of the city, states that the *Rishi* who presided at the foundation was helped by six other divines: *Gaurampati*, *Indra*, *Naga*, *Garuda*, *Chandi* and *Parameswara*. Now, *Gaurampati*, *Indra* and *Naga* or a *Nagaraja* have often been incorporated in Burmese legendary history in connection with the foundation of cities or erection of temples, obviously without having any actual historical significance. But the legend helps us undoubtedly to assume that a strong Indian element with all its traditions of town-planning and temple-building had been at work at the bottom of all such traditions and their actual translation in monuments. *Gaurampati* who is represented in Mon emigraphic records as the son of the Lord Buddha, has rightly been styled as the "patron saint of the Mons" as well as "patron saint of Pagan," and is, obviously, a creation of the legendary imagination of the Mons. *Indra* is the king of *devas* who must invariably be present at all important functions. The *Naga* mentioned in the *Mahayazun* is certainly *Kalahanmanagaraja* mentioned in the Mon records as having assisted in the foundation of the city of *Sisit* or *Srikshetra* which is the old Indian name for ancient Prome, and which is in itself a strong evidence of the association of Brahmanical tradition with old Prome or Hmawza. *Garuda*, the mythical bird, is the celebrated carrier of *Vishnu*. *Chandi*

is *Kali* or the *Durga*, the consort of *Siva* who is mentioned in the *Mahayazun* as *Parameswara*. The *Mahayazun* tradition is most probably an adaptation from early Talung records, but in doing so it has retained only the epithet *Rishi* of the founder of the city, but has failed to mention the name of the *Rishi*. That this *Rishi* was *Vishnu* himself is evident from the early Mon lithic records in most of which the story of the foundation of the city of *Sisit* or *Srikshetra* is given in more or less details. Let us quote from the great inscription of the *Shwezigon* pagoda⁴

"The Lord Buddha smiled and Ananda asked the cause of this smile and the Lord spoke unto Ananda, 'Ananda, hereafter a sage named *Bishnu*, great in supernatural power, great in glory, possessing the five transcendental faculties together with my son *Gaurampati* and king *Indra* and *Bissakarmmanawaput* (patra) and *Kalahanmanawaput* shall build a city called *Sisit* (*Srikshetra*).'"

Then again

"After the sage *Bishnu* has built the city of *Sisit* he shall depart from thence (and) in the city of *Arumudhinapura* (Pagan), he shall become king *Sri Tribhuvanaditha dhammaraja*."

It is thus evident that *Vishnu* is considered to have founded the city of Old Prome. The Mon records include one *Bissakarmmanawaput*, son of *Visarakarua* the divine architect, as one who was destined to assist in the foundation of *Srikshetra* but excludes *Garuda*, *Chandi* and *Parameswara* mentioned in the *Mahayazun*.

An important corroboration of this tradition is found in the fact that Old Prome or Hmawza was known in ancient times also as *Bissanawungo*, equivalent to *Vishnupura*, that is 'the city of Vishnu', which undoubtedly points to some sort of Vishnuite influence having been at work at this old royal capital of Lower Burma.⁵ But the most important evidence is the actual discovery at Hmawza of images that are distinctly Vishnuite in character.

Here have been unearthed several Vishnuite images that are most probably the

Burma. Of these finds, three are in state of preservation, others are so tattered that they hardly admit of any identification. One of these is a hand carved in sandstone and can, however, more or less be identified with the help of its inscription as having belonged to an image of Vishnu. The three sculptures that are preserved are all housed at present in the Monongyi Kyauing shed near the railway station, and represent three types of the Vishnu image. The first (fig. 1) is a rectangular slab of

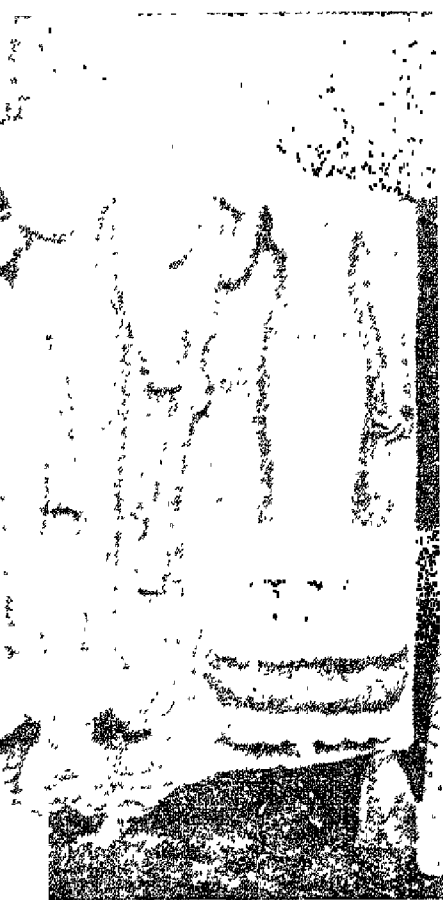


Fig. 1—Vishnu and Lakshmi
Courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

stone carved out in comparatively the same style of representing two figures standing side by side but apart from one another. The figure on the right is one of Vishnu standing on a Garuda with its tail and wings visible. The fact very ably represented on the slab not without a touch of abstract

naturalism. The head and portions of the neck of the human bust of the bird have been lost, but what remains is sufficient to guarantee that the animal represented is nothing but a *Garuda*, the celebrated carrier of *Vishnu*. To the left of *Vishnu* on a double-petalled lotus pedestal represented in a somewhat abstract manner stands *Lakshmi*, the consort of *Vishnu*. It is most unfortunate that the upper portion of the slab has been very badly damaged, to such an extent that both the figures have lost their head, and *Vishnu* his upper right hand in addition. Otherwise the figures are very well preserved, and even the details can easily be read. The god has four hands, the attribute in the upper right is lost, the lower right which is raised up to the chest holds a round object, evidently a *vilva* or *matulunga* fruit; the upper left, so far as discernible on the stone, holds the *chakra* (wheel) and the lower left the *gada* (mace) unlike, indeed, the type generally held by the god. The goddess has two hands, the right one which is raised up to the shoulders holds, it seems, a bunch of lotus-stems and the left hangs downwards. The sculpture, from iconographic point of view, is important in more than one respect. First, the holding of a *vilva* or *matulunga* fruit, an attribute of *Siva* and *Lakshmi*, by *Vishnu* is certainly unique; it is never the custom in India, in the Colonies we hardly know of any such example, nor have we any reference to it in any known version of *Pratima-lakshmana* texts. If it is a *vilva*, it is likely that the attribute which is generally associated with *Lakshmi* is here transposed to become an attribute of *Lakshmi's* consort *Vishnu*. Secondly, the position of the *gada* held in the left lower hand is also peculiar; it is generally held by *Vishnu* in the hand with all the five fingers with its stout bottom directed upwards and tapering top downwards; in other instances, the hand is placed on the top of the *gada* which rests on the floor. But apart from these attributes the sculpture has other interesting iconographic features. In India or in the Colonies we scarcely have example of any image like the present one, namely *Vishnu* and *Lakshmi* standing side by side as in the present example. Images of *Krishna* and *Rakshasa* or *Lakshmi* with *Vishnu* in his *Narasimha* or *Varaha* incarnation⁸ are frequently seen, but *Vishnu* with his consort *Lakshmi* standing side by side on the respective

rahmas is indeed very rare, we hardly know of any such example. We have no doubt references to *Lakshmi-Narayana* images in *Pratima-lakshana* texts: for example, in the *Vishvakarma Sutra* we have

लक्ष्मीनारायणौ कायशौ संयुक्तौ दिग्भरुषिणौ
दक्षिणस्थ विमोर्मूति लेङ्गीमूर्तिस्तु वामतः ।
दक्षिणः कण्ठलस्य वामो हस्तः सरोजधृत्
विमोर्वात्मकरो लक्ष्म्याः कुक्षिभाग स्थितः सदा ॥

In the *Rupamandana* we have:

उभौ च द्विभुजौ कुप्योल्लसनी नारायणाश्रितम्
देवम शस्त्रैः स्वकीयैश्च गरुडोपरि प्रस्थितम् ।
दक्षिणकण्ठलस्य वामो हस्तः सरोजधृक्
विमोर्वात्मकरो लक्ष्म्याः कुक्षिभाग स्थितः सदा ॥

Thus, according to the *Vishvakarma Sutra*, *Vishnu* should be represented to the right of *Lakshmi* whose left hand should hold a lotus and the right should wind round the neck, whereas the left hand of the god himself should stretch to the armpit. The attribute or function of the right hand is not mentioned: but it is required to represent the *rahma* as well as the two other attributes *sankha* and *chakra* as two

Ayudha parashas (कर्तव्यम् वाहनम् देवाद्योभागम
सदा and शङ्खचक्रयो रस्य द्वौ कायौ पुद्गौ पुरः ।)

The *Rupamandana* explicitly says that both the deities should have only two hands each, that *Vishnu* should stand upon his *rahma Garuda*, that *Lakshmi* should embrace his Lord by winding her right hand round his neck and hold in her left hand a lotus, and that *Vishnu* should stretch his left hand to the armpit of his consort. The two versions are almost similar, but it is interesting to see how the present icon deviates from the known texts. The god, instead of having two, has four hands, and the goddess though having, no doubt, two hands as required by the text holds the lotus in her right, not in the left. She does not wind her right hand round the neck of *Vishnu*, nor does *Vishnu* stretch his left to her armpit. These do not exhaust the points of deviation. A further point of departure from Indian icons is the fact that the god and the goddess, both standing, have been given equal importance.

their height is almost equal they do not stand on it is apparent that the subordinated to the — the practice in India only be accounted for the Indian colonists, either followed a different yet unknown; or, perhaps, they were less by canons than their counterparts at home. They were at more liberty to create types.

The second important icon from Hinawza *Vishnu* standing on his



Fig. 1—Hindu
art.

in the form of an isosceles triangle¹¹. The stone is about 15" high, and about a foot wide at the base. The material is a poor kind of very soft porous sandstone, and the workmanship is still more rough and clumsy. It is a product of an entirely local school of art which finds expression not only in the typical cut of the face and the simple but almost foolish smile on the two lips, but most remarkably in the dress which he wears. He stands on the *Garuda* which has two heavy outstretched wings the left alone of which remains. The carrier bird is more represented exactly as in Indian art, that is with a human bust and a bird like lower portion. It has not that realistic features of a bird as in Colonial art, *i. q.*, in the famous *Arjuna-Vishnu* statue of Java. In the present case the wings of the bird have not been so realistically portrayed as in the preceding example, and look more like the leafy branch of a tree: yet there is enough to show that the artist knew his subject well, but failed to give expression to it. The god has four hands, the two upper raised upwards hold the *chakra* and *sankha* and the two lower hold a *lotus* or *mahadunga* fruit and a *gada* respectively. He is elaborately decorated with ornaments having wristlets, armlets and a richly carved *keysta* round his neck; the head-dress which must have been an elaborate one is, unfortunately enough, broken, but it is most likely that it was of the kind so often seen in Burmese sculptures of a later date and associated invariably with all important personages and divinities. We are accustomed to see in India as well as in the Colonies *Vishnu*, as riding or seated cross-legged on his *rahana*, *Vishnu* standing on *Garuda* is rare, in fact such images are hardly known. It is interesting that the type has up till now been found in Burma alone, and that in more than one example. In Java, the famous *Arjuna-Vishnu* statue¹² is, in fact, represented as seated, though it gives the impression of an erect figure. In the colonies, there is, however, a general tendency to represent the gods as standing, rather than as seated, on their *rahana*s, especially when their *rahana*s are birds. A parallel instance in point is the famous *Skanda* or *Kartikanya* image of Mysore in Champana¹³ standing erect as it does on its *rahana* *Makara*. It gives us a glimpse

into the imagination of the Colonial artists—an imagination that seems to have liked to unravel itself in comparatively more effective dramatic poses and situations and therefore, less traditional and conventional, though the execution is not always up to it. The *Arjuna-Vishnu* statue, just referred to, though really seated, gives, in fact, an impression as we have said, of an erect figure, and the pose and attitude of the god, more so of the *Garuda*, are most dramatic.

We now turn to the third important *Vishnuite* sculpture from Hmawza (15½ × 14½") It is a representation of the well-known mythology of *Sisna* or *Ananta sayana Vishnu* (fig. 3). It is the most popular and at the same time most important of the reclining forms of *Vishnu* who is supposed to sleep on the coils of the serpent *Ananta* that shields the head of the god of gods under its five or seven hoods. By the side of the serpent-conch near the feet of *Vishnu* is often represented the kneeling figure of *Lakshmi* in a worshipping attitude (*cf.* Rao—*Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, plate XXXI) or the seated figure of *Bhama Devi* or *Lakshmi* (*cf. ibid.*, plate XXXII c). He has two or four hands, and from his navel springs a lotus-stalk with a full-blossomed lotus on which *Brahma* is comfortably seated. *Brahma*, *Siva* and *Indra* are also sometimes represented as subsidiary deities; and *Jaya* and *Vijaya* as two attendants. The attributes of the god are also represented about him in their own form or as personified.

In the present example from Hmawza, the god is represented as lying straight with his two legs crossed at the ankles. The head with the usual head-dress rests on a higher plane, and the body stretches not on the coils of a serpent but, so far as it seems, on a lotus-conch that rests on a *makara* whose head is clearly visible on the left corner of the bottom of the slab. This is, indeed, interesting, for we know as yet of no sculpture or text where the reclining *Vishnu* is ever represented as having any association with a *makara*. The usual tradition, as we have already noticed, is to represent him as reclining directly on the serpent *Ananta*. The difference is thus striking and significant which can only be accounted for by assuming that the Colonial artists either followed a text which is yet unknown to us, or that they misinterpreted the whole story as known in India. This will be more evident from the fact that



Fig 3—Vishnu Anantashayin
the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

his navel rise not one single but three such stalks with three lotuses on which are seated the of the Brahmanical Trinity—*Vishnu* and *Siva*, *Vishnu*, who is seated in the middle flanked by *Shiva* to the right and *Siva* to the left. *Vishnu* holds his usual attributes in his hands. *Brahma* is seated cross-legged and rising from the navel of the reclining *Vishnu*, and has four hands, the two of which are in the *anjali* pose. He is seated with his usual four heads, three of which are only represented, crowned with the *Jata-mukuta*. All these three figures are seated on a lotus-petal and are seated on a lotus-petal, only to the main deity who is seated as reclining. The figures of the three deities are seated up to the knees, and have ornaments in their ears, arms, ankles, and waist. The position of the right hand of the seated figures of *Vishnu* and *Shiva*, as well as of the two legs of the reclining figure is interesting. In the reclining figure, it is raised upwards, while in

the latter, they are crossed. An almost similar position of the two legs of the reclining figure of *Vishnu* may be seen in the *Vishnu Anantashayin* relief from *Aihole*, illustrated on Plate XXXIII of Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I.

The *Vishnu-Lakshmi* relief (fig. 1) is certainly a remarkable sculpture from the artistic point of view. The most arresting feature of the sculpture is the elongated appearance of the two figures and their supple but firm and round legs and arms with their bones and muscles so suppressed as to provide them with a soft grace coupled with a dignified composure. This finely and delicately modelled sculpture has thus the grace and softness of a Gupta example, but a closer analysis would show that it has affinities with another art tradition other than the Gupta. In fact, it seems to owe its inspiration to a different school of art on this side of the Bay of Bengal, namely, the Pallava school, and

has, consequently, those Gupta features and characteristics that are inherent in the Pallava school. It is undoubtedly one of the best of the early stone sculptures found in Burma, and seems to belong to a date not later than the 8th century A. D.

It is most likely that the *Vishnu-Lakshmi* relief was thus the work of an Indian artist who had come over to the Peninsula along with Indian traders, or priests, or persons in pursuit of their respective vocations of life. But side by side there was also a local artistic activity fostered, no doubt, by the Indian masters. These local artists who are responsible for many Buddhist images of stone, bronze and terracotta must have also been entrusted with the task of executing Brahmanical images, examples of which have survived to this day. At least two such examples are known from *Hinawza* (figs. 2 and 3). The very crude and rough execution of an Indian subject-matter, the physiognomy of their faces, the quaint expression of a foolish smile on their lips, and no less the dress of the divinity standing on his *chakra* and *Ga* *ula* are a

concluded to give an Indian character to their appearance. The treatment of the subject-matter is equally foreign to any known school or period of Indian Art. The rigid lines and the sharp angularities, the incoherent composition, the schematic surface-treatment of the reliefs, and not the least, the soul-less and meaningless decorations on

them are all responsible for the lifeless, almost wooden, atmosphere in which they live. They are mere translations of a canonical text. But here and there cling faint traces, e. g., in the modelling of the body and treatment of the face of the standing *Vishnu*, of the lessons they learned at the feet of their Indian masters.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Hmawza is now an old ruined thinly populated poor village five miles south of the modern town of Prome, and is reached by train or motor or cart from Prome. The village, remains of whose city walls still exist is interspersed with old ruins hidden in mounds which are systematically being surveyed and excavated by the Archaeological Survey, Burma, under the able guidance of M. Charles Darniselle, Superintendent. A few of the old important monuments are being preserved by the Archaeological Department.

² Earliest *Pali* inscriptions relating to the subject-matter of *Pali* Buddhism hitherto discovered in Burma come from Hmawza and the adjoining sites. They comprise, to mention the more important ones, the two Maunggan gold plates discovered in 1897 at a place near Hmawza, and three fragments of a stone inscription found at the Rawhawazi pagoda, Hmawza. The Maunggan plates which were edited by M. Pinot (*Journal Asiatique*, XX, Juillet-Août, 1912, p. 121 ff.) begin each with the well-known Buddhist formula: *Tē dhammaṃ beraṃ etc.* and is followed, in the first, by 19 categories from the *Abhidhamma* in numerical order and in the second, by the praise of the *Tribhuvan*. The Rawhawazi stone fragments which were also edited by M. Pinot (op. cit.) contain an extract from the *Vibhanga*, a book of the *Abhidhamma*. The script of both the records is closely allied to the Kadamba script of the 5th-6th century A. D. of Southern India. (An Rep

A S Burma, 1924, pp. 21-22). In 1926-27, two more *Pali* epigraphs were discovered at Hmawza. The first is a line of inscription around the rim of the top of the cover of a stupa discovered at the *Khin-bhi-gon* site near the *Kalapangon* village. The script is of the Telugu-Canarese type and is practically the same as that of the records referred to above. But the most interesting is the find of a manuscript at the same site containing twenty gold-leaves each inscribed on one side in the same Canara-Telugu script of South India, and can thus safely be dated on palaeographic grounds to the 5th-6th century A. D. These leaves contain extracts from the *Abhidhamma* and *Vinaya Pitakas*. They are in fact the earliest records of *Pali* Buddhism in Burma and proves conclusively that Buddhism in the *Hinayana* school was already an established factor at Hmawza as early as the 5th century A. D. and was probably the religion of the majority of the local people.

- ³ An. Rep. A. S. Burma 1910, p. 18.
- ⁴ Ep. Burmica, Vol. I, Part II, p. 90 ff.
- ⁵ An. Rep. A. S. Burma, 1924, p. 15 ff.
- ⁶ An. Rep. A. S. India, 1926-27, p. 171.
- ⁷ Exhibits nos. 23, 24 and 25.
- ⁸ G. Rao—*Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, plate LVIII.
- ⁹ Ibid, Plate XL and XLI.
- ¹⁰ Phoongyi Kyaung shed Exhibit No. 25.
- ¹¹ "Rupam" Jan. 1926.
- ¹² H. Parmentier—*Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Cams*, Vol. I, p. 279, fig. 84.

British Banks and Industry

BY SAROJ KUMAR BASU

THE attitude of British banks towards industry is markedly different from that of the German and other banks on the continent. The banks in Great Britain consider it to be outside their sphere to finance industry with long-term loans. They think that their proper province lies in the provision of current finance as distinguished from investment finance. They are, as a rule, reluctant to lock up their funds in loans to industrial companies against debentures or in mortgages on property. The purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished

goods are financed by them but not so the purchase of plant and machinery.

As the banking practice in Germany was the outcome of peculiar historical circumstances in that country, so in England too. There are important reasons why the banks there have kept themselves generally aloof from industrial financing. They are not at all adapted for that kind of business. The whole British system is based upon deposits repayable on demand or at short notice. The banks work with a far smaller amount of share capital and reserves than those of the

continental banks. The duration of English bank loans has therefore to be necessarily short. In Germany and indeed on the Continent the cheque system is not so developed as in England. The banks there are not faced like their English rivals with a large amount of their deposits being repayable at a moment's notice. Besides, they work with a larger portion of capital and reserves,—funds which are at their own disposal and not at all subject to calls by depositors. The paid-up capital and reserves of the German banks, for example, was forty-two per cent of their liabilities at one time, and on the same date the proportion in England was nine per cent and even seven per cent later.* The continental banks having less deposits at call and working with larger capital reserves have been able to extend their trading and industrial ventures without serious risk to the depositors. The English banks with their enormous liabilities at call and short notice have to keep their reserves as liquid as possible. They have to invest their funds, as a general rule, in first-class bills, having a maturity of not more than three months and in gilt-edged securities. They cannot justifiably and with safety tie up their resources in ventures which, however promising, are untried, untested and therefore speculative. As has been truly remarked, "they are not the right institutions for cherishing or fostering the inventor or the dreamer of industrial dreams that may lead to fortune or may prove a will-o'-the-wisp."†

The English banking practice of aloofness from industries is the result of certain circumstances the absence of which made the German industries so dependent upon banking support. In England the abundance of dormant capital seeking investment, the industrial pioneers taking big initiatives, the gradual development of the industrial revolution—all these present conditions wholly different from those in Germany. These made it unnecessary for English banks to embark upon industrial ventures like their German rivals. We must also remember that in Germany and other countries of the Continent the only institutions in a position to satisfy the long-term financial needs of industry were the banks. But in England the case was different. When the English joint-stock banks developed in the middle of the last century,

they were not the only financial bodies. A capital market had already been in existence and its machinery has been developed more and more in the course of the following years. Supplies from the English capital market have been flowing in to meet the requirements of industry. The banks did not to provide the fixed capital required by industry simply because there were ample opportunities for obtaining it elsewhere. Thus the English banks came to be confined in performing the functions of pure deposit banks and left a good deal of other business performed ordinarily by the continental banks to specialist institutions in the capital market. Deposit banking, unlike Germany, became segregated from investment banking. The industries in England are not only not dependent upon the banks but they look upon any interference from them as a disgrace and a sign of potential mediocracy. In Germany a high degree of control was exercised by the banks over the associated industries. In fact, this control was bound up with and largely a sequence of the assistance afforded by them. In England such interference and control by the banks would never have been tolerated.

There is another point which should also be noted as presenting a contrast to the German practice. The English banks consider investment banking so far outside their province that they will even repudiate responsibility for prospectuses under which their name appears. But in the case of Germany the general public invest mainly through their banks and there is no chance of issues being successful unless backed by the name of one or other of the leading credit or private banks.

The issue houses or merchant bankers are an important section of the English capital market. Their operations are not confined to the bill market alone; an important part of their activity consists in the provision of fixed capital for domestic or foreign borrowers. The issue houses like Baring Bros & Co., Morgan Grenfell and Co., Higginson and Co., undertake the placing of new issues before the public. They either buy out the securities from the borrower, domestic or foreign and then make a profit by selling them to the investing public at a higher price or they work on a commission basis by which they undertake to secure the

* Foxwell—*Papers on Current Finance*.

† *The Economist* 5th February, 1916.

* *The Economist* 4 January 1

the capital required for a commission. In the case of a small or medium-sized issue, they handle it without forming a syndicate of several houses. In the event of a syndicate being formed, the participants "sub-underwrite" a portion of the issue by agreeing to purchase it at the public offering price, less a commission.¹ Although the issue houses cannot guarantee the success of an issue sponsored by them, yet the very fact that they have consented to launch the proposed issue in the market only after a careful scrutiny of its merits disarms suspicion to a great extent and attracts investment.

But the issue houses are directly associated with British industries only to an insignificant extent. Their chief connections are with foreign and Colonial governments and municipalities. So far as the provision of long-term capital at home is concerned, they prefer to deal with municipal and large and well-established undertakings generally. They do not lend their assistance for the promotion of a new company and confine their support to those bodies who probably require their help in the least extent. For all these reasons, it has been urged that the utility of the issue houses to British home industries is not great.² If they were to give more attention to the home industries, the latter would be highly benefited as then an adequate supply of capital on reasonable terms would be assured for them.

Besides the issue houses, the company promoters, investment trusts, financial companies and insurance companies are important sections of the capital market which play an active part in industrial financing. These join in under-writing for the purpose of getting their investment securities cheaper and pocketing the under-writing profit, if the public takes the issue. But it must be frankly recognized that these finance houses and trust companies have neither the standing nor the financial backing which may enable them to approach anything like the activities of the continental banks in the sphere of industrial financing. They have no permanent interest in the welfare of their industrial customers. For example, we may contrast the ill-fated transaction of the Austin Friar's Trust, "the United Steel" deal with

the flotation of the "Vereingte Stahl Werke" in Germany backed by all the leading banks.

Ever since the Great War, a feeling has been growing in England that all is not well with her financial system. There is a serious gap in it. New ventures, it is pointed out find it well-nigh impossible to secure the initial capital they require. The public have no information either as to their prospective earnings or their management. Although the ventures may be quite sound propositions, the public will be apt to magnify the legitimate risks attending them and so will be afraid to invest their funds in them. The very important business of testing new ideas and inventions has been left in England in the hands of company promoters whose methods are not always irreproachable. Not to speak of the initial capital, British industries cannot obtain from the banks even the means for making adequate extensions or reconstructions which have become necessary by the development of rival firms abroad or by the progress of industrial technique. Prof Foxwell has remarked that this policy of the banks in relation to industries, though necessary for the institutions of their peculiar type has been "disastrous for English industries."³ A writer in *The Economist* pointed out how Germany was able to out-distance the steel industry of Great Britain and practically to monopolize the entire industry because German banks supported British inventions and discoveries which could not get financial assistance in Great Britain.⁴ The need of rehabilitation of British industries after the Great War brought into great prominence the question of a reorganization or amendment of British banking methods as applied to the financing of industrial enterprise. The splendid results achieved by the German banks in the industrial field were pointed out with great fervour. The plea for a financial institution of the German type from which English industries will receive immense benefit was put forward in many quarters. It was frankly recognized that if there were a responsible institution to test new schemes and inventions with the help of a body of experts, to examine the merits and prospects of the business carefully and then launch the venture honestly before the public, the assistance

¹ Parker Willis and J. I. Bogen—*Investment Banking*, pp. 498-502.

² Willis and Peckhart—*Foreign Banking Systems*, p. 1230.

³ *The Economist*, 1st March, 1939, p. 450.

⁴ Papers on Current Finance.

⁵ *The Economist*, 5th February 1917.

asked for will be readily given by the capitalists. The whole scheme will now bear the hall-mark of approval, the *imprimatur* of the institution so to speak. This, in effect, will amount to a guarantee of the soundness and reasonable prospects of the business. The permanent capital will be secured without much difficulty and with it also the expert advice which is often more valuable than material capital. "Accordingly," as Mr. Lavington said, "in the flotation of new enterprises on the market and even in the conversion or expansion of existing undertakings, there is a good *prima facie* case for the interposition of some expert responsible body which could examine the prospects of the venture and, if suitable, present it to the public with the implicit guarantee that the enterprise was one with a reasonable claim for the capital for which it asked."

An important Committee of the Board of Trade, appointed in 1916 with Lord Farrington in the chair investigated the whole question of the financial facilities for British industries and the part played by the British banks in their provision. The Committee observed in their report issued in 1918 that the British bankers were not shy in making advances on the strength of their customer's known ability and integrity and the charges for accommodation were not very high. But they frankly recognized that British manufacturers might be often in need of finance of a kind which the joint-stock banks with their peculiar liabilities could not wisely provide; whereas the German banks seemed to have been able to afford special assistance at the inception of undertakings of the most varied description and to have laid themselves out for stimulating their promotion and for carrying them through to a successful completion. Hence the committee concluded, "There is ample room for an institution which, while not interfering unduly with the ordinary business done by the British joint-stock banks, by Colonial banks, etc., would be able to assist British industries in a manner that is not possible under existing conditions"† Such an institution, it was pointed out, would assist the development of British industries in several ways.

It would take a leading part not only in the inception of new industrial ventures, but would also provide the necessary finances for the extension and reorganization of existing undertakings. A concrete scheme was put forward by the committee. The institution should have a large working capital, it should not take deposits at call or short notice like the joint-stock banks or the German credit banks; it should not open current accounts and should give longer credits than ordinary banks. The idea was to equip the institution with three distinct departments, financial, industrial and commercial, which would collect up-to-date information and deal with all matters. The British Trade Corporation was the outcome of these recommendations. It was established under a Royal Charter with a capital of £2,000,000 and an influential board of directors under the governmentship of Lord Farrington. Its purpose was the development of industry at home and the granting of relatively long credits to merchants and producers engaged in overseas business. The following extract from the prospectus of the British Trade Corporation will help us to understand the nature of the business with which the Corporation was to be mainly concerned. "There exists to-day no large financial institution possessing an industrial department or an organization for study and research into new ideas and inventions, which is specially equipped to nurse new schemes or developments until sufficiently proved and ripe for public investment. The Corporation will make this a special feature of its business and will aim at becoming a link between British industry and British investors." The establishment of this Corporation was an important event. It was the first institution formed in England to provide long-term credits and technical advice to industry through a body of experts, standing in almost the same relation to national industries as the German banks do in Germany. Indeed, it was based on the belief that the close liaison between banks and industry and the granting of long-term credit had strengthened the position of Germany *vis-a-vis* England. It was earnestly believed at the time that the institution would remove some of the long-felt wants of British industries and would usher in a millennium for them. But the venture did not fulfil expectations. From the formation which is valuable it does not appear that

* *The English Capital Market.*

† Board of Trade Committee on Financial Facilities for Trade Report Cd. 8346. 1916.

the Corporation rendered any substantial assistance to the home industries.* Since its establishment the Corporation tried to assist British trade directly by filling the rôle of a Continental industrial bank and indirectly by establishing branches and business connections abroad such as Russia and the Levant.† But it had a difficult task before it. The disordered state of European trade and finance that followed in the wake of the war seriously interfered with its business. Besides, it was soon caught in the subsequent post-war slump. Losses were inevitable, and its capital of £2,000,000 had to be reduced to one-half.§ Dr. Walter Leaf observed in 1926 with reference to the Company, that "after several years of experience, it can hardly be claimed that the operations of the Company have been so successful as to show that there was a real need for it."** In the same year the British Trade Corporation and the Anglo-Austrian Bank were amalgamated together into a new company under the name of the *Anglo-International Bank*. The new bank was registered with a nominal capital of £2,000,000; the paid-up capital was £1,960,000 of which 610,000 shares and 750,000 shares of £1 each were issued to the share-holders of the Anglo-Austrian Bank and British Trade Corporation respectively.†† But the new bank can hardly be expected to fulfil the high aim with which the British Trade Corporation was incorporated, viz., "The setting up of a new tradition in the financing of British trade and industry." That experiment definitely failed.§§ In more recent times when England is passing through difficult years of industrial stagnation and acute unemployment, the question of banking assistance to industry has again been brought to the foreground.

* From a balance sheet published on 31st December 1925, it is found that the Corporation in practice departed in some important respects from the recommendations of the Farrington Committee. The authorized capital at that date was £8,500,000 of which £1,000,000 was issued and fully paid up. Contrary to the recommendations of the Committee the current accounts were opened. The investments 'at or under cost' were £279,758 2s. 9d. in a total asset of £3,407,229 12s. 4d. *Banker's Magazine* July-December, 1926, p. 625.

† S. E. Thomas—*British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, p. 195.

§ *The Banker's Magazine*, October 1926, p. 484.

** Walter Leaf—*Banking*, p. 163.

†† *Banker's Magazine*, 1926, p. 545.

§§ *The Economist*, September 4, 1926 p. 38.

The gravamen of the charge against British banks is that their policy of holding back advice and financial support is sorely impeding the rationalization and reorganization of British industry.

There is a widespread belief that the banking system is highly unsatisfactory in its industrial loans policy and the complaint is that it has not adequately ministered to the needs of industry. The British basic industries, viz., the cotton, wool, coal, iron and steel industries are faced with serious difficulties as they have never been faced before. It is urged that banking assistance is urgently necessary to restore them to a position of efficiency.

The feeling was so widespread that it engaged the attention of the present Government. In the course of a famous speech to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Mr. J. H. Thomas, then Lord Privy Seal, announced that the Government had arranged with the banks that help should be given to industries which were prepared for reorganization and modernization. "The City," said he, "is deeply interested in placing industry on a broad and sound basis and is ready to support any plans that in its opinions lead to this end. Industries which propose schemes that in the opinion of those advising the City conform to this requirement will receive the most sympathetic consideration and the co-operation of the city in working out plans and finding the necessary finance."* It was, in effect, an open invitation, on behalf of the City, to business and industry to come forward with real schemes of reorganization and an intimation that the whole forces of British finance were for the first time, prepared to stand behind industry in a forward move. The statement made by the Lord Privy Seal is of great significance, inasmuch as he said it was made with the authority and knowledge of the City. For does it not indicate that the British bankers are probably thinking of making a departure from the traditions of British banking practice in their contemplation to provide relatively long credits to industries? Indeed, even before the historic pronouncement of Mr. Thomas was made, the banks of England during the last ten difficult years were not entirely indifferent to the interests of industry. In

* Mr Thomas's Manchester Speech 10th January 1930

several cases they had large commitments in a number of industrial concerns. It will be a mistake to suppose that the British banks have maintained the same attitude of aloofness from industries in the post-war days as in the pre-war days. As a matter of fact they have, during the last few years, considerably relaxed the conservative codes of commercial banking practice to which they were wedded until recently. As Mr Joseph Sykes has remarked, "the sharply crystallized English pre-war practice of making only short-term loans has perforce been modified by the exigencies of the specific incidence of post-war depression on certain industries".* In the case of many industries, specially the cotton, woollen, iron, ship-building and engineering industries the banks found, after the collapse of 1920-21, that many of the loans which they had granted on the basis of early repayment, became "frozen" for a comparatively long period. The banks were compelled to make further advances in order to safeguard the loans they had made previously. In an important paper read before the Royal Statistical Society, Mr. H. W. Macrosty pointed out how this departure from the normal practice of short period lending only on the part of the banks was the outcome of post-war conditions.

"After the collapse of trade began and during at least the greater part of the depression, there was no restriction of credit by the banks either in the United Kingdom or in the United States—when prices began to fall, the banks found it necessary to 'carry their debtors' in order to prevent an even more hideous collapse than what happened"†

Many instances may be given where the banks have not at all been unsympathetic to the ills of industry and unresponsive to its needs. They not only made extended loans to the suffering industries, loans in many cases with no certainty to eventual repayment, but in some cases they have had to take in hand the financial reconstruction of enterprises and have had to make considerable monetary sacrifices by reducing their full claims.‡

* Joseph Sykes—*The Present Position of English Joint-stock Banking*, p. 144.

† Quoted by the *Economist*, December 25, 1926, p. 1117.

‡ *The Manchester Guardian*, July 12 1928 cites two cases of re-organizations in the cotton industry where the banks surrendered their full claims in substitution of reduced claims of lesser stringency. Quoted by Sykes *op. cit.* He also quotes the instance of the reconstruction of Messrs. Pearson and Knowles where the Company's bankers were

Mr. S. E. Thomas in a recent work has observed in this connection, "British banks for some years responded liberally to the demands made upon them and afforded an unprecedented degree of financial assistance to industry . . . Vast sums were advanced by the banks in the hope that the help so given would enable concerns in which they were interested to keep going until an improvement took place in the general economic position of the country. Indeed, they had no choice in the matter." In many cases the reconstruction and rationalization schemes in connection with certain industries have been made possible by the action of the joint-stock banks. The past few years witnessed a definite effort on their part to overcome the difficulty which faces industries suffering from prolonged depression in obtaining additional capital for carrying through reorganization schemes.† Mr Holland Martin in the course of his last presidential address before the Institute of Bankers referred to the part played by some British banks in the recent reorganization of "nursing back to health" a number of ailing concerns.

Several instances may be easily cited to support the above contention that a change has been taking place in the conservative banking policy towards industries in England. As regards the cotton industry it was pointed out by Mr S. S. Hammersley in the course of a speech before the House of Commons in December 1927 that there were 200 cotton mills in the hands of the banks. They had lent something like £15 millions to these concerns and a large portion of this money was unsecured.‡ In the course of a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society Prof Daniels and Mr. Jewkes also pointed out that the banks played an important part in financing a large proportion of the floated companies in the Lancashire cotton industry. The flotation of 129 companies was largely financed by overdrafts and loans.[§] The coal

prepared to accept £5,000,000 5 per cent. scrip notes to be redeemed over a long period of years in place of £550,000 6 per cent. first debenture stock held by them.

* S. E. Thomas—*British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, p. 141.

† *The Times Trade and Engineering Supplement*, Banking Number, June 1930.

‡ Speech of Mr. S. S. Hammersley, 19 Dec 1927 Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 212, pp 87-89.

§ "The post-war depression in the Lancashire Cotton Industry"—*Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* Vol XCI 1928 pp 176-179.

d steel industries were not neglected and in some reorganization schemes the banks took a leading part. The fusions between Dorman Long and Bolckow Vaughan and between Guest Keen and Nettleford and Baldwins were due to the action of the joint-stock banks. The formations of the Steel Industries of Great Britain Ltd. and of the English Steel Corporation also would not have been possible without their help.* A perusal of the annual speeches of the bank chairmen during the past few years will also bring out the fact that the financial stake of British banks in industries was not small. In the course of one such speech the chairman of the Lloyds Bank stated that his bank granted new loans to the amount of £44 millions to 32 different industries between June 1924 and June 1925†. The analysis which Mr. McKenna gave of the Midland Bank's percentage distribution of advances in 1928 bears eloquent testimony to the assistance rendered by the bank to industry. Sixty-nine per cent of its advances went to trade and industry while 16¾ per cent only went to insurance, finance and stock exchange‡. From a balance sheet of the same bank published on 31st December 1930, it is found that the bank had investments in British Corporation Stocks to the extent of £257,261-19s-2d.

Not to speak of the joint-stock banks, even the Bank of England has grown alive to the needs of the sorely stricken British industries. In many instances she has freely given the aid and advice which have been sought from her. Indeed, the association of the country's central bank with certain schemes of industrial reorganization is unprecedented in the banking history of England and is assuredly an extension of her functions which require careful consideration. The Lancashire Cotton Corporation which is an ambitious scheme for bringing about reorganization in the American section of the Lancashire cotton industry is the outcome of the initiative of the Governor of the Bank of England and has the direct financial support of the Bank.**

The part played by the Bank of England in particular and by the banks in general who were the largest creditors in bringing the scheme within the realms of practicability has been very important. In fact, the preliminary investigations could not have been brought to a successful completion without the advice and help afforded by the Central Bank.* Coming to individual concerns, the bank rendered unselfish assistance to the armament firm of Messrs. Armstrong & Co. Ltd., and the steel firm of Messrs. William Beardmore and Co. Ltd. in their reorganization schemes†.

Towards the close of 1929, the Bank of England formed a subsidiary company, called the Securities Management Trust. The principal object of the Trust was to assist the process of rationalization and reconstruction in industry. The Board of Directors is composed of business experts so that it may have the very best guidance with regard to industrial conditions and when occasion arises may have the proper machinery for examining the merits of particular schemes of industrial rationalization which may require special financial support. The direction of the Trust's economic research has been undertaken by Prof. Henry Clay, Mr. Charles Gardner who has a long experience of iron, steel and kindred industries has been appointed managing director.§ It is expected that the trust will provide a useful link between British industry and the capital market.

The S. M. T. since its inception has played a leading part in implementing and financing

debentures for the present share-holders' certificates and creditors' balances. As more and more mills were absorbed, its capital would be increased proportionately. Fresh capital was to be raised in the course of an issue of first debentures and in the meantime, arrangements were made with the Bank of England to provide for the temporary finance considered necessary. In the first few months of its existence the Corporation examined 200 mills and made offers of absorption to 135. At the end of 1930 it came to control 100 mills containing 9,500,000 spindles and 20,000 looms. The capital has been raised to £10 millions. The first balance sheet published by the Company in last March showed a net loss of £163,368 of which £86,300 is accounted for by writing down of stocks from cost to market prices. Its recent issue of £2,000,000 six year 6½ p.c. first mortgages the proceeds of which were to be used partly for reconditioning and modernizing the acquired mills has been disappointing for the public took up only £80,000, the underwriters being left with 96 p.c.

* The *Statist*—February 2, 1929, p. 176.

† Thomas *op. cit.* p. 142

§ The *Barley & Malt* 1930 p. 79

* Thomas—*British Banks and the Finance of Industry*, p. 143.

† Speech of the Chairman at the Annual Meeting, 1926.

‡ Annual Speech of Mr. McKenna 1929.

§ The object of this cotton merger constituted in 1929 was to nationalize part of the Lancashire cotton spinning industry through amalgamating companies by exchanging its own shares and

two important industrial rationalization schemes, *viz.*, the Lancashire Steel Trust and the Wigan Coal Corporation. In the case of the former it took over the whole of the £500,000 'B' ordinary shares. The establishment of the Securities Management Trust was followed in April, 1930 by the creation of the "Bankers' Industrial Development Company" with the Governor of the Bank of England as chairman. It was registered with a nominal capital of £6,000,000 divided into 45 'A' and 15 'B' shares of £100,000 each. Fourteen of the 'B' shares which carry three votes against one vote for every 'A' share, are held by the S.M.T. and one 'B' share has been allotted to Mr. Montagu Norman. The 'A' shares have been taken up by most of the leading banking and financial institutions of the country. Thus one share each has been subscribed by 44 important financial institutions in the City including the big five and the 15th share has been taken by Mr. N. L. Campbell of Messrs. Helbert Warg and Co.† The purpose of the B.I.D. is to receive and consider rationalization schemes of British basic industries. In the case of approved schemes, it will make arrangements for the provision of the necessary finances *through existing agencies*.§ There is one interesting feature of the B.I.D. in that the Company will have the services of an advisory council in addition to the Board of Directors. The Council will invite to serve on it a number of influential persons engaged in financial business. It will be a consultative body, having no executive duties to perform.**

The B.I.D., it should be pointed out, has not been constituted as an industrial bank with large resources of its own for investment in approved industrial concerns. It will obtain through the ordinary investment channels the new capital for industrial reorganization. All new capital will be obtained from the investing public. Its functions are essentially those of an intermediary between industry and the new capital market. It is not intended that the company will finance directly rationalization

schemes.† It is a unique body representative not only of every important bank and issuing house in the country but even of the Bank of England. "It is in fact a partnership between the Bank and the leading houses of the City formed to make available to British industry the simplest resources of the nation."†† The "promotion" of amalgamations is not its business. The industries themselves must frame the schemes of rationalization. Only when the B.I.D. has been fully satisfied as to the soundness of the plans, will it be proper for this "national consortium of British bankers" to encourage the public to invest fresh capital.‡ It has made a good start and at this stage it seems destined to play an important rôle in the reorganization of British industry. It has been formed for five years at the first instance and its existence may thereafter be extended. Profits should not be made by it and the directors are giving their services freely.

The appointment of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in November 1929 of the Committee of Enquiry into Finance and Industry under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon'ble H. P. Macmillan, K.C., has been an important event. The Committee which includes in its personnel the eminent economists and business men of the day is now investigating the question of the relations between banking and industry. The terms of reference are—"To enquire into the banking finance and credit, paying regard to the factors both internal and international which govern their operation and to make recommendations calculated to enable these agencies to promote the development of trade and commerce and the employment of labour."††† The proceedings

* Hence only 25 of its nominal capital is being called up.

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† The *Economist*, April 19, 1930, p. 876.

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~ A Cable to the *Statesman*, May 22, 1930.

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** The *Banker's Magazine*, May 1930.

of the Committee are taking place in camera and therefore the nature of evidence tendered before it has not been disclosed to the public. The publication of the report is being awaited with keen interest.

From the preceding discussion, it has been made clear that the British banks in recent times have comparatively broadened their policies in regard to industries. The frequent charges levelled against them that their attitude to industry is "unduly rigid, unsympathetic and detached" cannot be strictly maintained. During the decade 1920-1930, as we have seen above, the commitments of the British banks in national industries have not been small. Bank chairmen in their annual speeches of 1929 and 1930 have pointed out that the financial help rendered by the banks in connection with rationalization schemes had brought them near to "saturation point" and that they could not wisely extend their commitments further in that direction.* Indeed, the banks have entered the industrial field in such a manner that they have even been accused of deviating from the recognized canons of commercial banking. In some quarters a feeling is even evident that if the bankers are to be criticized for their attitude towards industry during the past few years, it will be for their too great a readiness to stand by industry in the matter of banking facilities.†

The British banks have no doubt considerably relaxed their strict attitude of aloofness from industries. Mr. Thomas also declared in his Manchester speech that he had been in consultation with the majority of the bank chairmen and that they were in agreement with what he said there. But it must be admitted that there is no evidence that the bankers themselves are much inclined to reconsider their position and modify the traditional view held as to the functions of the British banks. A perusal of the recent annual speeches of the chairmen of the big five will show that they are still clinging to the traditional views of British banks as being essentially receivers of short-term deposits and makers of short-term loans. While they have repudiated the suggestion that banking assistance to industry

has been inadequate, they have emphatically pointed out that it is not the function of banks to find the permanent funds required for capital expenditure. Mr. Goodenough of Barclay's Bank, Mr. Beaumont Pease of Lloyds and Sir Harry Goschen of the National Provincial specially emphasized that the functions of the English joint-stock banks have always been to provide money for the current needs of industry and they viewed with alarm any change in their policy which would lock up their resources in machinery, bricks and mortar. They stressed the point that the banks had neither the necessary detailed knowledge of the conditions of an industry as a whole nor were they sufficiently acquainted with the technicalities and hence they could never be advised to embark on a policy of industrial financing. Thus although Mr. Thomas said that the banks were in agreement with him, yet there does not seem to be any indication that the banks are equipping themselves for the task of rendering long-term assistance to industry. In order to do that without immobilizing the funds held by them as deposits, substantial increases in their capital are necessary. But there is no sign as yet that the banks are considering a move in that direction.*

But the fact remains that the banks of England have departed in *practice* from the strict standards of commercial banking practice during the last few years. They are no longer purely deposit banks in the pre-war English sense of the term. They are combining with the business of strictly deposit banking functions which they considered entirely outside their sphere in the pre-war days. There is an increasing tendency of the fusion of commercial and investment banking functions. Specialization was the key-note of the pre-war British financial system. The specialization in the post-war days has been yielding place to integration of financial operations.

A change is slowly taking place in the status of the deposit banks of England. The post-war German banks are fast becoming akin to the pre-war deposit banks of England; but the post-war English deposit banks are approximating more and more to the pre-war German banks.†

This departure from the recognized

* Cf. the Presidential Address of the Rt. Hon'ble Rupert Becket of Manchester and District Bankers' Institute on 10th January, 1930.

† *The Banker's Magazine*, February 1930, p. 166.

* *The Banker*, January-March, 1930.

† Parker Willis and B. H. Beckhart *Foreign Banking Systems* p. 43.

canons of commercial banking practice on the part of the English banks has been, as we have already seen, the result of post-war conditions. The fusion of investment and commercial functions is taking place not only in England but also in other countries where the functions have so long been carefully segregated almost as much as in England. The deposit banks of France and America are rapidly turning themselves into "mixed" banks, performing both investment and commercial banking functions. A revolution is taking place in the practices of the commercial banks of the world.

How far can this deviation from the established banking practice be justified in England? No doubt it has been rendered

necessary by the exigencies of circumstances. But is this departure justifiable? The deposit banks like the English institutions should no doubt confine themselves to short-term banking. The policy of providing long-term loans to industries is not really consistent with safety on their part. But when the country is faced by an imminent national danger, there may perhaps be made some relaxation in the conservative codes of banking practice. We are never for a moment questioning the soundness of the practice in normal circumstances, but in the critical period through which British industry is passing, we cannot help feeling that safety may be the *first* but need not be the only consideration.

Mystic Islam

By PROF. DHIRENDRA NATH CHOWDHURI, VIDYASAGAR, N.A.

"MYSTICISM is such a vital element in Islam, that, without some understanding of its ideas and of the forms which they assume, we should seek in vain to penetrate below the surface of Muhammadan religious life. The form may be fantastic and the ideas difficult to grasp; nevertheless we shall do well to follow them, for in their company East and West often meet and feel themselves akin."

With these precious words Dr. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, the Cambridge University Lecturer in Persian, introduces to the public his valuable book, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism**. No truer statement was ever made as to the ground of fraternity between East and West. In vain we seek the meeting-ground in a lower plain. Though St. Teresa belongs to the 16th century Christian Europe and Abu Sa'id to the 10th century Musalman Persia, Hindu *Yogin* of a millennium before the Christian era or of two millennia after it will not fail to hail them as sister and brother of the same household. So thick is the blood relation between them, in spite of differences of creed, colour and country.

Islamic mysticism is more popularly known as *Sufism*. All learned definitions

apart, the name *Sufi* was derived from *suf* (wool) and was originally applied to those Muhammadan ascetics who wrapped themselves up in coarse woollen *alkella* as a symbol of their repentance and renunciation of worldly pleasures. Sufism, as embodying certain spiritual experiences, especially an attitude towards God and self, defies all attempts at definition, as all mysticism does. There is no concisely brief formula that will conveniently express every shade of its personal and intimate religious feeling. Jalaluddin Rumi in his *Masnawi* ridicules the idea by telling the familiar story of seeing the elephant in a dark room. Some say it is a waterpipe, some say it is just like a large fan. Others, contradicting, aver their positive conviction that the animal must be like a pillar. Still others would give out their own version that it is nothing but a big drum. So on and so forth.

However, on the portals of Sufism it is written "All *self* abandon. Ye who enter here. The self's passing away from itself is the beginning of *Sufism*. Through the contemplation of the divine attributes the mind becomes so concentrated upon the thought of God that the self flees away from all objects of perception—thoughts, actions and feelings. This is technically called *F nu*. The nearest

* This article has been compiled mainly from this and from his other book, *The Mystics of Islam*.

approach to it would be our term *nirvana*, not in the sense of annihilation. Because in this state "God should make thee die to thyself and should make thee live in Him." It is said when the soul becomes absorbed in the Oversoul she is no more conscious of her own *non-existence*. The highest stage is reached when even the consciousness of having attained it, disappears. All conscious thought ceases as it were. The soul passes out of her phenomenal existence. This is called passing-away of passing-away, and the soul enters into what is said to be *bagh*, i.e., permanent 'abiding' in God. Music, singing and dancing are favourite means of inducing the state *Wayfat*, the passing away. In that state the soul sees nothing but God :

"In the market, in the cloister, only God I saw. In the valley and on the mountain, only God I saw. I passed away into nothingness. I vanished. And lo, I was the All-living—only God I saw." (From the Ode by Baba Kuli of Shiraz).

No one can attain this state unless it is done for him through 'a flash of the divine beauty' in his heart. What follows is unspeakable. Truly says Maulana Rumi :

"The story admits of being told up to this point. But what follows is hidden and inexpressible in words. If you should speak and try a hundred ways to express it, it is useless, the mystery becomes no clearer."

"The Mystic," observes Dr. Rufus M. Jones in his *New Studies in Mystical Religion*, "is not a peculiarly favoured mortal who by a lucky chance has received into his life a windfall from some heavenly bread-fruit tree, while he lay dreaming of iridescent rainbows." But, on the contrary, the Sufi is a trudging and plodding traveller who is to traverse a long Path to reach his goal of union with Reality. The traveller advances by slow stages and the stages are repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God and, finally, satisfaction. They virtually occupy the place of our *Sadhan-chaturanga*, the four-fold discipline. And the discipline is a *sine qua non*. No one will be allowed in the Sufi circle unless he is able to trace his discipleship, exactly as in this country, to the head of a recognized school—the director, technically called a Shaykh, Pir or Murshid. Repentance is to be understood not in its ethical sense. It means "turning away," its Old Testament sense and not its New Testament corruption. It simply means *conversion*. And every succeeding stage

evolves out of the preceding one. But how is this first stage, conversion, brought about? It is brought about by love of God and that is a divine act—*ब्रह्मकृपाहि केवलम्*—"Love is not to be learned from men. It is one of God's gifts and comes of His grace" (As quoted by Reynold A. Nicholson in *The Mystics of Islam*). Absolute trust in God, self-surrender to its uttermost limit, that is insisted upon at every step. *Nafs*, the lower self, 'the flesh,' must be overcome. Once a dervish fell into the Tigris. Someone wanted to bring help to him. The dervish said, "No." "Do you wish to be drowned," retorted the man. "No," replied the dervish. "What then do you wish?" With a grim determination the dervish replied, "God's will be done." What have I to do with wishing?" And the trust intends to be one in God. This is not peculiarly Islamic, it is Hindu as well—

एकमेवाद्वितीयम्। Now, when you have got this "Sincere belief in the Unity of God and trust in him, it behoves you to be satisfied with Him and not to be angry on account of anything that vexes you"—*लोकान्नोद्विजते च यः*।

But these stages are but outward expressions of the devotee's endeavours after life eternal. There is a psychological chain of mental states—meditation, nearness to God, love, fear, hope, longing, intimacy, tranquillity, contemplation and certainty—that really count. They are entirely in the hands of *अन्तर्यामी*—the inner controller. Over these spiritual feelings and dispositions a man has no control. Here God's mercy alone availeth :

"They descend from God into his heart, without his being able to repel them when they come or to retain them when they go."

One most positive element in the *Sufistic* discipline is technically called *dhikr*. *पुरश्चरणा* would be its Hindu substitute. We may translate it by *Smarana* (recollection). *Namajapa* is one of the prominent forms. It is not merely the uttering of the name but fixing the thought on the name and keeping it there. It is really meditation. Go on repeating the name until the motion of the tongue ceases and the word seems to flow from it. Persevere so that there the idea only remains clinging to the heart, as it were, inseparable from it. Gradually the self

is perceived in the *Ala* A S / its the
after the following way

The state of *Ma'rif* to the
the state of effacement of the worshipper
in the act of worship, without consciousness of
worship, and such absorption in the object of
worship as precludes return to the subject thereof.

The marvellous edifice of Sufism like a
pyramid on a point, rests on the belief that
man's extremity is God's opportunity, when
the individual is gone, the Universal steps
in and the two are mingled together. Thus
ejaculates Husayn ibn Mansur of Hallaj:

"Thy spirit is mingled in my spirit even as
wine is mingled with water.
When anything touches Thee, it touches me,
Lo in every case Thou art I."

This ecstatic self-forgetfulness supplies
the key by which the soul directly communi-
cates with the Oversoul and becomes united
with the Beloved, unconscious of time and
space. Says Rumi Jalaluddin:

"Lo, for I to myself an unknown, now in God's name
what must I do?
In a place beyond uttermost Place, in a tract
without shadow of trace,
Soul and body transcending I live in the soul
of my Loved one anew!"

It is said in the Vaishnavic mysticism that
one day the cowherdesses so far forgot
themselves that they began to dress themselves
in Krishna's garb.

तन्मनस्कास्तदालापास्तद्विचेष्टास्तदात्मिकाः

—भागवतम् ।

Yes, when the soul finds herself face to
face with her Lord she does not see with her
own eye, she must put on the eye-divine. So
says the mystic of Islam:

"When my beloved appears.
With what eye do I see him?
With His eye not with mine,
For none sees Him except Himself"
(Ibn Al-Arabi)

Yes, स वेत्ति वेद्यं न तस्यास्ति वेत्ता ।

The Sufi's path is a long one, but he too
comes to his journey's end, traversing all the
stages and making sure of each step before
he advances to the next and with God's
grace experiencing whatever 'states' are
vouchsafed unto him. "Then and only then,"
observes Nicholson in *The Mystics of Islam*,
is he permanently raised to the higher
planes of consciousness, which Sufis call the
'Gnosis' and 'the Truth,' where the seeker
becomes the 'Knower' or 'Gnostic,' and
realizes that knowledge, known, and knower
are One." Here I am just reminded of the
Mahanirvan verses,

ज्ञानं त्वं तथा ज्ञाता त्रितयं भानि माधवा

विचारमात्रे त्रितयं आत्मनः कांश्चिद्विभक्तं ॥

ज्ञानमात्मैव विद्यायां ज्ञेयमात्मैव विन्मयः ।

विज्ञाता स्वयमेवात्मा यो जानाति स आत्मवित् ॥

Knowledge, knower and known appear three
through ignorance. If you meditate on the three
only One Self remains. It is the conscious Self
that is knowledge; it is the conscious Self that is
the known, and the self itself is the knower—one
who knows this is the self-knower.

Ibn Al-Arabi's doctrine that God's know-
ledge is given Him by objects which he knows
is controverted by Jili. It is true that every
individual thing has a necessary nature, but
God does not derive His knowledge from this
necessity of the natures of things: but on the
contrary their natures were necessitated by
His knowledge of them before they were
brought into existence. It was His knowing
them that made them the objects of His
knowledge. If modes, relations and aspects are
identical with the *being* of the Absolute, if
the nature of things and God's knowledge of
them are two views of the same Reality, if
mystic Rammohun has called creation to be
the bringing out of the world by the Essence
from within itself without injuring its
character as essence, then there is very little
to choose between the two disputants. Truly
says Jami, the philosopher theologian, in a
dialectical mood at once Hegelian and
Vedantic:

"The unique Substance, viewed as absolute and
void of all phenomena, all limitations and all multi-
plicity is the Real (*al-Haqq*). On the other hand,
viewed in His aspect of multiplicity and plurality
under which He displays Himself when clothed
with phenomena, He is the whole created universe.
Therefore the universe is the outward visible
expression of the Real, and the Real is the inner
unseen reality of the universe."

So this sensible world as such is not
being and only derives its existence from the
attributes of the Absolute by which it is
irradiated as it were यथा पावकात्
विष्कुलिताः ।

Two distinct aspects of God's nature are
unambiguously admitted—creativity and
creatureliness. God is the Universal both in
His capacity of the totality of all particulars
as well as their *archetype*. This brings us
almost in view of Plato's Idea. Niffari had
the following audition of the divine voice:

"When thou regardest thyself as existent and
dost not regard Me as the Cause of thy existence
I veil My face and thine own face appears to thee

Therefore consider what is displayed to thee, and what is hidden from thee."

That is, the world should be regarded as existing in and through God, so that its phenomenal aspect will pass away and man sees nothing but God. If he regards himself existing on his own account, his unreal egoism, his *ahamkara*, comes to the front and God's face is veiled from him.

The Sufi's perfect man is "*who has fully realised his essential oneness with the Divine Being in whose likeness he is made.*" God's own consciousness is manifested here. It comes to McTaggart's misconceived proposition that the Absolute becomes self-conscious in man, which has been ably controverted and refuted by Dr. Hiralal Halder. But by making the Perfect Man, *i. e.*, the son, co-eternal with the Father—making the Knower and the Known co-eternal as they really are, all misunderstanding is done away with. God is necessary to man in order that man may exist, whereas man is necessary to God that He may be manifested to Himself. Our existence is merely an objectification of His essence. He holds us to His heart in love from eternity to eternity. In this view man is the crown and cause of the universe. In creation he comes last, but in the generation of divine thought he stands first. He is essentially the immediate emanation of the Universal Reason which brings us in contact with the Greek *Logos*, Upanishadic *Brahma*, Gnostic *Christ* (Pre-Christian) or Christian Word—the animating principle of all things identified in the Moslem scheme with the Prophet Muhammad, the perfect man. Here we see the triumph of man's religious feeling over his historical sense. Buddha, Krishna, Christ or Muhammad, as historically depicted, disproves any such conception of perfect man.

The essence of God's essence is Love. Man, the manifestation of God's love, and God, though mystically united, are not absolutely identical and interchangeable. Though Mansur of Hallaj was savagely done to death for the supreme fault of his uttering *Ana'l-Haqq*, *i. e.*, अहं ब्रह्मास्मि, the cardinal

truth embodied in it was ideally interpreted by the Sufis by including *la'hut* (Divine nature) and *na'sut* (humanity), as necessarily correlated aspects of the universal Essence. Hallaj has since been raised to the status of a martyr, and his death considered by many as a political murder more than anything else. Nothing blasphemous is found in his utterance. A man who has altogether discarded his lower self exists *qua* his real self, which is God. So it is God who speaks through him. And there is nothing wrong for God to say *Ana'l-Haqq*. It was God Himself who spoke by the mouth of the selfless Hallaj. Mansur's detractors simply said that he did not attain such spiritual insight as to enable him to say so. And Mansur never denied the existence of the *two* even in final union. Hallaj says in one of his poems :

'I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I;
We are two spirits dwelling in one body.
If thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both.'

This forthwith reminds one of the *Srutis* दा उदयार्थं सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते—"Two birds, related to each other, and friends, are sheltered in the same tree." Rumi Jalaluddin also sings to the same tune.

"Happy the moment when we are seated in the
Palace, thou and I,
With two forms and with two figures but with
one soul, thou and I.
Thou and I, individuals no more, shall be
mingled in ecstasy,
Joyful and secure from foolish babble, thou and I.
This is the greatest wonder, that thou and I sit-
ting here in the same nook,
Are at this moment both in Iraq and Khorasan :*
Thou and I."

The clue to the solution of the mystery is here found why Rammohun, the Vedantist of Vedantists, proposed to retire to his rest with Diwan Hafiz and Maulana Rumi.

* As in the Gnostic and Christian mysticism flight from *Egypt* and entry into *Jerusalem* have esoteric meaning, so Iraq and Khorasan in Sufism, Mathura and Brindaban are so interpreted in the Vaisnavic mysticism.

The Hindu Civilization of Malaya

By C. E. ANDREWS

THE following account does not claim to be the result of original research. It is a collection of material, already made available to the public, taken from many sources. It is a noble story of a great culture of world importance.

The early history of the Malay Peninsula is still very obscure; but one fact emerges from each fresh record and inscription that is discovered in modern times. The entire early civilization of the south-eastern portion of the Malaya for many centuries came from India and represented the Hindu-Buddhist civilization. It is true that the original inhabitants probably reached Malaya from the islands to the South, though even this is not yet proved. But we find that more than 2,000 years ago the Hindu immigrants were already entering into the country from the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal and that the rulers were sprung from different Hindu races.

It would appear from the scanty data we have that for a very long time the centre of this Hindu rule in Malaya was a district called Palembang, at the southern extremity of the island of Sumatra. This kingdom was called Sri Vijaya, and it was ruled over by those who took the title of Maharajah. At the end of the seventh century, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I-Tsing, paid a visit to this part of the world and left a written record behind him about the country. This is the most valuable account which we as yet have in writing, in book form, but other Chinese records may yet be discovered. He states that during his time of residence in the country the Maharajah annexed the "Malayu" country. Most probably this "Malayu" country was portioned out among many Hindu rajahs, over whom this Maharajah exercised dominion as their suzerain and chief.

With regard to this historical period we have besides one of the earliest known inscriptions, written in a South Indian script, and dated A. D. 686. This gives the

record of an attack on Java by the force sent from Sri Vijaya to that island. It seems not unlikely therefore, that a Hindu empire on a small scale, was established, having Sri Vijaya as its central province which gave the empire its title.

We learn further that, in A. D. 778, the Buddhist temple of Kalasan in Central Java was built by the order of the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya. Another inscription in Sanskrit, discovered in Lower Siam, records the erection there also of Buddhist buildings in A. D. 775 by the order of the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya who "belongs to the dynasty of the King of the Mountains."

This latter phrase may refer to a curious name in the "Malay Annals," for they state that the rulers of Palembang were of the dynasty of Mahamoru. Mahamoru is obviously an Indian word, signifying "Great Morn,"—referring to Mount Mera of the Hindu legends.

Later on, about A. D. 1000, we have in Tamil and Sanskrit an inscription recording the grant of a village to the Buddhist temple at Negapatam in Southern India, which had been built by two rulers of Palembang. This appears to show an intimate relation between the Malayan rulers and South India on the west and also Java on the south-east. The second of these two rulers is called in the inscription 'King of Kataha and Srivishaya.'

The names of both these rulers are corroborated by two entries in the Chinese Annals of the Sung dynasty, which mentions embassies from them to China in A. D. 1003 and A. D. 1008. The word "Kataha" in the inscription is probably the same as Kedah. A little later on, an inscription in South India, at Tanjore, dated A. D. 1030, commemorates the capture of the King of Kedaram together with the conquest of Sri Vijaya and of Malayu. These conquests cannot have been permanent, for a few years later, according to the Chinese Annals, the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya reported to the Chinese Emperor that the king of Southern

India was his vassal; and a later Chinese writer tells how the Maharajah of Sri Vijaya laid a claim to be suzerain over the whole of the Malay Peninsula, and also over Ceylon. It would seem as though conquests and re-conquests went on, during the centuries, between these different countries.

Nearly the whole of this evidence given here is of quite recent date and thus makes a basis for a reliable historical picture. It has been gradually collected owing to the discovery of inscriptions on different ancient stones and monuments. Other finds of a similar character are almost certain to be made. When it is all pieced together, it seems likely that it will point to a very close connection, lasting for many centuries, between early Hindu India and the Malay Archipelago. It also points to an independent kingdom, with definite Hindu religious traditions and language affinities, which had its capital in the south of the island of Sumatra. Along with the spirit of early Buddhist teaching a great impetus seems to have been given to colonization and settlement from India. Through the Buddhist revival within ancient Hinduism this migratory expansion took place. This kingdom or empire which extended far and wide, appears at an early date to have accepted the Mahayana form of Buddhism, which is usually associated with Northern India. It is not altogether unlikely that from the kingdom of Sri Vijaya itself the Buddhist monks made their journeys into the interior of Java. If this is proved to be true, then it would follow that the great Hindu Buddhist civilization of Java, which produced such amazing monuments as Borobudur and Prambanan, most probably originated from this source.

Assuming this to be a true reading of ancient history, we may hope also in time to come to have still further light thrown upon the extended immigration from India into the Malay Archipelago and from thence to Indo-China. We may also learn more about the remarkable Hindu civilization of Cambodia which produced the Khmer dynasty and the great shrine, Angkor Wat, which is one of the wonders of the world.

Further records of lesser importance have already been found in Malaya itself by archaeological research. There is, for instance, an inscription written in a Southern Indian script which is dated as early as A. D. 400. This would be almost as early

as anything we have yet found in Java or elsewhere. The inscription has not been fully deciphered and it does not help us with any historical information but it gives us hope that some further inscriptions may be discovered of definite historical value. A famous old fragment of stone, found in the bed of the river at Singapore, is now in the Raffles Museum. But this also does not help us to any great extent, because it is only a fragment.

For nearly a thousand years a widespread civilizing tradition of Indian culture, religion, and literature was very slowly accumulated all over this part of the South-Eastern Asia. This country with its adjacent islands, was rightly and truly regarded as an extension of India itself and of Hindu Buddhist civilization,—a kind of cultural empire. With the advance of the Buddhist missionary expansion the same Indian traditions were carried still further eastward and also to the north of the Malay Peninsula. Burma and Siam owe not merely their original civilization, but also their permanent religious creed to these Indian immigrants. Whatever strength they have had in their long history, as civilized countries, they have drawn from the Buddhist religion which had its origin in Hindu India.

It is not necessary at this point to go still further and point out in detail how Buddhism from India went right on to the shores of the Pacific as far as North China, Korea and Japan. For the story of this further spiritual conquest would carry us beyond the bounds of the special purpose of this essay which is to show how closely Malaya has been linked up with India itself. But it may be mentioned that while the Mahayana Buddhism was advancing in a north-westerly direction and thence penetrating Central Asia through Afghanistan and Kashmir this South-Eastern expansion was going on simultaneously.

In corroboration of this historical account of Hindu and Buddhist settlement from India all along the sea-border and in the nearer islands of the Malay Archipelago, we have evidence from another source which may be briefly referred to here. The most important Western account of Further India and the Golden Chersonese (as Malaya was called in the West) is found in Ptolemy's description of the world dating from the first half of the second

century after Christ. Ptolemy came from the city of Alexandria in Egypt which was the great emporium of the eastern trade. He informs us that, in his time, the coast-line of Further India was inhabited throughout its length by the Sindri (Hindus). Their widespread importance in the Far East at that time was enough for this accurate Alexandrian geographer to describe them as a 'race of wide distribution'. This great and lasting advance in Hindu culture under ancient conditions of sea voyage must have taken some centuries to spread so far and wide. It must have been going on, century after century, even before the southern regions of India itself were wholly penetrated by Brahman influence from the North.

It is important to notice, that the whole of this early colonization made its long voyages by sea and not by land. It did not proceed gradually along the coast of Arakan and Burma by any land routes. Indeed, Burma, for very many centuries, appears to have been almost passed by. It would even seem as if the Hindu penetration of the south-east of Asia preceded by many centuries its full entry into Burma itself. Indeed, even today, it is in Cambodia, on the north-eastern side of the Malaya Peninsula, that the richest finds in ancient Hindu inscriptions have been made and the strongest traditions of Brahman culture still exist.

As a consequence of all these early settlements and occupations, the name Indonesia has now been rightly given by modern geographers to the greatest and most populated group of islands in the world, which lies around Malaya and stretches out for nearly 2,500 miles towards the Far East into the midst of the Pacific Ocean. Wherever one goes in these islands, there are still to be found the traces of the old Hindu culture, which lasted for over one thousand years. Therefore, it is entirely wrong and unhistorical to regard the Indian immigration which is happening today in Malaya as something strangely foreign and contrary to Hindu custom and tradition. For the whole area has been saturated with Hindu culture from very ancient times and its present civilization under Islamic rule and British protection cannot really be understood unless this Hindu-Buddhist foundation is clearly recognized and fully acknowledged.

After the year 1200 A. D. the history of

the Malaya Peninsula becomes obscure again for a time, but we have important clues. We find out from the Chinese records that the various rajahs in the north of Malaya were obliged to fall back against the rising power of Siam. We know also that Siam itself was being hard pressed from the east by the ever-increasing sway of the Khmer dynasty, which was a part of what is now called Indo-China.

In addition to this information, we have the record of an expedition in 1273 at Kertanagara of Tumapel against Malaya which utterly destroyed the southern part of the Peninsula. We find that the Hindu Maharajah of Majapahit, which was the rising power in Java, invades again and again the Malay Peninsula and brings into subjection most of the coast. The famous inscription already mentioned, which was found at the mouth of the Singapore river, probably refers to this conquest, but since it is only a small fragment, definite information cannot be gathered from it with any certainty.

But Java itself was soon to be overcome by fresh invaders. When Marco Polo in A. D. 1292 visited Sumatra he found Islam already in possession at a little port called Perlak. Very rapidly Islam spread from thence among the people of the Peninsula. There are important records showing that the missionaries of Islam came chiefly from the western coasts of India, just as the Buddhist missionaries a thousand years before had come from the eastern coast which looks out upon the Bay of Bengal.

The Islamic traders who came over western India, were very rich and powerful. They seemed to have opened up this great field of Islamic conquest, which was taken advantage of from Asia and Persia afterwards. Within two centuries the whole of this coast-line from Penang to the extremity of Java, and over a large part of Sumatra also, had accepted the Islamic faith and welcomed Islamic rulers. Such an amazingly quick conquest could have only happened owing to the weakness and decay of the earlier Hindu-Buddhist civilization. Thus for a second time the Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands were conquered from India and acknowledged this definite religious conquest by allowing their rulers to be chosen partly from those who belong to India by race.

In the book called "The Malay Annals"

a vivid account of these Sultans. Their reigns in this newly conquered lands appear to have been for the most part taken up with war and luxurious living. At the same time, the religion of Islam obtained powerful hold over the minds of the common people, and made such a deep impression upon them that through all the different changes which followed these village people have still continued faithfully to observe the precepts of Islam.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the next invasion came from the extreme west of Europe. Portugal had risen quickly to power as a maritime people. The Portuguese had been the first to circumnavigate South Africa and to enter the eastern seas by the long voyage up the African east coast to Mombasa crossing from thence the Arabian Sea to the coast of Malabar in South India and from thence reaching Ceylon and the Far East. "The Malay Annals" give a vivid account of the arrival of the first Portuguese captain at Malacca in 1509. It reads as follows:

"All the Malayas crowded round him in wonder at the appearance of the Portuguese. They said, 'These are white Bengalis'. There were dozens of Malacca people round every Portuguese; some pulled their beards and patted their heads, others seized their hats or clasped their hands. The Portuguese captain went to interview the great Malay chief, the Bendahara. The Bendahara gave the captain's little son a Malay costume. The captain presented the Malay chief with a golden chain, and himself hung it over the sacred head of the chief. The chief's followers were angry, but the Bendahara restrained them, remarking, 'Take no notice; for he is a person of no manners'."

The Portuguese, who thus began to found an empire in the Far East, were at this time a precociously brilliant and adventurous race. They numbered among them some of the greatest names in the history of the sixteenth century. Three are specially famous. Alfonso d'Albuquerque was the outstanding imperial statesman of this time. Probably no conqueror who came from Europe to the East since Alexander, left a deeper impression on Eastern history than he did. The second name, which is still famous in literature to-day, is that of the Portuguese poet

Camoens, who served as a soldier in the Far Eastern Empire of Portugal. He wrote this famous epic while thus living in exile in Malaya. The third name is the greatest of all. It is that of Saint Francis Xavier who lived first of all in Western India and from thence went forward to the Far East. He made many converts from the outcaste Hindus and then tried to win the Muhammadan population to the faith of Christ. When he could not succeed in this endeavour he passed on to the Far East. At his death, his body was first buried at Malacca in the Malaya Peninsula and then removed to Goa.

The rule of the Portuguese was short-lived. In 1640, the Dutch captured Malacca and took all the Portuguese possessions from them. During the next century and a half this south-eastern corner of Asia was treated as a place for plunder rather than as a seat of civilization. The islands close to Malaya were used for the purpose of obtaining cloves and spices. A Dutch monopoly was held in this trade against all comers. The natives of the islands who grew the spices were treated as slaves of the company and they were ruthlessly pillaged on many occasions. The story of those days as told in the contemporary Dutch history makes terrible reading. At last, the monopoly of the Dutch was challenged by other rival European Powers but the Dutch interests were not completely broken until towards the middle of the eighteenth century. In India French rivalry sprang up in the Madras Presidency. The East India Company then began to press in on every side and towards the close of the eighteenth century the British succeeded in getting a footing not only in India itself in the three coastal areas of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, but also in the Malaya Peninsula at Penang. Malacca was captured in 1795. Then came the Napoleonic wars with the final struggle for power in the world outside Europe between the British and the French.

Early in the nineteenth century Sir Stamford Raffles came to this part of the world. He was a genius of the highest order and wherever his influence penetrated he left a mark which is noticeable to-day. From 1811-1817, he ruled over Java, and it was his deep interest in the archaeological remains of the East which rescued Borobudur from decay and ultimate ruin. At the end

of the war against Napoleon the spoils in the South East of Asia between the Dutch and English were finally ceded to Great Britain. Sumatra and Java and other islands of Indonesia were handed over finally to the Dutch.

At first the British settlements in Malaya were only at the coast. Penang and Malacca were the two ports that were made the bases of sea power at first. But in 1819 a momentous step was taken. Sir Stamford Raffles took possession of a sheltered harbour on a small island at the very foot of the Malaya Peninsula which was called by the ancient name of Simhapura, the Lion City. Raffles foresaw clearly the great geographical importance of the position and declared it a free port, from the first, in order to destroy the Dutch monopoly. To-day Singapore is reckoned to be the seventh port in importance in the whole world, and the volume of trade which passes through it is increasing every year. It is also being made into an immense naval and aeronautic base, which will be the strongest in fortification in the whole of the Far East.

The occupation of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles formed the turning-point in the history of the British power in South Eastern Asia. Along with Penang and Colombo it gave to Great Britain a complete protected sea route. This in turn made the trade with China naturally fall chiefly into British hands for a whole century. The importance of Singapore, however, is not merely that of commerce and trade; it has also become the centre of immigration for millions of Chinese, who have come there chiefly from Canton and the southern parts of China in order to make money in Malaya and then afterwards return to China.

This Chinese population has now been for nearly a century more or less a floating population. The work of development of the Malaya Peninsula has been carried on by these immigrants, who come on account of the high wages offered and then as soon as possible return home again. The vast extent of this seasonal migration in the past may be judged by the fact that between 1911 and 1921 more than a million Chinese went back to China and yet at the same time the Chinese population in Malaya increased by over 28 per cent. The most remarkable fact since the end of the World War has been the number of Chinese women who have accompanied their husbands owing to the

disturbed conditions in China itself. This is likely to increase the percentage of Chinese population as against that of India who has come for labour purposes across the Bay of Bengal.

I have ventured elsewhere to forecast with some confidence that Malaya must become in the future an integral portion of Greater China. The reason for this is not the immense flow of immigrants to and fro between Singapore and Canton, but rather this new feature of Chinese family life in Singapore and Malaya. For since the Chinese who are now coming to Singapore are bringing with them their families they will soon far exceed any other race.

The policy of the British Government at Singapore has been one of encouragement of this migration from China, leaving it to take its own free course. But one sinister aspect of this traffic has been the monopoly of opium which the Government of Singapore has possessed. The Chinese immigrants are in reality taxed for a very large part of the expenditure incurred in Singapore itself by the payments they make to the Government for opium smoking. In one year, not very long ago, the whole local expenditure of Singapore was covered by this opium taxation.

During the earlier period of the nineteenth century, up to the year 1867, the different possessions in Malaya, such as those of Singapore, Malacca and Penang, were governed from Calcutta by the Governor-General of India. They were actually a part of the British Indian administration. This made the connection with India very close indeed.

When the Queen's Proclamation was published in 1858, promising equal treatment of all races, the Proclamation was issued in Penang and Singapore as well as in Delhi and Calcutta.

After the year 1867, a new chapter in the history of the Malay Peninsula began. For the Straits Settlements were made into a colony and placed under the Colonial Office. They have remained under the Colonial Office ever since. It can be shown historically that their progress has been far more rapid under the Colonial Office than it was under the British Indian Government. The anarchy, piracy and free-booting, which was rife in the neighbouring Malay States, made it more and more difficult to keep the peace of the whole country intact without

taking under protection one Sultan after another, and federating the Malaya States under British rule.

A careful reading of the conditions during the period before they came under British protection shows that when once Penang and Singapore were occupied the further unification was inevitable. On the whole, the material progress of the different States, since the time when they came under British protection, has been remarkable. I have myself travelled both in the Federated and Unfederated States, and I have no doubt personally that the great improvement in the administration which has taken place is due—(1) to the separation of Malaya from the Government of British India, (2) to the remarkable series of administrators who have been able to work side by side with the Sultans of Malaya giving them help in their difficulties, keeping the peace, preserving order, and at the same time leaving them as far as possible with their own local powers intact. The settled peace which has prevailed in the Malaya Peninsula ever since the time when it was separated from the British Government in India, has produced a remarkable effect in racial union and racial intermarriage. Without this settled peace the races, which are so diverse as those of China, Malaya and India, could never have been kept side by side among their illiterate members without friction. Also the habits of dacoity which had become almost a second nature in Malaya, might have gone on increasing. But owing to the settled administration

the races have remarkably intermingled. Indeed very rarely have races so divergent become so friendly together as those in Malaya and in so short a time. A harmony has been springing up between all the three races and in certain important directions intermarriages are constantly taking place. The only stock which does not intermarry is the Hindu society where some caste traditions have been maintained. In other directions what we observe today is the formation of a new human stock in which three different cultures and three different races will probably in the end intermingle and unite.

Thus the Indians who go to Malaya do not go there as foreigners. They pass out across the Bay of Bengal to a country with which India has been intimately connected from the very first. The Hindu traditions are not alien to Malaya, but a vital portion of the most ancient civilization of the land. The Malaysians themselves have already imbibed that culture, and it remains deeply embedded in their legends, folk plays and songs beneath the exterior ceremonial of Islam. There should be no difficulty whatever in its revival. It is true that the course of events points to a predominance of Chinese population in the near future, but there is no reason why the cultural traditions of India should not remain as the background of the whole scene of human life in this wonderful land, if only the spiritual enterprise which prevailed in India in Hindu Buddhist times is not now lacking.

Puran Singh the Sikh Poet.

(1881-1931)

By K. P. JAYASWAL

ON the last day of March this year, Sardar Puran Singh, the mystic poet of Sikhism, passed away at his residence at Dehra Dun. Puran Singh is not to be claimed solely by Sikhism; he was one of our lords of letters, a poet who adopted the English language to offer his thoughts. He greatly resembles Tagore in style, freedom, force and mystic grandeur.

No one who ever came in contact with Puran Singh the Sikh devotee, or "Puran" the Vedantist, as he formerly was, could forget the man. As a man, Puran Singh was a greater national asset than even as the literary prince of the Panjab. His presence shed kindness and affection, it spelt relief and happiness to those who approached him. He would envelope you

with his love for God and yourself, you would feel he was entering your self when he recited some poems of his addressed to Him, tears rolling down his cheeks, face becoming brighter and brighter, his person almost reaching the stage of a spiritual trance. He would make you forget this material world for the time being.

It was a real privilege to be with Puran Singh, the Sikh devotee. From association with him, one could realize what spiritual personality means. He mainly drew upon Nanak and other saints of Sikhism; at the same time his ideal was Christ. He always kept an excellent picture of Christ in his room where he read and wrote.

Socially, Sardar Puran Singh was an institution. People flocked to him. His house, "Ivanhoe," became a second home to a number of friends. It was open, like a mosque, to one and all. Puran Singh, the Sikh gentleman and Mrs. Puran Singh the pious Sikh lady were brother and sister to every visitor, to every friend, they were more than host and hostess. Following Nanak spiritually and in practice, Puran Singh knew not that there could be any difference between a Hindu and a Muhammadan, a Sikh and a non-Sikh. Friends have told me many times—'You cannot think of Puran Singh without thinking of Khudadad Khan'. The latter gentleman—Dr. Khudadad Khan—was a friend of Sardar Puran Singh and lived with him in one and the same house at Dehra Dun like a member of his family up to the last breath of the Sardar.

Puran the Vedantist was a remarkable personality. I first came to know him as such: a faultless, slim figure with a clean-shaven, shining, calm, and uncommonly handsome face, having the lustre of a *yogi*. The young Puran had lightening in his speech. He was all-conquering when he talked. As he himself told me 25 years later, he felt, while a Vedantist, that he was united with every one and every thing. He mentally lived in all and all lived in him. He was all dignity. He practised the realization of the Great *Brahman* (ब्रह्म) within him. Every one who listened to Puran forgot that Puran was a young man; the listener felt there was a Master talking. If I try to describe the effect of a lecture of Puran the Vedantist I might be accused of exaggeration. For my own part, I can say that his lectures explained to me the truth

that Great Teachers were obeyed the moment they said 'Follow me'.

Puran the Vedantist was the superman to be obeyed, to be overpowered by. But when some five years later I met him again this time as Puran Singh the Sikh devotee, I saw a different spiritual personality. He was no more the Representative of the Great *Brahman*, he was no more *Brahman* no more an equal of God, but His most humble servant, most intimate servant most grateful devotee. He had ceased to be a superman to be obeyed, he was a fatherly friend to take over and share your sorrows to whom you would willingly confess, in whom you would seek and find repose. There was God all round him, hymns, Christ Nanak, Buddha, all,—in words, thoughts, on the walls, in Puran Singh's heart and in your heart. The same, though silent godliness circled round Mrs. Maya Devi Puran Singh at "Ivanhoe," where she presided not only over her own but also a number of women and girls whom we would, not she, call outsiders. Herself intensely religious, having descended from the family of a Sikh saint, Mrs. Puran Singh had in no little degree influenced the life of Sardar Puran Singh.

Had Puran Singh taken to politics, probably he would have died as the foremost political orator of his time. I did not hear him on the platform in latter times, but my Sikh friends who did hear him in Sikh conferences told me that he kept spell-bound huge audiences. He used to command a pin-drop silence, no one would cough or breathe aloud when he spoke. The hearer was filled in with Puran Singh's words, thoughts and zeal. It is worth noting the various phases of Puran Singh's career. He started life as a spiritual seeker, as a monk, and died a Sikh devotee, finding all that he wished for under his own roof, with his own family. Puran Singh began as a *fakir* and died as a *fakir*, only of a different kind.

His father was a Sikh, living in a village of Abbotabad in the Frontier Province. He was blessed with that variety of wealth which the Deity bestows on His own men—a dignified poverty. He earned his living as a small official. Puran Singh (b. 1881) was brought up as a Sikh boy by a religious and generous mother and a metaphysical father, in the Pathan village of his birth. Funds were not easily available and the mother moved to relations at Rawalpindi

for the education of her son who did his Entrance examination and was sent to Lahore for his college studies. Before graduation, he was awarded a scholarship to go to Japan in 1900. He studied applied chemistry at the Imperial University, Tokio, for three years. Towards the close of his sojourn, Mr. Puran Singh became a monk. From the Japanese whom he came to know intimately and amongst whom he met men of silence, men of joy, poets and artists, he 'found the love of flowers, of nature, and of Buddha.' He gained, as he himself relates, 'the new joy of freedom from self.' Everything dropped from his hands. He turned a monk. Tears of joy rolled down from his eyes, his words became as soft as cherry flowers dropping in the air. 'It seemed that I loved every one and every one loved me.' He was then in his full youth. Floods of ecstasy overwhelmed him. He found 'Buddha before me, behind me, above him, within him.'

In this spiritual state, Puran the Bhikkhu met Swami Ramatirtha, that highly intellectual Vedantist of the last generation, the Sannyasin who conquered all who went to him with an almost divine smile. This 'Indian Saint,' to quote Puran Singh himself, 'touched me with the divine fire.' Puran became a disciple of Ramatirtha, became a *sannyasin*, and started the practice of Vedanta.

The Vivekananda-Ramatirtha age moved the heart of even *sannyasins* towards political and social improvement of the Land of Sannyasa. Puran the Vedantist not only learnt Vedanta from his master, but along with it a curiously untraditional programme of attachment—of a Nation-making, of awakening India.

Puran arrived in India to work in obedience to his master's order. He obeyed, but the new programme of 'work' would not fit in with the ideal of self-realization. On his arrival Puran began to preach patriotism and practise Vedanta. In this condition, Puran was arrested in Calcutta by two persons who claimed to be his creditors. The bent and broken father and the elderly mother who had travelled from Abbotabad on hearing of the return of Puran, easily searched out the addressless monk. Face to face, all of a sudden, there was Puran the *sannyasin* with the mother who had brought him up and that mad onset of Abbotabad and the father who used to

dress him in velvet. Puran was emotionless. The tears drew no tears into the eyes. His clean-shaven head, the "Guru-given tresses" and the bitter sarcasm from the mother admired his son's path, and invited him to the mud-home at Abbotabad. This He went there. The half-starved sisters and



Puran Singh

pity though not his eyes (Ganga), in a few days died while she was breathing Puran's promise to wed the mother had selected Puran to the dying sister, which the family the return of Puran its support.

In 1904 Puran married Devi who belongs to the Rawalpindi. He took his and accepted a post in the

Jubilee Institute. He took up many industrial matters, e.g., manufacture of soaps, oils, etc. He was at this time the noted and foremost disciple of Ramatirtha. He founded a magazine called *The Dawn* and expressed his Vedantic thoughts through its pages.

In 1907, he accepted the post of the Chemical Advisor to the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun. Since then Dehra Dun became his home. Sannyasins and other religious men frequented his house there. He gave profusely and never kept a penny for the next day. The Vedantic doctrine of non-duality he put in practice in daily life. Every stranger was to him his kith and kin. His house belonged to one who came in and occupied it with him. He felt his unity with his creator and he was full of joy. This went on for some years at Dehra Dun. But this joy left him; he became unhappy; he would sit up at night, weeping and praying. Finally in 1911, he accepted the doctrine of personal devotion from a Sikh master. When I met him about 1919 soon after his retirement from the Forest Research Institute he related to me his acceptance of this new standpoint in his spiritual career. I found him then, and subsequently up to 1928, when I met him last, in perfect spiritual happiness and a fountain of kindness and love. Recently in the *Khalsa Review*

(Dec 1931), he wrote the story of his last conversion.

He retired from Government service on a small pension in 1919. As the Imperial Research Chemist he discovered some new forest oils which fact was noticed in the public press at the time. His chemical reports are marked with originality. In 1921 he became Chief Chemist to the Gwalior State and remained in its service for four years.

He used to write at a stretch. 'The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel' which is a 'translation' of hymns from the Sikh *Graanth* was composed at a continuous sitting of three nights and three days. The violent method which he adopted in his literary work probably is the main cause of his comparatively early death.

The photograph published with this article was taken in October last. His verses read is original. They are as little translations as Arnold's *Light of Asia* or Tagore's English poems. His main literary works in English are:

- "The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel" (Poems)
- "Fastening Beads" (Poems)
- "Seven Baskets of Prose Poetry"
- "The Book of the Ten Masters"
- "The Spirit born People"
- "At His Feet"
- "An Afternoon With Self"
- "Spirit of Oriental Poetry"
- "Life of Swami Ramatirtha"
- "Spirit of the Sikh"

He wrote largely in Panjabi as well.

Gaurmani's Son

By SITA DEVI

GAURMANI became a widow, when her son Kishor was a boy of eight. Not only had she become a widow, but it seemed as if the universe had become quite meaningless to her. She was married very young. She was the child of poor parents but was given in marriage to the son of an aristocratic family. But when she entered the house of her husband, the family was fast moving downhill and she found only a big house, falling into ruins, and the unbounded wealth of aristocratic pride. They had no longer the money to live like a great landholder but they made up for everything by an excess of dignity and highbrow airs. These never cost them anything. The high castle where she was never unbalanced

now, it had cracked in many places and the doors and windows had mostly broken down. Still they clung to it, as they had no other place to go to. They patched up the ruins somehow and lived on. There were two brothers, one widowed sister and the old mother.

Shribdas was the younger of the two brothers, and he married Gaurmani. Bipradas the elder, had been married long ago. Shribdas had remained unmarried so long on account of the calamity that had befallen his family. But a man, born in Bengal, seldom goes unmarried to the end of his days. So though he had made plans and not taken any step and no other friends were added, he had not

He found no bride in the great families, for they treated the unfortunate family with scorn now. Besides, Shibdas was too old and had no desire to be continually looked down upon by a bride who came from a rich family. So Gaurmani was picked out, she was the daughter of Jadunath, who had formerly been in the employ of Shibdas's father. The girl was only ten years old, but that did not seem to matter. In olden days, a very fair complexion was thought essential for the brides who entered the family. Gaurmani was dark, but even this did not matter. She was married off to Shibdas, and her people considered it a great good fortune for her and an honour for themselves.

Gaurmani came to live in her husband's house, her small forehead, profusely decorated with vermillion, and her arms loaded with auspicious bracelets of shell and iron. She could never regard her husband as a mere man, and her husband too, did not help her to do so, in any way. He remained distant to her, in the pride of his aristocratic birth and his manhood. Gaurmani's feelings towards Shibdas was partly that of a devotee at a shrine, and partly that of a mother to a big overgrown boy. She was not fully conscious of these things, of course.

Shibdas had inherited all the faults and good qualities of a noble house, in short, everything, except its wealth. He could not do a single thing for himself. As long as he had not married, life had been full of discomfort and want for him. His widowed sister tried to look after him, but she too, was a daughter of this family and brought up in its traditions. Not very long ago, every lady of the family had two waiting women each, so it was not to be wondered at that even the ladies had never learnt to look after themselves. So, Shibdas did not find much comfort in his sister's regime.

It is difficult to say whether Gaurmani was placed in the hands of Shibdas, or he in hers. For the first two years after her marriage, she came and went from her husband's house to her father's. But after that, she settled down permanently in her husband's house. She took up all the duties of the mistress of the house. She never rested from dawn to night. She worked on uncomplainingly. Her forefathers had served this family for ages and had thrived upon their bounty, so gratitude and loyalty to it had become second nature to her. Her love for Shibdas was not exactly the love

of a wife, but the devotion of a servant, the adoration of a man. The family was afflicted by Fate, and so deserving of greater consideration and love. Gaurmani learnt all her duties from her sister-in-law, and began to perform them so flawlessly, that even the aristocrats became loud in praise of her. Besides taking care of Shibdas, there were many other duties awaiting her, but she never paid any attention to these, till she had finished everything needed for the comfort and ease of her husband. Her mind would become extremely disturbed, if she made the slightest mistake in her husband's work. She cooked his food, she served them, she made his bed and tucked him into it. After he had retired, she used to sigh with relief and contentment. Her day's work was well done. Now she had a few moments to spare for herself.

For many years, she had no child. This made the complete dedication of herself in her husband's service easier for her. Her mother-in-law was dead, the sister-in-law was busy bewailing her own sad fate, so there was nobody to upbraid Gaurmani with her childlessness. Shibdas's elder brother had children. These would carry on the name and traditions of the family. So thought everyone, and no one bothered about Gaurmani.

So when Kishor came into her arms, Gaurmani felt very glad, but she could not spare him any time or attention; she brought up Kishor somehow, looking after him at intervals. Nearly all women are mothers first, wives after that. But she was an exceptional case. The claims of her husband always remained supreme. So even from infancy, Kishor grew up a bit independently. His mother ministered to his bodily needs somehow, but she did not help him in any other way to grow up. She washed and fed him and then shut him up in a room. She had other work to do and could not spare more time for the child. She never cared to know how he passed his time. If he cried too loud, she would peep in to see what the matter was. If she found something really wrong, she would come in to put it right, but if she found the child much as usual, she would go away at once, without stopping to talk to him or smile at him. She had no time to play with him, to fondle him, to forget herself in the ineffable joy of clasping his sweet soft body to her breast. Shibdas had usurped the place of god in her

heart and now he seemed to have usurped the place of her child also.

Kishor grew up. He had a peculiar nature, he never seemed to show any partiality for anyone. He would go to anyone, who served his purpose for the time being. "Look at him," his aunt would say, "he has not got a grain of affection in him. He is sure to become a dacoit." Gaurmani felt pained at these remarks, but she had no time to brood over them. Her sister-in-law had two boys, they were extremely gentle and proper. One could see they were of aristocratic origin from a mile off. But Kishor was a born vagabond, he had no attachment for any earthly thing or person. He had no great respect either for the "Thou shalt nots" of aristocratic life. He would laugh if anybody tried to enforce these rules. He did not care twopence for the dignity of his family. His father and uncle never received any veneration from him. Gaurmani was thoroughly ashamed of her son, but she did not know how to correct him.

Her husband's family had become totally destitute. Its wealth of money and jewellery and even its furniture and plates had long since fallen into the clutches of money-lenders. But here and there, a few relics of past greatness could be found. There were two or three things of this nature in Shibdas's possession. He had a huge *Gargara* of silver, which he still used for smoking. Gaurmani cleaned it everyday with her own hands, and kept its beauty untarnished. There were besides, a pair of very fine Cashmere shawls, which Shibdas would put on if he went out anywhere. Gaurmani did not possess a single bit of gold or silver. She had only her shell bangles, the sign of auspicious wifehood. But her old mother-in-law had presented her with a small vermilion box of gold at the time of her wedding. This thing Gaurmani treasured, kept hidden in her huge wooden chest. If ever she had the good fortune to see the face of a daughter-in-law, she wanted to give this holy thing to her as a present. These few things were really holy relics to her, she spent much time taking care of them.

Days passed on in a monotonous way. Since the day, she had entered her husband's home, Gaurmani had followed the same routine every day, except during the month of Kishor's birth. But this period had been full of d equ et and unhappiness for her

The discomforts, which her husband had to put up with, during her enforced invalidism made her sick with anxiety. She had sighed with relief when she was allowed to come out. She put away the child from her arms, and equally from her mind and took up her former duties again. Her health was perfect. So after this Shibdas had never to suffer, for want of attention from his wife.

Shibdas was a bit of a scholar too. He did not know English very well, but he was proficient in Sanskrit. Every morning he would sit down for a while, with his favourite book. When the time for taking his bath would come, Gaurmani would make everything ready for it, then go and call him. As soon as Shibdas departed, she would put up his books and his spectacles then depart to get his breakfast ready. She did all his cooking herself. She could not afford to keep a cook and she was afraid, too, to entrust the cooking of her husband's food to a paid servant. She had to cook twice as Shibdas and Bipradas ate a different kind of food from the rest of the family. So the two sisters-in-law cooked separately for their respective husbands and then did the common cooking by turns. The food intended for the masters of the house had to be perfectly cooked. Bipradas's children never made any remarks about this arrangement, which seemed quite reasonable to them. The elders were then superiors in every way, and so entitled to better food.

The first opposition came from Kishor. He sat down to breakfast one day and shouted, "Mother, I want that prawn curry."

"That's not for us," said his mother. "That's for your father. We have got fish soup."

"Give father the soup," said the obstinate boy, "I want that curry today."

Gaurmani bit her tongue in dismay. "That is impossible," she said. "He would never be able to relish that soup."

Kishor was stubborn, "I will eat that prawn," he shouted. "Why should father have the best things always?"

Gaurmani made no answer, but went to serve Kishor with the fish soup. Kishor kicked aside the plate and pounced upon the prawn curry which was standing near by. He had disappeared in an instant with the biggest prawn. It was too late to

procure prawns again and prepare it. So Shibdas had to go without his favourite dish that day. Gaurmani felt extremely ill at ease about it, and Kishor was deprived of his dinner as a punishment, but he did not seem a bit repentant.

Shibdas heard about this incident and remarked, "He is not being trained properly. He is greedy as a low-class boy."

"I don't know where he acquires these manners from," said Gaurmani. "He never sees anybody behaving in this fashion." Kishor's father and uncle ate delicacies everyday before the children, without ever sharing anything with them. But such behaviour never seemed wrong to them. They never thought they were setting a bad example. Gaurmani took the blame upon herself. She was not of noble lineage and Kishor must have inherited these plebeian instincts from her.

Kishor was a born iconoclast. He never looked upon anything with eyes of veneration. This thing pained Gaurmani most of all. Kishor was born of gentlefolk, yet he had no respect for his elders. This was unthinkable to Gaurmani. She had found fulfilment in dedicating her life to the service of her husband. She thought that to be the only way for all. Renunciation and loving service, these two things made up life for her. Kishor was only a boy, still his conduct seemed highly objectionable to her. Every night, after she had finished her day's work, she would bow down to the image of the family god and pray to him to change the heart of her son.

But no change was apparent in Kishor. He became worse and worse. One day, while Shibdas was taking his bath, and Gaurmani was setting out his breakfast, Kishor called to her from the bedroom, "Mother, come here."

Gaurmani thought that her son wanted her for something. She entered the bedroom and found Kishor in a state that nearly made her faint with dismay. Kishor had put on his father's spectacles and had painted a very fine pair of moustaches with the help of his pen. Seeing his mother, he laughed and asked, "Don't I look just like father, mother?"

Gaurmani gave him a resounding slap and snatched away the spectacles. She then dragged Kishor to the bathroom and washed off his artistic endeavours. She felt inclined to ask pardon of the defiled spectacles. She

did not mention the incident to her husband at all, for fear of incurring his wrath.

When Kishor was but eight years of age Shibdas suddenly fell ill. After a few days suffering, he passed away quietly. It seemed to Gaurmani, as if the world had tumbled down all of a sudden. Her life had become totally meaningless.

A few months passed away. Gaurmani had at first become quite dazed with grief. But as her senses returned she saw that she had ceased to be necessary to any one. Her relatives tried to comfort her. "You have your son. Bring him up properly, that's your duty now. Don't grieve for the departed. Life and death are in God's hands."

But Kishor had completely passed out of her control. He had been defrauded of a mother, by his father, when he needed her most. Now when Shibdas departed, leaving Gaurmani completely free, Kishor no longer had any need of her. Gaurmani never felt satisfied and at ease, unless she could lavish unstinted love and care upon someone, but it was impossible to take care of Kishor. From morning till nightfall, nobody found him at home, except at meal time. He went to school or absented himself according to his own sweet will and never paid heed to any reprimand. It was no use taking care of his room or things, he was incapable of enjoying them. He did not care twopence about family prestige and mixed with all the poorer people of that quarter. He played with them and went about all day, with them. He joined their musical and theatrical club even.

One day Gaurmani heard that Kishor had taken the part of a dancing-girl in an amateur drama, and was practising his steps at the rehearsal. She nearly fainted with shame and grief. The boy was bringing dishonour upon his family. How could she bring him back to the path of righteousness? She was an orthodox Hindu widow, she could not accompany her son everywhere and see what he was doing.

Feeling herself helpless she went to her sister-in-law. Bipradas never meddled in the affairs of his brother's family. This was the accepted rule of the house. As they divided their money and property, so they divided their affections, duties and responsibilities. They kept within their legal rights always and never passed the boundary line. Bipradas was as indifferent now as he had

been, when Shikdas was living. But this time, Kishor's transgressions had passed all limits. So when his wife informed him about Gaurmani's dilemma, he went himself and dragged Kishor home by the ear.

The result was the complete disappearance of Kishor for a few days. When he was found at last, he looked so wild and desperate, that Gaurmani did not dare to say anything to him. "You are dishonouring your name," was all she could say.

"What a fine name!" said Kishor militantly. "I cannot dishonour it more than any elders have done."

Gaurmani did not know what to say after this. She understood that she was powerless to control her son. He belonged to another world. He saw things differently.

Once she had left Kishor helpless, to fend for himself. Now he did the same by her. She clung to her god now, with her wealth of frustrated love and service. Her husband had once usurped the place of the god too, but the god did not bear any grudge and did not repel her in her hour of need. But her heart remained dry and parched.

Days passed, one by one. Kishor grew up into a young man, but his conduct became worse and worse. He passed the Matriculation examination somehow, then decided to give up studying. He was busy with amateur theatricals and musical parties. He tried his hand at literature too. He wrote fiction and poetry. He brought home the magazines in which these were published, but Gaurmani never looked at them.

Gaurmani's health had been perfect hitherto. During her husband's lifetime he had done the work of two persons, single-handed. But now her health began to break. She could not bear the terrible burden of uselessness. She had never been accustomed to think that she was not necessary to someone, that happiness and comfort of someone, did not solely depend on her. Shikdas's death had left her destitute in every way.

Her relatives began to advise her to get her son married. "Get him married," they said. "Then he will have some attraction for home, and you too will have somebody to keep you company. A woman can never live alone." But Gaurmani had no enthusiasm for such things. She wondered what kind of a daughter-in-law she would

have. Kishor's conduct was far from satisfactory, still as he lived outside for most of the time, his misdeeds did not pain her eyes, and sometimes she never heard of them. But if the daughter-in-law behaved like the son, home would become a torture chamber to her. She believed firmly that a wife should obey her husband implicitly and follow him in everything. So she knew that her son's wife would obey her son and not herself. So she was very half-hearted about arranging for Kishor's marriage. She had worshipped her husband's family with heart and soul and she wanted another exactly like herself for Kishor's wife. But where could she get such a girl?

Bipradas's eldest son was going to be married very soon. Gaurmani's sister-in-law came and said to her, "These people have got another girl of marriageable age. If you are thinking of getting a wife for Kishor, we can talk with them. They are quite ready to accept Kishor as a son-in-law. The girl is good-looking, we hear."

"Is the family good enough?" asked Gaurmani dispiritedly. "These modern girls are not to my liking. I dare not give word without knowing the particulars."

"The family is good enough," said her sister-in-law. "Else why should we select a bride from it? Still modern girls will be modern girls, they cannot be exactly like us. They are educated and accomplished. The modern young men want these things in a wife. Your son's wife must know how to sing at least. He is music mad."

Gaurmani did not at all want a bride after Kishor's own heart. Then the home would fall into ruins in no time. But in answer to her sister-in-law she said, "Very well, I shall speak to him."

When Kishor came home for his dinner, Gaurmani raised this topic. Kishor frowned heavily and asked, "What is the new wife going to eat here? Grass?"

Gaurmani was deeply pained. "Why?" She asked, "Did we live on grass?"

"I have seen how you had lived," her son said. "I am not going to inflict such punishment upon any woman. A human being is not a beast of burden."

Such comments hurt the mother deeply. Her life had been full of peace and contentment to her. She could not bear any insult to it. She never talked of marriage to her son again.

Bipradas's son was married off in good time. The bride was good-looking, and found favour in everyone's eyes except in those of Gaurmani. The girl was too different from herself. This girl could never lose herself in another's life. She had too much individuality. She demanded too much for herself. The ideal of womanhood, as Gaurmani knew it, seemed to have disappeared from the face of earth.

She sometimes thought of retiring to Benares, for the rest of her days. But she could not bring herself to give up this home where her husband had lived, these trifles which he had used. She took care of the house and all it contained as she had done in Shibdas's lifetime.

Winter came and she began to feel weaker than ever. But she gave herself no rest. She would rest for a few minutes, then fall to work again with renewed vigour. The home must not be neglected.

The last few days had been cloudy. That morning Gaurmani woke and found a bright sun shining. She resolved to give an airing to her husband's winter clothing before her bath. She never allowed Kishor to use his father's things, she kept them safely locked up.

She opened the box and then turned dizzy in dismay. The first thing that used to confront her eyes whenever she opened it, had been that pair of old Cashmere shawls. But she did not find them there today. She looked into every nook and corner, she emptied the box of all its contents, but did not find the shawls. She knew for certain, that she had not kept them anywhere else, still hoping against hope, she looked into all her boxes. They were nowhere. Then she collapsed. It seemed to her, as if she had lost one of her ribs.

Her nephew Nirad was passing by her door. Seeing her, sitting in such a desolate pose, he ran to her and asked "What has happened, aunt?"

"I cannot find his shawls anywhere," she said mournfully.

Nirad remained silent for a while, then he said, "Don't tell Kishor that I told you, else he will thrash me. He has taken away the shawls. He wants them for the theatre."

Gaurmani felt as if someone had dealt her a death blow. Such things could happen! The son defiling the dead father's garments! He could let an actor put them on!

Nirad had gone away. Gaurmani got up and looked all around her. Then for the first time in her life, she came out of the house in broad daylight. She walked on slowly, but steadily.

She knew where Kishor held his rehearsals. She entered, unknown to anyone. The rehearsal was in full swing then, she heard music, and songs and the shouts of the actors from the outside.

Slowly she came to the door of the hall, where the party was making merry. Nobody noticed her. She looked in and saw Naderchand, the cobbler's son, dancing a wild and obscene dance with those shawls on his shoulders.

"Kishor!" She called out in a wild voice.

Kishor was playing on the harmonium. His mother's voice made him start and jump up in dismay. He came forward rather alarmed and astonished and asked "Why have you come here?"

"You have brought your father's shawls here? Whom have you given them to wear?" asked Gaurmani in the same voice.

Kishor began to see light now. "What does it matter if I have?" he asked, a bit reassured now. "I will have them washed and cleaned properly."

"Don't, don't bring them back to my house," cried Gaurmani. "I won't touch them, I won't allow them to be brought in. You have allowed a dog to defile a god's belonging." She trembled violently and fell down in a faint.

She never knew who brought her home and how. On regaining consciousness, she found herself lying on her own bed. One of her nieces were sitting by her side. "Where is Kishor?" she asked.

"He had been here all the time," the girl answered. "He went out just now. Shall I call him?"

"No," said Gaurmani. "I feel all right now. You need not wait anymore." The girl went away.

Gaurmani sat up after a while. She sighed deeply and opened the wardrobe in which she kept her husband's things. She took out the silver *gargara* from it and brought out the vermilion box of gold from her own box. Everything Shibdas had used, she took out and carried to the kitchen. She made a bonfire and threw in everything there. She looked on a

the hell of a mother, blazing at the funeral pyre of her only son. The fire roared and shot up flames for a long time. Then gradually, it died out.

The world was no longer a good place for Gautmani. One month went by, then a

second. The third month was the last. She found her way out of this torture chamber in a dark moonless night. She departed, perhaps in search of him, who had been her only shelter. Life had become futile. Perhaps in death, she found fulfilment.

The Art of the Woodcut in India

A Review by

BY PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

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Nandalal Bose's woodcuts, some of them most beautiful specimens of this artist's work, were published some years back, and the advance made by him and his pupils in this branch of art is known among art-lovers in India. The publication of the work under review, however, in which one artist of the new school comes before the public for the first time as an artist-engraver, may be said to mark an event in the history of Art in Modern India. Although it is expressive of the direct impact of the most recent influences from Europe on the art of India, it is at the same time a resurrection in a novel form of an age-old artistic craft of the country—that of the wood-block for colour-printing—seeking to record our artist's impression of the life around him in a way never done before in India. The art of the printed book was unknown in India before its introduction by the Europeans in the 16th century; and, as Coomaraswamy noted in his great work on *Rajput Painting* in 1913, the art of book-illustration could not find a place in the list of Indian crafts—it was thus a chance missed. Judging from the quality of Rajput and other Hindu drawings for miniatures, it would have been a great enrichment of the world's art if Indian counterparts to the early Italian, German and Flemish wood-cuts and other forms so distinctive a thing in art, could have been achieved.

The art of engraving for printing would have gone parallel to the general development in painting no doubt,—in India as elsewhere, and it would be idle to think that India could have developed anything like the Chinese and Japanese coloured woodcuts; but the rich decorative feel and the wonderful colour-harmony shown in Indian figure printing on calico might have given something

marvellous in printing on paper were known. We do not know when and how the printing of cotton stuffs from designs cut on blocks originated in India. The Sanskrit word *chitra* when used with words meaning cloth or stuff (*vasana* or *vasana* etc.) may mean printed clothes, but the modern Indian word *chhant* or *chhit* the source of the English *chint*, cannot be a derivative of the Sanskrit word *chitra*. Be it as it may, actual specimens show the advance made in India in the art of printing on cloth from colour blocks at least as early as the 14th century. The *pinados* or stamped (and painted) stuffs, especially from Masulipatan and other places, were an important article of import from India into Europe from the 16th century, and some of the more elaborate printed stuffs were veritable wood-black pictures on cotton on a large scale. Such printed stuffs have been reproduced and described and we can only admire at the marvellous reproduction on cotton of exquisite Telugu and Mogul paintings with human figures in them. The art of woodcut and other kinds of engraving came in after printing was established, and we find from the early and mid 16th century a certain amount of engraving on lead and wood crude enough in their designing and execution, which illustrated popular religious books and romances. These together with a great deal of lithographic vignettes illustrating what are known as "lazar editions" of popular texts hardly deserve the name of art. Some fairly big sized woodcut printed on wretched paper dyed with colour by the hand also featured as popular religious broad-sides, as they had an iconic value representing divinities and religious scenes. The only merit of these crude productions lay in their adherence to the contemporary though sadly mutilated remnants of the medieval tradition in painting and drawing in the various provinces. They are the unskilled craftsman's treatment of such popular art as we find in the Calcutta Kalighat pictures. To illustrate books of a better sort, lithographs and woodcuts of pictures in a pseudo-European style came into vogue during the second half of the 19th century. Artistic book illustration was a rare

* Woodcuts, by Ramendra Nath Chatterjee. An album of twenty original woodcuts in portfolio, with an appreciation from Ramdramanath Tagore. 14"x11". Full cloth. Published by Tapan Mohan Chatterji, Bar-at-Law 10 Old Post Office Street and 33 Macleod Street, Calcutta, 1931. Price Rupees Twenty-five.





The Gate

up in India, and then came which put a stop to any artistic work in the line. In the first decade of the revival of Indian art was anindranath Tagore, it was in miniature, that was first of Indian artists discovered for people the depth and the religious pictures and melody romantic realism of Mogul scenes. They were equally in other discoveries were not, and then in sculpture. Under the inspiration of some from Orissa and Rajputanaed something of the facility their ancestors was attempted. The of European sculpture led in Bengal of a new and vigorous among artists mainly of the crafts were then taken in all this conscious movement vivification of the crafts is now the Fine Arts Section of the tion of Rabindranath Tagore

under the direction of Nandal of artistic a Lahore, J. in touch with the Indian artists by Bengal, through pupils of and members of the school directing the local training in crafts. But a school of artist can be said to have grown up alone, with Nandalal Bose and Nandalal Bose believes in all-round craftsman, and it is that in his own artistic craftsman as much as an artist Chakravarti, one of the most Nandalal, and a rising young footsteps of his great teacher Visvabharati Kalabhavana he foreign art while developing His training was supplied His sojourn at the Andhra Telugu National Art Academy as the director of its first occasion to study the calico printing from wood-block of a At

As of
Art Studio

The example and inspiration drawing Chakravarti and his brother artists to the craft of wood-engraving is European, but the technique is largely Indian, while the spirit is entirely of India. The modern revival of the woodcut in Europe is partly the result of a reaction against the mechanical process. Block certain new factors helped to bring about the style which is largely in vogue now. The meticulous working out of details which is characteristic of the classic 18th century style of line-engraving and the 19th century—especially Victorian—wood-engraving was no longer in favour—the tendency was towards impressionism, in which the broad essentials were emphasized upon. The artist himself is now the craftsman, so that his impressions he cuts out directly upon the wood; there is not that soulless solicitude to copy exactly. Moreover, as the European mind is becoming increasingly sensitive to other great forms of extra-European art, the pictorial art of China and Japan could not be prevented from having their legitimate contact with and influence upon the attitude and practice of European art. The technique of the Chinese and Japanese woodcut, which is so much studied in Europe now, could not dislodge the European technique already established for several hundred years, except in the case of the colour woodcut, in which China and Japan has achieved perfection, and where Europe lags far behind. But the far Eastern attitude towards life and art is becoming a thing of universal acceptance, to find out the fitness and beauty of common things. The artistic sense sees beauty everywhere, and it knows how to see it. It truly invests everything with the light that never was on sea or land. To cultivate that successfully is to be possessed of the wizard's magic wand, which transforms everything—the drab into the golden, the commonplace into the romantic. In modern literature this spirit is ample at work. Among the plastic arts it seems that the woodcut has permeated itself with this spirit more than any other art or artistic craft. The result is what we find to characterize the modern European woodcut—an artistic treatment of commonplace things and themes the beauty of which earlier artists could never suspect, going hand in hand with a boldness of execution which seizes the essentials, and which in its strength seems often to be rude. Moreover, there is a certain amount of sympathy with the subject—either the object depicted or the feeling of the artist himself—which makes this art something remarkable, and this sympathy has a clear and unmistakable note of sincerity about it. In the best work there is no pose and the simplicity of the technique adds a refreshing *vivacité* to the whole thing.

All these qualities which we note in the best woodcuts of the present day are to be seen in the work of Ramendranath Chakravarti now offered to the public. Readers of the *Modern Review* are already familiar with his paintings, and some of his woodcuts, which have appeared in this journal from time to time. The woodcuts now published in portfolio show some of the characteristic work of the artist, with his vigorous drawing and harmonious composition. The language he speaks is the universal language

of art, and as the artist is truly Indian and Indian-sensibility works they are as living, and modern, for the twenty plates show an imagination cuts the rest wide off. They embrace a range of subjects and really in this matter the power and versatility of our artist is made abundantly clear. There are landscapes and views, bird sketches, *genre* scenes, and decorative compositions, groups of trees at Santiniketan, Calcutta lanes, village shops and houses, a railway bridge, a scene from a play by Rabindranath with a girl dancing and the figure of the old poet seated and reading in most beautiful composition this one, a group of Santal girls in the deep, with men playing on drums, and other scenes from the life of the Santal aborigines settled round about Santiniketan. It is Santiniketan and Calcutta—seen in their contrasts—that have largely inspired the artist, the former with its trees and its village atmosphere, the latter with its narrow lanes, its drab houses and its blood-blot *bastees* or slums. The artist emphatically knows how to see, and he can also communicate his visions in a most convincing way. There is no doubt that this selection of his work forms a sincere and a faithful presentation within a limited compass of modern Indian life, with just a touch of romance in one or two scenes, and with all the beauty and sweetness of our domestic life underlying commonplace themes in a few others. I think Mr. Chakravarti's *Street Music* is a good picture, telling an eternal story in its broad and strong lines. *Hushtak Bee* is a decorative treatment of a very living village theme making quite a pastoral out of a scene from everyday life. *Santa, the Carpenter* under reveals a sense both of truth and of beauty. *The Gateway* brings in the sense of romance in a sunset landscape to a commonplace Calcutta courtyard, with its leafless trees spreading out their branches—there is in addition a distinct touch of the domestic and the beloved about this picture from life. *Bali Bridge* does full justice to the beauty of lines and of the Titanic vigour underlying a great feat of engineering. The bird studies are also quite faithful in line and form.

It is indeed a pleasure to contemplate these woodcuts as a whole, they form a splendid expression of the spirit of modern India through art and from that point of view it silently speaks out what volumes would fail to make clear. As a really artistic souvenir of India we cannot think of many books of this type. The general set-up of the work is as true as can be expected. One feature of the plates is that they are printed on thin hand-made Nepalese paper, cream-coloured, which is an excellent and very durable material for this kind of strong black-and-white printing. Every lover of art who sees the plates will agree with Rabindranath that "they are sincere pieces of work showing a rare combination of strength and delicacy in their spirit and execution." We recommend the book to the art-loving public, and considering the style of the work and the price (Rupees Twenty-five for twenty plates each of which is signed by the artist and can easily be placed at ten rupees), we hope it will not be long before the limited edition in which it is published becomes exhausted.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanngese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF CASTE IN INDIA
by Dr. Nripendra Kumar Datta, M. A., Ph.D.,
Professor of History, Hooghly College, Bengal.
Volume I (C. B.O. 2000-3000) Calcutta: The
Book Co. Ltd., College Square East, Calcutta 1931,
pp. 310, Cloth, Rs. 7.

The present work is the first volume of a comprehensive monograph on caste which the author has planned to bring out in three volumes, and which when completed will be a valuable addition to the descriptive literature on Hindu sociology in its evolution. In the two subsequent volumes the author intends to bring the story from 300 B.C. down to 1200 A.D. and from 1200 A.D. to 1900 A.D. Caste is one of the most characteristic things of Indian life, and its beginnings and evolution form one of the most baffling problems of our history. So many things have contributed towards the gradual crystallization of the system that even the most discriminating scholarship is apt to get lost in the maze. An occupational subdivision of the people which may be common enough in any Society has been further accentuated or cross-influenced by diversities of race, of invading conquerors establishing their superiority as a people, of religious sectarianism, and by many other causes, and it is difficult now to say which of these causes is the real mainspring of caste. The beginnings of caste go back to the beginnings of Indian history, when a fusion of the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultures and peoples started in an undated period in history, in some unknown corner of India—or, may be, outside India. We are now perceiving that the first chapters of Indian history have to be rewritten and the emphasis laid on Aryanism in Hindu culture has got to be scrutinized in the light of new discoveries. Until that is done and the origins of Indian culture are known in their proper light, it will be impossible to unravel the tangle of caste. In a very suggestive and a capital paper on the inter-relation between the Aryan and the non-Aryan cultures, Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda has put forward the view that the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas of ancient India in the formative period of her history, formed members not of the same racial and cultural and linguistic group, but of quite distinct groups—originally distinct racially, culturally and linguistically. "Survival of the Ancient Civilization of the Indus Valley is not a fact."

theory or suggestion would it found to be true completely upset some of our commonplace notions regarding the origin and the history of caste. Dr. Datta himself has discussed the problem in another way in his *Annihilation of India* with which well-written book the present work is linked to some extent. Speculations about the origin of caste are therefore for the present bound to be exceedingly tentative, and not much productive of fruit. Fortunately, Dr. Datta has not busied himself in that line of speculation. His researches have been mainly descriptive of the facts of caste from the oldest recorded period, with just as much inference or generalization as is warranted by the texts. He begins by quoting some of the well-known European definitions of caste, and by giving his own, which is comprehensive enough. The traditional Hindu views as in the scriptures about the origin of caste are then critically observed, as also those of modern scholars. Dr. Datta scouts Senart's opinion regarding the germs of caste going back partially at least to Indo-European times, and he pertinently brings in the question of colour (*varna*) as one of the fundamentals underlying caste in its origin in India—but still the presence of a notion of a division of society into groups or tribes as among the Indo-Iranians and Indo-Europeans cannot be dismissed as having had no bearing at all on caste in India. The first chapter in this way deals with the speculative side of the history of caste in its origins. The subsequent chapters deal with caste in the successive periods of the history of India—the Rigvedic period, the period of the Brahmanas, the Sutra period, and the early Buddhist period as well as caste in India as known to the Greeks. Dr. Datta has here given us a very clear and well-written résumé of facts noted in the scriptural literature of the period and many are the interesting and important bits of information he has culled which often throw quite unexpected light on the problem—a light which as often makes things clear as it brings in new complications by throwing into relief some unattended and obscure point which had so long remained outside our ken. It is not merely a catalogue of facts. A great value of the work lies in its sane and sober way of disposing them, and in the proper emphasis on some essential or important feature brought out in the headings of sections. In fact, the work is important as untold before us a panorama of the progress of caste in India during the period. The history of caste in India during the period is a story of the progress of caste in India during the period.

of tea and a little of other local products. The book is a useful thing in Dr. Bhatta's book, which I think can be recommended as a piece of conscientious research bearing ample testimony to the author's wide reading and serious thought in this knottiest problem of Indian social and cultural life.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Folk-Stories of the Land of Ind by M. A. Venkataswami, with a foreword by Sri Narayana Chandrasekhara. Pp. 219+XXXII, and three pictures. (Methodist Publishing House, Madras)

Mr Venkataswami has been a life-long collector and student of Indian folk-tales, his earliest efforts in this line having been published in the *Indian Antiquary* more than twenty years ago. This is the second book of collections that he has printed. It contains 15 tales followed by notes, containing much useful information and a long and carefully detailed index. Of the stories the longest 'The two Princes and their Sister' covers 37 pages, another 'The Prince and the Parrot' 32 pages, and three others 21 to 24 pages each. The rest are very short. Their special charm lies in their being so novel to readers in North India, not to speak of Europe.

J. S.

Pogus by Nicholas Nekrassov. *World's Classics*; The Oxford University Press.

Nekrassov is one of the less known of the 19th century Russian poets and the authorities of the Oxford University Press deserve the thanks of every lover of Russian literature for having made him so accessible. The first half of the book contains a translation of one of his most famous works,—*Russian Women*,—an attempt to celebrate the heroism of the wives of the princes sent to Siberia for taking part in the Decembrist Revolution. In the second half are shorter pieces dealing with various aspects of Russian life, and this is the distinctive feature of Nekrassov's work. As Abercrombie puts it: "We are not to expect in him those ideas which bear the unmistakable stamp of international currency, like the ideas of Goethe, Shelley, or Leopardi. His theme is simply Russia, what life in Russia is, and means, and even if it is what life in Russia wants, the want is as Russian as the fact from which it seeks to escape."

Childhood, Boyhood and Youth by Leo Tolstoy, translated by L. and A. Maude. The *World's Classics*. The Oxford University Press.

Childhood was Tolstoy's first published work and was followed by *Boyhood* and *Youth*. Various Russian and English publishers have made the mistake of designating these as autobiographies,—as histories of Tolstoy's childhood, boyhood and youth. Tolstoy protested against this and we have to take the work as the author wanted us to do,—we must enjoy it as a novel without any reference to the light it may or may not throw on the author's life; and as a novel it is highly enjoyable though it may not have the unity of impression of his greater works and the story remains more a series of sketches than a continuous work. Nor of

course does it come across full-length studies of men and women as in *Anna Karenina* or in *War and Peace*; but it would be unfair to this work to compare it with these. This has a narrower scope and Tolstoy shows us how working within certain self-imposed limits he can portray life and human nature.

N. SIMBHAVI

SPOTLIGHTS ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION by K. C. Sen. Published by The Dushiantha Publishing Co. Calcutta, pp. 211+101, Price Rs. 3.

The book suffers from its length, as the reader soon is lost in a forest of words, and the numerous printing mistakes serve only to increase the irritation and diminish the interest. The argument too is vague and uncertain, and generalizations which would be tolerable only in a second-rate newspaper do not improve matters. The subject is one which, above all things, demands careful scholarship and clear expression.

C. A. KROGH

AN ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA by B. L. Mukherjee, M. A., B. L., Principal, B. C. C. Training Institute, Solapur. Published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., pp. 166. Price Rs. 3-12.

This book does not lay any claim to originality but is a useful compilation from important contributions and the works of leading Indian economists dealing with various facts of Indian economic resources. The book is divided into fourteen chapters dealing respectively with the physical background, food and other crops, fisheries, livestock, mineral resources, forests, house building materials, transport, foreign trade, ocean routes and ports, distribution of population, and growth of towns.

Now that realistic economics and economic geography are drawing greater attention of students of commerce in all the important universities, the book should be three welcome as a valuable addition to the meagre stock of literature on the subject.

NAIRAKSHA SANJAL

Life of Buddha, by Narada Thero of Colombo.

A little book chronicling the life and teachings of Buddha. It is highly entertaining.

CRITH

NOTES ON SHRI RAJAH-LAKSHMI TEMPLE, KOLHAPUR by Professor K. G. Khandagale.

This small brochure of 44 pp. illustrated with 16 beautiful pictures tries to explain all that is worth knowing about this ancient temple of Kolhapur. The work shows evident signs of hurried preparation, having been probably intended for Lord Irwin's visit to that city about two years ago. While as a handy guide to curious visitors, the book may serve some useful purpose, it can by no means be taken as an authoritative pronouncement putting forth accurate facts of the origin and construction of this famous architectural monument.

is a student on the pen of a college professor and a foreword from another eminent research scholar of Bombay one would naturally expect the production to satisfy legitimate curiosity about this huge structure piled in hard black stone in a style quite uncommon and peculiar to itself. The subject is indeed fascinating and there is by now sufficient material available for the writing of a worthy treatise, provided the worker possesses the necessary patience and scholarly spirit. Since the southern Maratha country round about Kolhapur offers a fruitful held for investigation will it be too much to expect the present professor to continue his studies and publish definite results in medieval history particularly with reference to the Chalukyan and Shilahar Dynasties to whom perhaps much of the credit of these buildings is popularly attributed? The present monograph is more descriptive than critical, and hence cannot be said to have made a substantial addition to the present archaeological studies of South India.

P

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA: by Dr. T. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., pp. 125. Published by the University of Calcutta (1930).

The book is a collection of the five lectures which the author delivered as Reader of the Calcutta University in 1930. The first lecture gives an outline of agrarian conditions as presented by the Vedas, the Smritis, the Epics, the Puranas and the Arthashastra. In the next three lectures an attempt is made to give an historical account of the system of land-revenue in North India, the author deliberately excluding South India from his scope of study. The last lecture is devoted to the vexed question of the ownership of the soil in ancient India.

Nobody is more conscious than the author himself of the difficulty of the task he has undertaken. He has himself referred to the 'contrast between the great distance of time and place' covered by his study 'and the meagre evidence' on which he has to rely. He frankly admits that 'it is not merely in the insufficient quantity, but also in the poor quality of the available material that we have to seek for the sources of the great drawbacks in the way of our narrative.' It is only fair to admit at the outset that time has not yet come for writing the 'history of the land revenue system in ancient India.' But Dr. Ghoshal has done the next best thing, viz., to bring together the available data so as to lay the foundations of this important branch of study on a sure and solid basis.

The great merit of the book consists in the proper and scientific arrangement of these data and an honest attempt to interpret them without any preconceived notion to suit them to a definite theory. The data have been collected from inscriptions as well as literary sources and there is no doubt that the author has taken great pains to make them as exhaustive as possible.

The author has always kept in view the chronological and geographical aspects of the data. Law and customs varied in different times and in different regions, and the author has therefore grouped the available materials round definite regions and chronological periods.

Although the nature of evidence forbids generalizations, Dr. Ghoshal's painstaking researches have enabled him to formulate some interesting general principles which may be taken as working hypotheses for further study. We may refer below to a few of them:

(1) Assignments played a relatively unimportant part in the agrarian system of Northern India and the king's revenue officers dealt directly with the cultivators.

In other words the farming system which played such an important part in Muslim India and has been perpetuated in the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was but little known in ancient India.

(2) The land-revenue was most often fixed on the basis of a certain share of the produce.

(3) Land-revenue was paid both in kind and cash.

(4) In addition to the land-revenue paid by the cultivators the king derived his income from what may be called his private lands.

In certain parts of India the king had only his private lands to rely upon and had no right to any land-revenue properly so called. This corroborates, according to the author, the view of Raden-Powell that the Dravidian land system was distinguished from the Aryan by the fact that in the former the king originally received only the produce of his farms in the villages to which was only afterwards added the customary grain share from nearly all village lands. The book seems to be singularly free from ordinary mistakes, still we must draw the attention of the author to the first three lines on p. 51 where the words 'former' and 'latter' seem to have interchanged places.

The author has very lightly touched upon the topic as to whether there was individual ownership of land in the form of villages in ancient India. He is in favour of the former view while Rhys Davids specially stressed the latter. We have a right to expect a more elaborate treatment of the topic from the learned author.

The conclusion of the last chapter also seems to be somewhat abrupt.

But these criticisms do not detract from the real merits of the work which is a distinct contribution to the literature on ancient India. It is a scholarly work in every sense of the term and we congratulate the author on his success.

R. C. MAZUMDAR

ON PERFECTING WORLD: Zarathushtra's Way of Life by Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, Ph.D., D. Litt., Oxford University Press, 1930; pp. XVIII+366.

The author, who is the High Priest of the Parsis at Karachi and is well known as a writer on Parsi religion, chooses a significant title and undertakes to prove that the world is becoming more and more perfect in religious, mental, social, economic and physical aspects. It is evident that the canvas that he has chosen is pretty big and it must be said to his credit that although his delineation cannot from the nature of the subject-matter, admit of much originality, he has succeeded considerably in filling it with a variety of details which cannot fail to produce the impress on that

sive and elaborate scale, and the highly developed human unit or personality. The author takes care to point out that this division into phases must not be understood to imply that only one type of organization existed in each successive epoch, for in reality, the Family, the Clan, and the Personality or Individual in the Community have existed in each of those stages. But the author maintains that in the first age, the Tribal principle was dominant, in the second the Familial, and in the third the Personal will be dominant. All the lines of human progress, the author thinks, emerge and meet in one focus which is the *Joint Co-operative Household*. "The new element does not so much supplant the old one as join on to it." Dr. Muller-Lyer expects that both the small domestic household and the large joint co-operative household will exist in the cultural phase which is now dawning, side by side, interacting on each other, and on the other social and economic institutions.

The volume before us is the product of much learning, patient study and earnest thought. Although some of the conclusions of the author will be doubted and debated by most sociologists, it cannot be denied that the author throws new light on some aspects of a most fascinating subject. The volume will form a welcome addition to the sociologist's library.

S. C. Roy

PRINCESS KALYANI By Mrs. S. Ghosal (Srimati Svarna Kumari Devi). Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. Price Rs. 2.

Princess Kalyani, a play in three acts, is an allegorical drama illustrating the worldly tragedy of the sacrifice of good at the altar of might. It also depicts,—fatal events and forced obscurity notwithstanding, the final emergence of truth which is in active and genial sympathy with the universal order of things. In actuality, it is a simple story of doting love and court-intrigue of a widowed king marrying a fair woman who is foul at heart, of an intriguing queen and a magnanimous prince wandering *incognito*, of a gentle princess staking her life and fortune for the sake of the oppressed and the helpless, and of tragic death averting a very likely happy ending by the merest chance. Diruba Kumar, the hero of the play, is a shadow figure, but princess Kalyani his sister is drawn in delicate lines and beautiful colours. Marugini, the evil genius of the play, is quite lifelike. The gifted authoress, Srimati Svarna Kumari Devi, is undoubtedly the greatest woman writer of Bengal, and here and there her influence may even be traced in the writings of her world-renowned younger brother, Rabindranath Tagore. In its foreign garb, this Eastern drama looks a little weird, but it does not lose much of its charm, and some of the songs are finely rendered in musical English poetry. Our appreciation would perhaps have been of the nature of unstinted praise, had the drama not been invested with an allegorical form. No one, except perhaps John Bunyan, has been able to write a quite successful allegory, and even the greatest masters of literature sometimes nod, when they try to express themselves in this alluring form. The symbolical significance of the names does not mar it much but the twist one has to give to

a story to have it always in keeping with the allegorical details makes a play, however skilfully executed, a little artificial if not dull. However we are one with our learned English friend—A Biddhist Bhikshu—who has written an introduction to the book, in his remark, "Whether taken as an allegory or as plain drama it will yield the reader equal pleasure and profit."

SATENDRA KISHINA LAH

INDIAN INDUSTRY By M. C. Matheson. 1934. Publishers: Humphrey Milford. Price Rs. 1-8.

The present volume is the outcome of the labours of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon which has been directed to "give the needed information and guidance to the Council and to missions and churches in studying the subject further and in rendering suitable service to the industrial population." The services of Miss M. Cecile Matheson, a lady well known and widely respected in England for her experience in industrial investigations and welfare work were secured for a period of two years and the studies made by Miss Matheson with the help of Miss Wingate of the Y. W. C. A. and Mr. R. Monohar Lall of the Y. M. C. A. form the basis of this book.

The book deals mainly with the problems of industrial welfare work in India and as such fills up a most important gap in the literature on Indian industries. It is divided into three parts dealing respectively with a short history of the movement for improving labour conditions in factories, with present day conditions, and with the future outlook. It is a most reasonable publication and will be read with considerable profit by all who have the welfare of the country and her industrial labour in particular at heart.

Miss Matheson must be congratulated for the very thorough manner in which she deals with the various labour problems in India, unlike the casual winter season visitors from abroad who rush to print without any proper grasp of the situation.

The value of the book is considerably enhanced by a few appendices dealing with the specific directions in which the reform movement in India may be taken, as also with the problems of women workers in cotton mills and in coal mines.

N. SANJAL

SANSKRIT

NETRA-CHIKITSA by Dr. B. S. Mooney. A monograph on ophthalmology written in Sanskrit for the benefit of students and practitioners of Ayurveda.

The book is intended to be completed in three volumes of which the first volume has been sent to us. In the present volume the author has ably dealt with the anatomy, physiology and pathology of the eye and practical optics including the modern methods of examination and the principles of treatment both Ayurvedic and Western in an ornate literary style which, for a technical work, is admirable. The get-up of the work and its illustrations are also excellent.

We are now at the point where we are moving a long-felt want by this text-book, which will no doubt stimulate a comparative study of the Eastern and Western systems of this branch of medicine. That the toils and hardships of his incessant political activities have not deterred him from such an undertaking proves the zeal of the author.

With the growing popularity of Ayurveda there is a growing demand for such text-books and the present work will go a long way to establish a link of communication between the sister sciences of the East and the West.

The literary *lingua franca* of all India at least so far as Ayurveda is concerned, is and has always been classical Sanskrit. It devolves upon all Indian students of medicine to acquire proficiency in this language to open the vast treasures of yore and to make India independent of foreign languages, so far possible, by a restoration of India's glory in Sanskrit. This, we think, is possible only by a free assimilation of the modern scientific truths in order to replenish and remodel her own ancient knowledge to our best advantage.

Nothing should be sacrosanct in our quest for truth and we should not hesitate to learn and to subject to critical analysis all our ancient wisdom before we assert anything dogmatically, merely on the basis of *Smṛiti* authority. In the words of Dr. Moore: "This inordinate respect for *Shābda Prāmāṇya* has done incalculable harm to the cause of the rise and progress of the physical sciences in India."

In conclusion we must confess to a sense of disappointment to find that the author has not acknowledged his indebtedness to Mahamahopadhyaya Chananath Sen's well-known Sanskrit work on anatomy (*Pratyakṣa śarīram*) though he has very largely drawn upon the new and old anatomical terminology coined or identified in that work.

We would also suggest to the learned author that in writing the two future volumes he may make his work more helpful to students by making his sentences shorter and the style simpler.

DANIEL

BENGALI

GANDHAKA - *By Parasuram*. Published by Messrs M. C. Sen and Sons, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 1-1.

Comic sketches relieve us of much of the boredom we very often feel in our day-to-day life. But that branch of light literature demands sharpness and power of observation and delineation which are not common. Most of the comic writings are ephemeral. But the author of the book under notice who assumes the pen-name of Parasuram, is a past master in this art. He has created not a few types whom we almost see living and moving amongst us through the pages of his book. The author who is a successful business man took us by surprise by these brilliant sketches of our present-day society which were new, vigorous and life-like, and he was at once welcomed to a rightful place of distinction. He has not only been successful himself, but has made the task difficult for others. The writer was most ably assisted by the artist, Mr. Jatindra Kumār Sen who has added to the great effect of the sketches. The line-

work of the latter is definitely of a very high order. The book has already appeared in a Hindi translation.

KISLAY : *By Mr. Mahendra Chandra Roy*. Published by Mr. Bisubhuti Bhattacharya, 181, Raja Duttanagar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 100. Price annas 12.

The best of moral lessons are lost upon the juvenile generation because they are inculcated rather than inhaled. We are thankful to Mr. Roy who, though himself a teacher, prefers to be a friend. He has done well by choosing to give the impressionable and adolescent minds a philosophy of life couched in a charming style and tinged with sympathy. This book will be enjoyed by boys and girls of the higher classes of our schools.

UNION SWA PANCH SATH BANGLA - *To be had of the Union Publishing Co., 26, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 118. Price Rs. 1-1.*

The Partition of Bengal marked a new epoch in the political thought of Bengal. The outcome of it was the Swadeshi Movement. The people were roused to a new consciousness of self-help, and political propaganda was backed up by commercial regeneration to a certain extent. Practical patriotism was considered a crime by the authorities and many people had to suffer for preaching patriotism and the Swadeshi. The history of that time (1905) is the first chapter in that of a new period of Indian history. Many incidents now forgotten and embedded in the columns of newspapers have been collected in this book. The Swadeshi days will be recalled by these pages. There are some illustrations of the leaders of that time.

PAULS BAST

MEGHADUTA, SANSKRIT TEXT IN BENGALI CHARACTERS WITH BENGALI VERSO TRANSLATION ON OPPOSITE PAGE : *by Purni Mohan Sen-Gupta, with a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasada Sastri, and an Introduction and geographical and other notes by Prabodh Chandra Sen, M. A. Illustrated with vignettes, three illustrations in colour by Ranenayath Chakravarti and a map. In card-board box. Cloth. pp. 34 + 122 + 11. Published from the Indian Publishing House, 22-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Some literary masterpieces are not quite translatable in another language, so closely is the rhythm and music of the original wedded with the sentiments and thoughts occurring in it; and the *Meghaduta* of Kālidāsa is certainly such a masterpiece. Yet scholars and lovers of this gem of literature have tried to do what would appear to be the impossible, and this apparently untranslatable work boasts of a number of translations in different Indian and European languages. The rhythm and character of Sanskrit is quite different from those of a modern language. Translations of a work like the *Meghaduta* have perforce to take up the aspect of a new or original work, when we think of the original. We should be thankful to the translator if he can give us something at least of the beauty of the movement and cadence of the original. If we compare for instance the earlier English translation of the *Meghaduta* by Horace Hayman Wilson with the more recent one by A. W. Ryder we at once note the difference.

But for the English translator, who seeks to give the average English reader a taste of the beauty of the Sanskrit which must remain foreign to him, there are excuses if the musical quality of the original cannot be adequately rendered a translation of the ideas should be thankfully accepted, provided these ideas retain something of their original beauty. But the case becomes different for the translation of a Sanskrit text into a modern Indian language for Indian readers who are more or less familiar with the march of the word-music and the ideas of the original: more so when a great deal of the words employed in the Sanskrit text forms also the speech-commodity of the Indian language. The verse rhythm of a modern Indian language like Bengali is a thing quite different from that of classical Sanskrit, and for a poet in Bengali to be able to give in his verse some notion of the majesty and the sonority of the Sanskrit is a feat which can be described as well-nigh impossible. Verse translations of the *Meghaduta* into Bengali present a respectable lot—we have some half a dozen of them, but they are in spite of many excellent qualities mostly unsatisfying—when we think of the original. Translators often forget that a great deal depends upon the choice of a suitable metre which would give some echo of the march of the original. More frequently the right choice is not made. In the present translation a verse of 26 morae divided into groups 7+7+7+5 has been chosen which comes near enough to that of the *Mandakranta* line of the *Meghaduta* with its 27 morae, and this seems to be most suited in Bengali for the *Mandakranta* although the effect is not the same, the length of the line gives a sweep which recalls, though in another way, the majesty (if not the sonority) of the original. This metre has also been tried by another Bengali translator of the *Meghaduta*, Mr. Sudhansu Kumar Haldar i.e. Mr. Sen-Gupta's rendering on the whole is faithful, and reads smooth and clear in the Bengali, and frequently the words of the original are retained, giving some illusion of the original. I am inclined to think that this is quite a good translation in Bengali verse of the original—and I am tempted to say that so far it seems to me to be the best. It is eminently readable for the average Bengali reader who does not read Sanskrit—it is not like those translations which one cannot understand unless one refers to the original and that, combined with its fine verse rhythm, gives its value.

The very suggestive paper of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri and the learned introduction of Mr. Sen, one of our rising young scholars in Indology and a well-known writer on Bengali Metrics, greatly enhance the value of the work, as do the exquisite illustrations by Mr. Ramendranath Chakravarti, and the map carefully prepared by Mr. Sen. The printing and get-up are beautiful and the work forms a handsome gift-book in Bengali.

SUNATI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

(GUJARATI)

BAHUKAN. By Prahalad Thakoral Munshi. B.A. I.L.B., Vakil, Broach and Baroda. Printed at the Nav Gupat Press, Cloth bound. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 1.

Mr. Munshi's play, which is more fit for action on a stage to be effective than reading, is concerned with the ever-present blot on Hindu Society marriage of an old man to a young girl,—allowed,—remarriage of a child-widow, under any circumstances whatever disallowed. Rama a girl married and widowed within three months of the marriage when still a child, is not allowed to remarry a young man of her choice while her grandfather, a very old man who was responsible for her marriage in infancy, makes every preparation for marrying a girl of tender age, her friend. The shock to both of them is so great that they succumb to it and die. The circumstances are tragically put and the language in the mouths of some of the characters rise at times to some height. It has already proved a success on the stage.

HATHI KA DANT. By Purushottam Trikamdas Bar-at-law. Printed at the Lokana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. Illustrated cover. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1 (1931).

The author was convicted and sent to jail during the Civil Disobedience movement and has utilized his leisure in prison for producing this skit, in the form of a play being the revolt of wives against husbands due to inequality of treatment concerning moral lapses. The title in Gujarati means, tusks of an elephant, and it is a play on the words of a Gujarati proverb which says that the teeth of an elephant are of two sorts, one set for chewing, another for show. Thus men who are hypocrites have two different codes of morals, one for themselves, another for their wives. Husbands can go wrong with impunity, wives cannot. Women therefore start a society for encouragement of those who want to repay their husbands in the same coin as themselves. One of the members does try, out of bravado, to go wrong, but he is said to her credit, that at the last moment, the innate modesty and chastity of her sex come in the way and she does not go the full length. The author has chosen his character from the Brahma Society of Bengal as divorces are allowed among them and as his characters have to resort to the divorce court. The presiding judge, however, being a man the story of the feminine petitioner is disbelieved and she loses. The play furnishes pleasant reading.

ADHYANA PARYAN. The full: by Harindra Chattopadhyaya. Pp. 14. Price half anna.

It is a Vanarsena series production and a translation. It is well done.

BAHA RASMAN KA RAJ. By M. P. Sheth. Printed at the Arya Sudharma Press, Baroda. Paper cover. Pp. 71. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1931).

This is a collection of poems and describes the present state of the feeling of our countrymen who are thirsting for independence. They are written by one who is trying to enter the province of being a poet, and necessarily suffer from being commonplace and other like defects. Time however will do its own improvement.

HINDU SANGRAHAN. Translated by Thakur Narayan Visarup. Printed at the Arya Sudharma Press, Baroda. Thick card-board. Pp. 51+231. Price Re. 1-8 (1930.)

The late Swami Shradhanand had written

1925 a few months before his murder, (in 1926) a book called, "Hindu Sangathan Saviour of the Dying Race." It is a powerful plea for Hindus, if they desire to save their race from being wiped out, to coalesce and throw away those artificial conventions, which prevent them from so coalescing. It has already been translated into Marathi and Hindi, and a translation into Gujarati was certainly overdue, and it has now come from the pen of Mr. Thakkur, who feels equally keenly on the subject as the late Swami. He, too, like him, condemns the passivity of the Hindus, and is alive to the danger of the active inroads made and being made on Hinduism by non-Hindus, like the Christian Missionaries and Mahomedan Daees. It is for this reason that he has not satisfied himself by merely translating the book but has added interesting notes of his own, to elucidate the subject further. He is a voracious reader and hence, has been able to reinforce his convictions and views by extracts from works of well-known scholars which leave no doubt as to the motives of those who seek to wipe out the "Dying Race." All those who feel proud at being called Hindus should read the book.

K M J

MARATHI

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DAFTER: No. 13, *Bajirao's entry into Malwa and Bundelkhand*, pp. 56, one map and one plate (10 annas). No. 14, *Maratha Conquests in the North 1732-33*, pp. 70 and one plate (12 annas). No. 15, *Bajirao's advance upon Delhi 1737-38*, pp. 110, one map and one plate (12 1-4s 3). (Govt. Central Press, Bombay).

With the last of these parts, the publication of historical documents reaches nearly 1,400 pages, and we understand that five more parts are in type. This is an achievement very much to the credit of the Bombay Government, as all students of Indian history will gratefully admit. These three parts transcend in value anything else previously published in this series, as they elucidate, with a wealth of minute details and exact dates, the dazzling career of the most brilliant of the

Peshwas, Baji Rao I (1720-1740), which was hitherto known to us in outline only and mostly from contemporary Persian or later Marathi sources. But here we have the actual despatches and State-papers of that great ruler and other makers of Indian history laid before us for the first time. For a full history of Baji Rao's amazing career these three parts have to be supplemented by certain other parts, viz. 9, 10 and 12, besides, for the abortive Jajjura campaign. Some of the documents relating to the Dhabales (Part No. 12) were previously available in the *Life and Letters of Bodhimendra Swami* by D. B. Parasnis.

The supreme importance of the three parts under review lies in the light they throw on the Maratha penetration into "the North," i.e., Berar, Malwa and Bundelkhand. Only the net final result of these operations was known before, with the outlines of the defence offered by the imperial Government's local representatives, Girdhar Bahadur, Daya Bahadur, and Muhammad (not Mahmud, as printed in the introduction to No. 14) Khan Bangash. But the Marathi letters here printed enable us to fill the picture in and invest it with flesh tints. They make some very important corrections in the hitherto accepted history of Central India during this period, which was derived from Persian sources. For example, the chronology of the last years of Daya Bahadur, which was left unsettled in my annotations to William Irvine's *Late Mughals*, vol. II, pp. 213-214, is here fixed on a correct basis. We know before that Girdhar Bahadur was killed on 26th Nov. O.S. (= 8 D. N.S.) 1728, but the place was Amhara near Minda as these records tell us. In addition, we now learn that Daya Bahadur fell in the same neighbourhood within a month of Girdhar's death, and not in 1729 or 1731, as conjectured in the *Late Mughals*.

At this time the Delhi Court was utterly decadent, nobody felt it worth his while to write a detailed narrative of the affairs of any province of such an impoverished empire, the news-letters that may have reached Delhi in that period have all perished. Hence, the Persian histories entirely fail us here. Herein lies the inestimable value of these Marathi records for North Indian history, too.

In Part 15, letter 41 was written from Jaipur and refers to that city and its ruler (locally called Shrip)

JADUNATH SARKAR



A Scrutiny of the Historical Readers Approved by the Bengal Text-book Committee

By BENOY KRISHNA MITRA

In the Modern Review for June, 1931, we promised this scrutiny. We have to do this disagreeable work not for pleasure but from a sense of duty.

HISTORICAL READERS FOR CLASS III

1. 'Galpe Itihash'—by Balu Harinada Ghoshal.
(i) The book is written in the colloquial dialect of Calcutta, which, from the point of view of a Tippera or a Chittagong boy, is open to objection.

(ii) Page 4, para 3. The para begins with stating that Agastya starts for the Deccan and comes near the Vindhya. It ends by saying that the gods repair to Agastya to induce him to approach the Vindhya.

(iii) The book is marked by a feverish anxiety to keep near the page limit of 50. The author began naturally but he had to reduce the size of his stories mercilessly when he found that he was going to exceed the page limit. He has finished the story of David in 13 lines, whereas he began the book with the story of Agastya in 100 lines. Similarly Haun-al-Rashid has been finished in 13 lines and the 'story' element is totally absent in the narration. If all the three examiners give first-class marks to this book, they badly stand in need of medical treatment.

2. 'Sural Purakatha'—By Maulavi Kazi Akram Hussain, M.A. and Maulavi Abul Hashem, B.A.

Page 11 মহাবীর তাঁহার তপস্তায় সন্তুষ্ট হইয়া তাঁহাকে বরদর্শন নামক অস্ত্র দান করিলেন। এই অস্ত্র লাভ করিয়া বিশ্বামিত্র—

Translation. Pleased with his austerities Mahadeva gave him a weapon called the Dharmachakra (Science of Archery). Viswamitra having won this weapon

The science of Archery passed as a weapon only through the influence, another potent weapon, viz., the science of persuasion!

(ii) Minor inaccuracies in this book are too numerous to enumerate.

(iii) The story of Vikramaditya has very little of history in it. The author's account of the famous throne of Vikramaditya resting on 32 dolls is very funny.

"তাঁহার বিচারদানের নাম ছিল সিংহাসন। পাথরে গড়া কায়কট সিংহের উপরে আসনটি স্থাপিত ছিল—অতঃপর তিনি সিংহাসনটি লইয়া গিয়া আগুন সভাগুহে স্থাপিত করিলেন। তিনি উহার উপর বসিয়া বিচার করিতে বসিলেন, এমন সময় আসনের নিরস্ত্র সিংহেরা দানুর্ভব দন্ত কথ্য করিয়া..."

The transformation of the famous 32 dolls into lions is a brave innovation indeed!

A further scrutiny of this book would be only undertaking its revision without fees!

3. 'Itikahin'—by Hosmat Ali Chowdhury, B.A. B.T.

(i) Page 10 The story of Harish Chandra begins

"বহুদিন হইল ভাববৎসর হরিশ্চন্দ্র নামে এক রাজা ছিলেন। দানশীল বলিয়া তাঁহার খুব নাম ছিল। বিশ্বামিত্র যুনি কোন কারণে তাঁহার দানশীলতা পরীক্ষা করিতে ইচ্ছা করেন। রাজা হরিশ্চন্দ্র তাঁহাকে যে কোন জিনিস চাহিতে বলিলেন। বিশ্বামিত্র তাঁহার সমস্ত রাজত্বই চাহিয়া বলিলেন..."

The Pauranic stories may be *beauties* goods, but they are not exactly as *beauties* as the writer supposes!

(ii) Page 43 The story of Moses

কেবাউলের দ্বী নদীতে স্নান করিতে বাইয়া --

The Old Testament requires correction in this particular point as it speaks of Pharaoh's daughter and not wife, as Mr. Chowdhury would have it

4. Prachin Itihasher Galpa: By Babu Lakshmi Kumar Sen, B.A. B.T.

(i) The story of Harish Chandra begins—

"প্রাচীনকালে অযোধ্যা নগরে হরিশ্চন্দ্র নামে এক রাজা রাজত্ব করিতেন। তাঁহার রাণীর নাম ছিল শৈব্যা আর পুত্রের নাম ছিল যোহিতাশ। মহাবাজ হরিশ্চন্দ্র খুব দানশীল ছিলেন।

"একবার মহাবি বিশ্বামিত্র হরিশ্চন্দ্রের রাজসভায় আসিয়া বলিলেন— 'মহাবাজ। দাতা বলিয়া আপনার খুব নাম। তাই আজ আপনার নিকট আসিলাম।"

This author is also under the happy delusion that Pauranic stories are *beauties* goods!

(ii) The story of Bhishma narrated after the story of the Kurus and Paulavas.

(iii) The historical story of Hassan and Hussain has been treated unhistorically.

5. Sisupathya Sural Itihash. by Professor Sudendra Nath Banerjee, M.A.

(i) Story of Harishchandra —

"...পৃথিবীর রাজা হরিশ্চন্দ্র এবং তাঁহার বাণী শৈব্যান এইরূপ অবস্থা দেখিয়া যমরাজ অবিলম্বে সেখানে আসিলেন এবং তৃত বালাকব গায়ে হাত বুলাইয়া তাহাকে বাঁচাইয়া দিলেন।..."

The introduction of the god of Death is a welcome improvement of the Pauranic story, but licences like these could be taken undetected only before the advent of printing-presses!

(ii) The story of Viswamitra and Vasistha

...তখন রাজা জোব বসিয়া গাভীটি কাড়িয়া ধইতে গেলেন। ইহাতে যুনির সহিত রাজার বিবাদ বাধিল। যুনি সরল্য সাহায্যে অনেক সৈন্য হুটি করিলেন এবং বাজার সহিত যুদ্ধ করিয়া তাহাকে পরাজিত করিলেন..."

A nice picture of the scrupulously non-violent Vasistha!

(iii) The story of Hassan and Hussain —

কল শু আহার্যেব স্তম্ভেব দশাদন কষ্ট পাইবা হোসেনকে মর্মান্তিক
বর্ণিত হয়। P. 59

As Mr. Hussain died a natural death.
(iv) The story of Harun-al-Rashid narrates, in illustration of the love of economy of Harun-al-Rashid the silly story of his punishing the cook of his brother Ibrahim for a luxurious dish.

Readers for Class IV

1. Parakhami, Part II. By Rasamoy Mitra, M. A., late Head Master Hindu School.

It is very sad to have to point out errors in a book which bears the name of the late revered educationist Rai Rasamoy Mitra Bahadur as the author. If the book is really the work of Mr. Mitra, we are constrained to remark that he undertook a work outside his province with very lamentable results and the Committee passed it with their eyes blinded by the glamour of Mr. Mitra's name.

The reader for Class IV prescribes for "Stories" about the historical personages and not their history. In the lesson on Asoka, Mr. Mitra gives the history of Asoka, completely ignoring the numerous stories that are to be found in Buddhist literature about this famous emperor.

P. 13 "কিন্তু মল্যবর্জ্যেব মিত্র ব্রহ্ম শস্য নিশাকালে তাহার শিবিরে প্রবেশ করিয়া তাহার প্রাণ বিনাশ করেন।"

In recounting a historical story no one has any right to pervert its nature and say something which is not historical. It is well known to historians that it was Rajayardhan who went to keep an engagement in his enemy's quarters and thus lost his life, and not as stated above by Mr. Mitra.

P. 31 The faded picture of Akbar's Darbar depicting Akbar smoking from a *Churnia* with a long tube is reproduced by Mr. Mitra as well as by some other authors, when it is well known that tobacco was introduced into the Mughal Court only in Jahangir's time. If it is contended that Akbar smoked with his *Churnia* (Ganja or *Churni* or *Bhang* or opium, the critic is of course silenced.

P. 32 "অত্ৰ একজন সভাসদেব নাম ছিল বীবল। উনি আকবৰেব প্রধান মন্ত্রী ছিলেন।"

That Birbal was the prime-minister is a statement on a par with Mr. Mitra's many other statements Cf. *Akbar* by V. A. Smith, p. 257. He (Birbal) is not recorded as having held any important office, although he was occasionally employed on special missions.

P. 35 "মানসিংহ বাব বার জেদ করিয়া প্রতাপকে আসিতে বলায় প্রতাপ বলিয়া পাঠান—'যে বাঙ্গপুত্র মুসলমানের ঘরে কত্কা ভগিনীর বিবাহ দেব, তাহার সঙ্গে সেবাবেব বাণী ভোজন করেন না।' ইহাতে মানসিংহ অত্যন্ত অপমানিত হইয়া ভোজন না করিয়াই প্রহ্মণেব জন্ত আপন অৰ্থে আরোহণ করেন। এমন সময় প্রতাপ আসিয়া উপস্থিত হইলে মানসিংহ বলেন—'আমি আপনার এই দর্পচূর্ণ করিব।' প্রতাপ বলেন—'আপনি যেখানে আমার সঙ্গে সাংঘ্য কথিত চান, আমি সেইখানেই আপনার দম্পতী হইব।' এমন সময় সেইখানে যেই সব লোক দাঁড়াইয়াছিল তাহাদের মধ্যে একজন মানসিংহকে বলিল—'এইবাব যখন আসিবে তখন তোমার কুলাংশে) আকবরকে সঙ্গে করিয়া নইর আসিও বাহশাহ নিজপুত্র দেলিও মানসিংহক প্রতাপের বিরুদ্ধে প্রেরণ করিলেন।"

Mr. Mitra follows Ford faithfully. But it is in good taste to let an episode worth recounting to boys of tender age (Prof. Abdul Munim Chaudhry of the Islamic College is to be congratulated on his lucubrations) in overlooking this passage in Mr. Mitra's book but we cannot exonerate the other two Hindu members from the charge of gross negligence of duty in allowing a book to pass with such an offensive passage. The statement about Selim's presence in the expedition against Rana Pratap also took us too blindly and is an incorrect one. Selim was a boy of seven at this time. This mistake is repeated in many of the books approved for this class.

P. 17 The account of the second expedition of the Mughals against Ahmednagar is all wrong.

P. 52 "আকবরেব মন্ত তিনিও (শাহজাহানও) হিন্দু মুসলমানকে সমান চক্ষে দেখিতেন।"

"সাজাহান কিন্তু একটাব অধিক দিব্য কবির নাহি। সাধারণ লোকের মন্ত তাহার একটিনাত্র স্তা চিত্র।"

These statements are all wrong.

P. 59 "এই সময় বাঙ্গালা দেশেব মানসিংহের নাম শ্রবণে বামশুদ্দিন—ইহকষ্ট শেলেব নাম শিখাশুদ্দিন।"

Students of history know very well that Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah was not the son, but the grandson of Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah.

P. 66 "বহুদিন প্রতাপাদিত্য মানসিংহের সহিত যুদ্ধ করিলেন। প্রতাপের এমনই বাব যে মানসিংহেরও অনেক সময় হাবিষ ঘাইবার সহাবনা চলল কিন্তু পরিণামে প্রতাপই হাবিষে। মানসিংহ তাহারক বন্দী করিয়া দিল্লী গেল। হইলেন।"

That the fall of Pratapaditya of Jessore was not by the hands of Mansumha is by this time well known to students of history. Curiously this mistake also, like the presence of Selim at the battle of Haldighat, is repeated by many of the books approved for this class. It is indeed regrettable that a veteran educationist of Rai Bahadur Mitra's eminence should have sat down to write a text-book on history with such poor knowledge of the subject.

We are very reluctant to expose further a name which we revere. But this very unpleasant duty has to be done to show what stuff the Text Book Committee passed. Not one out of the three members appears to have turned the pages of the book to see what it contained. Below are a few more illustrations and we have finished.

P. 91 The lesson on Chand Roy is full of errors, a few of which are quoted below.

"আকবর বাদশাহের সময়ে দেউশত বৎসর আগে নিমুন্ডায় কর্ণটি প্রদেহ হইতে আসিয়া বিক্রমপুরের অন্তর্গত ফুলবেড়িয়া গ্রামে বসি কবেন।... নিমুন্ডায় যখন ফুলবেড়িয়া গ্রামে তখন বাঙ্গালার বৈদ্যবংশীর সেন বাজার বাজর করিতেছিলেন।"

According to this chronology—the Senas were ruling in Bengal by 1556-1560=1406 A. D.

"চাঁদবাজের পবে কেদার রায় রাজা উপাধি ধারণ করিলেন। আকবর বাদশাহের সেনাপতি মানসিংহ তাহাকে দমন করিতে আসেন। কদার রায় নিজের কস্তা তাহাকে দান করেন। তখন সন্ধি হইর গেল। কস্তার নাম ছিল প্রতাপচৌ।"

One feels sick to comment on grossly inaccurate passages like these. The Ray Bahadur is blissfully ignorant of the fact that Koda earned a hero's death in 1691 A.D. after a stiff contest with Manasimha.

The next lesson on Isa Khan is equally full of mistakes. Here is a typical passage —

‘কালিদাসের দুই পুত্র থাকে (ছিল) ঈশাখা ও ইনসদনখা (Ismael has been changed into Ismaelan)। ঈশাখা স্বেচ্ছা খুব স্বন্দর ছিল, দেখিলে তাহাকে খুব বোঝ বলিয়া মনে হইত। কিন্তু তিনি ভয়ানক স্বার্থপর ছিলেন। সর্বদা বন্ধুবান্ধবের সঙ্গে ঝগড়া বিবাদ করিতেন এবং ভয়ানক হুঁস ছিলেন।’

A grossly inaccurate and unfair picture of the greatest hero in the great struggle for independence put up by the Bengal Chiefs.

The above list does not exhaust all the mistakes that this unfortunate book contains. With what zeal the members of the Sub-Committee for Class IV did their duty will be clear from the fact that such a book passed their scrutiny.

The above scrutiny, we hope, will serve to give the reader an idea of the quality of the priority of the books approved for this class. What better results can be expected when people who are ignorant of history are appointed to examine books that demand an up-to-date knowledge of the subject in the examiners' eyes. One's heart turns sick in despair at these advance samples of Swarn in the Education Department and begins to wonder if this is only a foretaste of what the rest of the world is enjoying and scrambling for.

READERS FOR CLASS V-VI

There is a refreshing change in the quality of the books approved for Classes V—VI. Forty-nine books in all were submitted to the Text-book Committee, of which seven were rejected on Preliminary Examination. Nine books out of the remaining forty-two were finally approved. I have examined seven out of these nine books. Some of them contain minor inaccuracies, but these Readers are distinctly superior to those approved for the two previous classes. This only proves what the presence of even one real student of history on a Sub-Committee can do.

Indeed it is difficult to understand on what principle the members were distributed among the various Sub-Committees. Dr. West who had spent all his life in experimenting on the methods of teaching English to boys and is probably the greatest authority on the subject in India was given books on Geography to examine. Dr. Majumdar, an equally great authority on History

was given English Readers to examine. The motive behind this curious distribution of work appears to be the puerile apprehension that these experts, being themselves authors of text-books, would favour their own books to the exclusion of all others. This reasoning is absolutely futile in the case of Dr. West, whose books were not even circulated to members of the Sub-Committees for the different classes, but were accepted as text-books outright by the Director himself. Dr. West's presence in the English Committees for different classes would have prevented the inclusion of much antediluvian rubbish of ‘Murray's Spelling’ type in the list of Text-books. If Dr. Majumdar and Dr. West are experts in their subjects and if they take the trouble of writing text-books on them, it could easily have been surmised that their books would be excellent productions, which would find no difficulty in getting included as text-books. To assume that these experts would stand in the way of the inclusion of any text-book other than their own is a beautiful compliment to their honesty and fairness, which I leave these experts to digest.

Efficient examination of text-books is the work of experts and as experts are not as plentiful as black-berries a small committee of experts should have the charge of an entire subject. This would ensure the preservation of a uniform standard and harmonious gradation from the lowest class to the topmost. For example if the work of examining historical Readers had been entrusted to one single committee of three experts, the committee would have had to examine $83+65+42+11=201$ Readers in all for classes III—VIII. This is fairly heavy work, but examiners in the University examinations perform efficiently far heavier paid work. And we have, in the course of our last article, laid great emphasis on the fact that it is futile to expect onerous work of examining text-books to be properly performed unless it is made paid work.

We have attempted to show in our two articles how the syllabuses for the text-books were drawn up on faulty bases, how the Text-book Committee itself was formed on wrong principles, how Sub-Committees were formed with persons having no knowledge of the subjects for which their services were requisitioned, and how the inevitable happened and books full of mistakes came to be included in the list of approved text-books. Is not the whole subject a grim tragedy and one fit for some member of the Bengal Council to take up?

INDIAN Womanhood



Miss P. M. Vesavavala has been
the degree of Master of Education
is University at the last convocation.
she joined the Leeds University,

University, the first
Sujata Ray, *nee* Basu
Kaminunnessa Girls
this degree about a d



Miss P. M. Vesavavala



Mrs. Jasumati V.

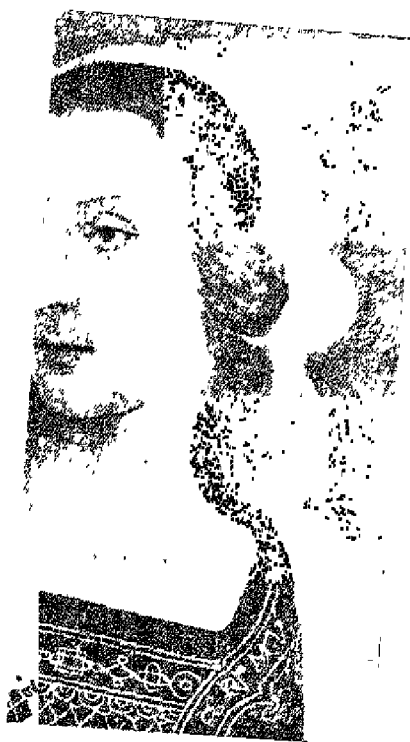
the diploma in education from
University of Bristol. She comes from
India is perhaps the second Indian
to obtain the M. Ed. degree of Leeds

Mrs. Jasumati V.
degree of B.A. from the
She is the daughter-in-law of
Setha and

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



of new graduates of the Indian Women's University of Poona. The
 ir C. V. Mehta and Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulaxmi Reddi, Ex-Deputy Presi
 of the Madras Council, are seen standing in the centre.



Two SIBYLS
 By Perugino



The Future of England

Gloomy prognostications of England's future seem to follow one another in a broad and swelling stream. Only the other day, the distinguished French writer, M. Andre Siegfried, brought out his particularly pessimistic book on England's desolate economic outlook. That work was by a foreigner, and in welcoming it, the shining lights of British journalism indulged in appreciative comment which was not wholly free from just a shade of the cavalier and the condescending in it. Yet, some of the natives seem to be no more hopeful. Professor Laski tells us in the *Forum* that

No one who analyses the mood of England to-day can fail to note a prevailing temper of depression. The old certitude is gone, the easy confidence in permanent supremacy which distinguished the pre-war period has given place to an atmosphere of mingled alarm and disillusion. Ten years of economic depression have bitten deep into the mind of the nation, and there is a wide-spread fatalism about the outcome more alarming than a temper of energetic antagonism. Everyone admits that widespread institutional reconstruction is essential, but no one—at least among the acknowledged leaders—seems to possess either the courage or the ardour to embark upon it. Discontent with the present party system goes deep, and there is a growing tendency, especially among the younger generation, to challenge the competence of Parliamentary government to cope with the problems we confront.

This naturally leads Professor Laski to consider the future. He states the problem by saying

It is not easy to be confident about the outcome. England has entered upon one of those periods of transition which are the testing time of nations. Her people are called to a revision of their essential ideas. Still in large part a curious mingling of aristocracy and plutocracy, they meet the challenge of a society seeking a democratic form. Provided with an economic system which at least in formal outline, satisfies some of the main requirements of an international society, the war has projected them into a world of competing economic nationalisms which impairs the realization of the benefits their predecessors enjoyed from that system.

Having pursued with vigour the ideal of political liberty, they find its reconciliation with the ideal of economic equality a dark and dubious adventure.

Having avoided for at least a century, the problem of defining with clarity the objective of the English state, they now find that piecemeal adjustment is no longer adequate to the scale of the issues before them. Having supported an immense population relative to their resources by the gains registered through predominance in the markets of the world, they find that population menaced by the deprivation of their former supremacy. Only America had surpassed the English standard of life, but no question is so overwhelming in its importance as the question of whether, granted the present numbers, anything like the present standard can over a long period be maintained.

To this question Professor Laski does not give a conclusive reply. For, as he says, "no one but a Marxian Communist can venture upon certitudes," and even "Marxian Communism is less a prognostic than an incantation." What he does, therefore, is to indicate two alternative courses that affairs in England may follow. He observes

In the next thirty years, therefore, one of two things will happen. If there is a European war, the present British system is unlikely to survive. Grant her victory, she yet could not maintain her present standard of life, that would mean revolutionary discontent, of which, as I think, the outcome would be a capitalist dictatorship. Or that, in its turn, the result would be a strong Communist party, and a social conflict with varying fortune spread over a generation. Grant her defeat and there would, I think, be revolution with a development of the kind, and at the pace of the Russian model. Either involves the contemplation of tragedy, for in either, also, the hypothesis means the disappearance of the temper and quality of life which have been responsible for the peculiar English legacy to civilization.

Let us assume, however, the prospect of peace in Europe. In that event, it is, I believe, fairly certain that England will become a Socialist state. Her aristocracy will disappear. There will be a much greater degree of social equality in the vital industries, private initiative will be replaced by collective enterprise. There will be few great fortunes; and the stimulus to effort will rarely be found in the profit-making motive. Men will be valued less for the property they represent than for the social function they are able to perform.

The ambit of the state will be far wider than now, and on the maternal side, the individual will, at least for a considerable period, have less freedom of choice than he now possesses. For a considerable time, also, I believe it will be poorer

known, for many able men will find it difficult to adjust themselves to the motives of such an order, and it will be difficult to obtain their co-operation. But, in the end, I believe it will be an England happier and more creative, because the toil of its citizens will be sweetened by a profounder sense of justice in their gain.

An Address to Graduates

The world seems to be passing through a wave of educational inefficiency. Complaints against the educational standards of Indian universities has become almost normal by this time, though not any the less shrill in pitch nor less serious in volume. But such discordant notes were hardly to be expected in the United States, the land both of universal education and efficiency. Yet during the last few years one great educational authority after another of that country has been pointing a warning finger to the increasing ineffectiveness of university education in the United States. Of these critics, we noticed two, Dr. Flexner and Dr. Meiklejohn, in these columns. Now comes another writer who pens a satirical address to the graduates of America in *The New Republic*, which might almost without the change of a single syllable be addressed to the Indian graduate as well. After referring to the innate capacities of the American student and his inane school education, this writer goes on to say:

This process had been pretty well completed before you entered the portals of this institution; but in so far as was necessary, we have here finished the job. We have made it your ideal, not to find things out, but to get through. When a certain "professor" wanted meaningless repetition by rote of his words or those of the book, you have given him that. When another, probably somewhat younger, and with nonacademic ambitions of his own, seemed to require a little more aloofness, a slightly original line of thought, you have dutifully cooked up some of that (often by conference among yourselves) and supplied it. We have, with your connivance, managed to fill up every moment of your time either with routine work in the classroom or with the equally routine activities of undergraduate athletics, life and other matters which, with the proper collegiate coyness, I shall merely describe as "less savoury."

You are now being graduated with a label of education which in the case of nearly every one of you is a grotesque misfit. After your years in these academic shades, your favourite periodical is *The Saturday Evening Post*, your best liked author is whoever wrote the current success in the book-stores, your favourite melody is "The Indian Love Call." You have studied several foreign languages, not one of which you are able to read or speak,

and the chances are overwhelming that you will never again open a book written in one of them or attempt to utter more than one or two halting sentences while making one of your conducted tours through the daller parts of Europe. Your study of economics has not ruffled a hair of the sleekness you will display as a member of the Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and one of the Red-hunting societies of Professional Patriots. You will support by your indifference, if not more directly, the municipal corruption in your community from which you and your friends among the business men in all probability will derive substantial profit. Your courses in science will boil down to an ability to identify the odour of sulphuretted hydrogen. The chances are strongly against your ever opening a serious book again if it makes any taxing demand upon attention and memory. Your recreations will infallibly come down to four; the movies, bridge, golf and driving your car along congested highways on Sunday afternoons.

You are in one way distinguished among graduating classes: you are being turned out into the world at a dramatic moment in its history. Never before has there been such universal uncertainty about the future, such widespread fear that perhaps the fabric of Western civilization is breaking down and is past any repair. Almost one-tenth of the world's people now live under a completely new and different organization of society, one highly socialized, based upon an entirely different set of ideas and ideals from our own and constituting a drastic challenge to us. By way of preparing you for this situation we have carefully taught you as little as possible about this new system, either in its theory or its application. We have, of course, permitted you to pick up as much or as little as you chose of the current stereotyped notions about the new system, notions based upon ignorance and prejudice, notions the more important of which are mutually incompatible. For the rest, if your lack of knowledge of the problems by which you and the rest of mankind are confronted is not complete, this is through inadvertence on our part and not design. We have been subjected, and have in turn subjected you to a whole series of inhibitions, the inhibitions imposed by your parents, by the trustees of this institution, by the "public opinion of the better elements of the community," by our own education, which was certainly not superior to yours. If any of you are able to think straight and act upon your thoughts, that fact is a tribute to the indomitable power of the human mind to survive even the worst of miseducations. Go forth, and conquer the world!

The Colour Bar

The Spectator has been publishing an interesting symposium on the colour bar. Many of the writers who contributed to that symposium condemned it, while two or three supported it or at least recognized it as a necessity. One of these is Mr. B. Malinowski, the anthropological writer. Mr. Malinowski at least makes out a plausible case for a colour bar on both sides

It seems almost impossible to say anything positive and constructive on the subject of Colour Bar and Race Prejudice, and to remain at the same time within the limits of truth and *realpolitik*. This is a question which, while intellectually most complicated and vague, provokes emotionally the most simple, primitive and brutal passions. It is poignant and tragic to the vast majority of the world's population, that is, to all coloured men and women, and fraught with tears and moral misgivings to the remainder, the "superior" race.

The white man who has to speak or write on this subject and who allows himself honestly to reflect at the same time—a very dangerous proceeding—is invariably faced with a conflict of sentiment and an intellectual dilemma. To express publicly your conviction of the superiority of your own race, and to claim that this superiority should be buttressed and documented by lynchings, degrading measures of discrimination, economic and social disabilities, to do that in so many words is somewhat painful and inconsistent. In the same breath you have to claim to be racially superior, the world's real gentleman, and you reveal yourself as the world's real brute. To profess on the other hand that racial differences do not exist, that white and black are brothers and should be equally treated may be well enough as a personal pious wish, but every honest European knows that he himself never acts up to such protestations, and that they are completely at variance with the institutionalized policy of the white race. In other words, when you speak about "race prejudice" you are apt to be either a victim of sentimental self-deception or of direct hypocrisy, or else you have to advocate in the name of racial superiority a type of conduct unworthy of the lowest savages.

This difficulty and conflict is clearly reflected in the previous articles of the present symposium in which four writers out of six merely belittle the importance of race prejudice and insist on its acquired, "superstitious," almost unreal character.

Lord Lugard and Mr. Lothrop Stoddard alone frankly admit that race prejudice is a reality and that colour bar is at present a necessity. With this position I am fully in agreement. I believe, moreover, that a great many members of other non-European races feel race prejudice as strongly as we do, and would welcome an effective colour bar protecting them from Europeans. Those natives whom I have known well and for a long space of time admit to a genuine dislike of our European smell, colour, features and manners, a dislike as pronounced as that manifested by some Europeans towards other races. Racial prejudice can perhaps best be seen in the hostile attitude felt and shown by either race towards their mixed product. Half-castes are a burden to their parents as a rule, and a cause of serious maladjustment in every community.

Let us then admit race prejudice as a well-entrenched mental and social force. Let us also admit colour bar as a necessary measure, if by colour bar we mean mechanisms which would allow either race to lead its own life free from interference, while intermarriage would be made specially difficult. In doing so we only frankly and honestly state what is at present in existence as the dominant force in racial relations. We take our stand on the firm bedrock of reality. Let us

however, not forget either the bedrock of justice and wisdom. Obviously the principle of colour bar—if it is to be carried out effectively, and if it is not to break all the principles of justice and decency—ought to apply both ways, and not entail measures which, by degrading one race and pandering to the other, demoralize both.

What the Man of the Future will be like ?

Dr. Hrdlicka is one of the leading anthropologists of America. He contributes to the *Evolution* an interesting forecast of the future physical evolution of man. He says :

In general man's past and present permit the statement that he is not yet perceptibly near the end of his evolution, and the prediction that according to all indications, he will for long yet keep on progressing in adaptation, refinement and differentiation. But this applies only to the main stream of humanity, the civilized man. The rest will be more or less brought along or left behind.

The progress of the advancing parts of the race may be foreseen to be essentially towards ever greater mental efficiency and potentiality. The further mental developments may be expected to be attended by an additional increase in brain size; but this gross increase will be of but moderate proportions. The main changes will be in the internal organization of the brains, in greater blood-supply, greater general effectiveness.

The skull will in all probability be still thinner than it is today. And the skull may on the whole be expected to grow fuller laterally and also antero-posteriorly, due to developments in the directions of least resistance. The hair of the head, the indications are, will probably be further weakened. The stature promises generally to be even somewhat higher than to-day among the best nourished and least repressed groups.

The face will, it may be expected, proceed slowly in refinement and handsomeness and character. This partly through intensifying intelligent sexual selection, partly through further reduction of the bony parts consequent upon diminished mastication, and partly through the further development of the frontal portion of the skull. The eyes will, it is plain, be rather deeper set, the nose prominent and rather narrow, the mouth still smaller, the chin more prominent, the jaws even more "square" and regular, the teeth tending to be more regular in number, even less regular than now in eruption and position, and even less resistant. The future of the beard is uncertain, but no such weakening as with the hair of the head is as yet observable.

The body will tend to slenderness in youth, the breasts towards small, the pelvis parts but little affected, the lower limbs towards long, the upper rather towards short, the hands and feet towards narrower, the fingers and toes towards more slender, with the fifth toe probably further diminishing.

As to the internal organs, the only more plainly foreshadowed probabilities are a further weakening and diminution of the appendix and

a shortening, with diminution in capacity, of the intestines. As food may safely be expected to be continually more refined and made more digestible, the necessity of a spacious large intestine will diminish in proportion.

Physiologically, the tendencies indicate a rather more rapid than slower pulse and respiration with rather slightly increased than decreased temperature—in other words a livelier, rather than more sluggish, metabolism. But substantial changes in these as well as in other organic functions are not to be anticipated for many millenniums, these functions are too firmly established.

So much for normal conditions. There is, regrettably, also the debit side to be considered. Man has ever paid for his advance, is paying now, and will pay in the future. Functional disorders, digestive secretive, eliminative disorders of sleep and sexual, can not but multiply with the increasing stresses, exertions and absorptions. Mental derangements will probably be more frequent. Destructive diseases such as diabetes, and various skin troubles will probably increase until thoroughly understood and hindered. The teeth, the mouth, the nose, the eyes and ears, will ever call for an increased attention. The feet will trouble.

Childbirth will not be easier nor less painful though assistance will equally rise in effectiveness. Due to prolonged life, heart troubles, apoplexies, cancer, and senile weaknesses of all sorts, will tend to be more common, until mastered by medicine. All this, with many abnormal social factors, will retard but not stop man's progress, for the indications are that he will rise equal to all his growing needs as they develop and begin to hurt.

There is no life-danger to humankind to be apprehended on these scores. If there is a danger to human future, it lies in the birth rate of the torch-bearers. Already now the birth rate in the families of the most intellectual is unsatisfactory.

The Flowers of Evil

Looking at many an acknowledged but black masterpiece of literature, at once as fascinatingly beautiful and as repellant as a snake—a poem by Baudelaire, for example, or one of D. H. Lawrence's novels—men have often been tempted to ask whether literature was not after all a flower of evil. At any rate, there has not been want of serious thinkers who have told us that literature and art can only spring from a profound maladjustment and that a life, sane, well-ordered and normally functioning would never seek an outlet for self-expression or self-realization through these contorted channels. The Abbé Brémond, for instance, asserts in his beautiful book, *Prêtre et Poète*, that poetic genius is only the mystic faculty in another form but while the mystic is true to his calling and

inspiration, the poet is not simply even a mystic *manqué*, he is the perverted mystic, the mystic who has turned his back upon the right path and denied his God. There may or may not be truth in this view. But there is no denying that much of modern literature could only come to being in an atmosphere thick-charged with a rayless *welt-schmerz*. To the men who voice it the sunlit world sends no call, the blue of the sky offers no consolation. They grope within the bowels of the subconscious in search of they know not what sad truths.

To this feature of the modern literary temper Mr. Sunne refers in course of an article in *The New Statesman and Nation*.

Distrust, disappointment, nervous and sensitive apprehension of disaster. The sense of abandonment and abandoning. All of these have characterized the human race since it first became capable of introspection, and added the torment of "why" to the pleasanter difficulties of "how." To-day, at least in the art of literature, these perplexities and diseases of the spirit have taken on a different and more sinister colour. Of old the man who distrusted based his distrust on his faith in something. And so the man prepared to face disappointment, the man who indulged in the scrupulous delocations of apprehension, the man who feared he was abandoned or heroically decided to abandon some old safeguard—were all somewhere sure of something or somebody. They had faith even if it was only in unfaith, and they believed even though their creed began *Credo in nullum Deum*. To-day, if we search among those who claim to be intelligentsia, that ultimate sense of security can be found only among Catholics and Bolsheviks. The rest of the world has lost the spring board of criticism. Their distrust is based on nothing, and their disappointment is not an accident, however frequent, but an axiom. That mood, or conviction, has been brilliantly exposed by three writers in English—Mr. James Joyce who denies the soul, except the damned soul, Mr. D. H. Lawrence who would destroy the mind, and Mr. David Garnett, who, far more subtly it less impressively, attacked the will.

If we put aside religion and theology, it is evident that it is man's belief in his will which has been mainly instrumental in making the distinction between man and other animals, a distinction of which man is normally quite certain, and which, to do him justice, seems to be recognized as valid by those of the brutes with whom he comes into close contact. Yet the imaginative has always had his suspicions about the distinctness of that line of division. No one who visits the Zoological Gardens but has his moments of uneasiness, and not only in the monkey house. Even if we are shy discovering our own brute parallels, we can quickly enough find our friends' very images. The camel, the albatross, the brown bear, the pelican, the tapir (which always has fe----- counterparts among men) the owl, the scorpion so frequent in the commercial room and the bars of prosperous mans

the penguin (which restores to our world the dignity now abandoned by family solicitors), the parrot and the hippopotamus—all of these represent only too faithfully our friends to our nervous judgment, and ourselves to our friends. I think that Mr. Garnett must have begun his work after one of those all too convincing visits to Regents Park. I do not suggest that his attack on the will was deliberate, but in what better way could the attack be made than by minimizing the distinction between man and the brutes; a distinction only gained and held by the continuous exercise of the human will?

The English of the Police

The editor of *The London Mercury* gives the following account in his paper of an adventure that befell him, his wife and the English language at a police station:

At Whitsuntide the editor of this review visited a certain city with his wife. She went to a garage which was busy, and was told to leave the car outside, the attendant promising to run it in a minute or two. Next day they went to fetch it. The attendant who had been seen before was not there, but another one said, "The police brought this car in. It had been standing in the road for hours. They want to see you at the police station." Off to the police station they went, and then a statement was taken down in the usual manner. Many of our readers will doubtless be familiar with that manner. What happens is that you say something, the policeman writes it down in a translation of his own, and then you have to sign what the policeman has written down—which invariably is something that you could not have written or spoken yourself. In this instance the policeman was all charm and courtesy, but his prose was the standard prose of police statement-takers. The narrative, laboriously penned, which was ultimately signed by the wife of the editor of *The London Mercury*, ended with this bright sentence:

"This I so did, but he must have forgot."

It would have been no use arguing or suggesting improvements in English: we have tried before.

It occurred to us, walking away after an honourable acquittal, that a beautiful anthology might be made from the archives of the British Police Stations, emphasis being laid on signed statements made by the illustrious, and in particular the more fastidious professional manipulators of the English tongue. We envisage a few specimens:

I was walking along inoffensive life not doing nothing when this man Jones come up to me and says: "Hide your ugly mug." He hit me first and I never hit him back except I might have so done it by accident.

(Signed) George Meredith.

"If the constable says as how I was going forty miles an hour what I should like to say is that I was onley going twenty and which I can prove by relyable witnesses which I so intend to do. The time it was not nine o' clock but eight forty-five contrary to what the officer says. Also he must have mistook me for somebodie else.

(Signed) Stanley Baldwin.

"At ten o'clock on the twenty-second of June last

I was proceeding on my usual business in my Ford car at the alleged cross roads in question when another car come hard at me with blowing his horn or giving other indication of intent and deny strait into my bonnet damaging same seriously. When I took up I found same had gone and I walked to my place of residence at Lambeth where I reside.

(Signed) Cosmo Cantuar."

A task for some retired Home Secretary.

The American Worship of Women

The following extracts from *The Literary Digest* donot require an introduction:

Students of the history of woman in our country are well aware, we read in German medical papers, especially the *Deutsche Sammelblätter*, of the so-called "pioneer theory" of her position among Americans.

Woman was so rare here in the seventeenth century that she was cherished by our forefathers. They transmitted their attitude to their sons and grandsons, and we Americans thus got the habit of treating woman as a superior being.

All this, affirms the eminent Dr. Gerhard Verziar, author of a recent book of travel, *New York Ohne Schmuck* (New York Without Make-up), as his views are summarized in the German medical press, is nonsense. Even if the scarcity of women here centuries ago made the American man careful of his courses, the plenitude of females now might well reverse the attitude.

Venziar is of opinion that certain influences of a sort yet to be clarified act upon the hormones of the American man in a debilitating fashion. The hormones—substances arising in one part of the body and distributed to other parts of it in the blood—are so influenced by the American diet or by the North American climate that our masculinity undergoes modification. Says Dr. Nottebaum in the *Hamburg Nachrichten*.

"At first this theory may cause surprise.

"If we bear in mind the extent to which America modifies the physical traits of the man we may be more inclined to infer that his physical characteristics are equally modifiable.

"In many regions of America endemic influences act to modify the thyroid glands.

"Numerous other factors seem likewise at work in America to modify the workings of the sex glands.

"The effect upon the male is obvious to any one who has visited the United States and there (in restaurants and in hotel lobbies) seen men kneeling before women in order to put on their overshoes.

"The same is obvious in the American home, when the husband sits on a hard wooden chair while his wife reclines comfortably on the sofa.

"The propensity attains its extreme, apparently in the moving-picture theatres of the United States where one sees the husband often getting boxed on the ears by his wife."

The American Military Preparations

We have already referred in these columns to the new military scheme of

General MacArthur, the Chief of the Staff of the American Army. The following trenchant denunciation of his plan occurs in the *New York Nation*, the well-known radical weekly :

The head of the army, General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, appeared on May 13 before the War Policies Commission and revealed the War Department's plan for drafting the manpower and material resources of the nation on the outbreak of war. It calls for the immediate mobilization of 4,000,000 men, and for the seizure of all federal, State, county, and municipal buildings to house and shelter troops in place of the huge cantonments of the last war. Purchases of the 4,000 essential items (there are 700,000 on the War Department's shopping list) are to be allocated *in advance*—now—and not to be regulated by competitive bidding, but the contract is to be so drawn as to limit profiteering and "to deal effectively with the over-acquisitive (!) contractor." None the less, there is to be set up "an agency to determine prices for general government buying," so that "the government will not necessarily upset economic and industrial conditions." "Price-control efforts," we further learn, "will be directed gradually, and in general recognition of their necessity and reasonableness."

In other words, the whole pretence that there will be conscription of wealth as well as of men is frankly abandoned. We are again to tear the conscripted man, willing or unwilling, from his home and deprive him as ruthlessly as we please of his right to life, but we are again to treat our great capitalists with courtesy and all consideration. So much for the American Legion's demand since 1922 that "dollars as well as men be drafted" in the event of war. General MacArthur thus not only scorned the Legion, but he went out of his way to oppose Bernard M. Baruch's plan for "price-freezing" at the outset of war, under which prices would be stabilized by federal law at a level existing on a designated "normal date." There is nothing in General MacArthur's suggestions which really offers sound opposition to the profiteering that disgraced our last war. Who would run his "agency to determine prices for general government buying"? The army? Who will be in the army then? The day after war is declared the leading industrialists will be in it. For at previous hearings it has been openly admitted that the War Department has already commissioned no less than 14,000 industrialists throughout the country as "contact men." This is fully half, if not more than half, of the entire number of reserve officers in the German army at the outbreak of the war in 1914. Is there the slightest prospect that these men will not dominate any general purchasing agency? Or that they will even be satisfied with the opinion of the present National Commander of the American Legion that a return of 7 per cent on property during the next war will be "about right"?

As for the rest of the plan, never, so far as we are aware, even in Germany in the palmiest days of its militarism did any generals advocate the immediate military seizure of all public buildings to house troops. It is quite characteristic of the extreme militarist mind that it brushes

aside all consideration of the civil government when war begins—it was this contempt of the Ludendorffs and Tuppizes for the German civil authority and their defiance of it which as much as anything else brought about the German disaster. What would become of all our federal, State, county, and municipal governments if the military should occupy their buildings on the outbreak of war and throw them into the street? And how in heaven's name could one drill and equip four millions of men in the corridors of our federal courts or post offices or customs houses? If for no other reason, the whole MacArthur plan ought to be thrown out because of this very stupidity.

"The Striated Muscle Fetish"

Mr. Mencken is nothing if he is not vigorous. In the latest number of his paper, *The American Mercury*, he turns his irony on the cult of athletics, a good cult in its sphere and way, but the absurd modern superstition about which has done much to convince sensible people that it is possible to have too much of a good thing :

The popular belief in athletics is grounded upon the theory that violent exercise makes for bodily health, and that bodily health is necessary to mental vigour. Both halves of this theory are highly dubious. There is, in fact, no reason whatever for believing that such a game as, say, football, improves the health of those who play it. On the contrary, there is every reason for believing that it is deleterious. The football player is not only exposed constantly to a risk of grave injury often of an irremediable kind; he is also damaged in his normal physiological processes by the excessive strains of the game, and the exposure that goes with playing it. If it were actually good for half-grown boys to wallow for several hours a day in a muddy field, with their heads bare and the bleak autumnal skies overhead, then it would also be good for them to be sprayed with a firehose before going to bed. And if it were good for their non-playing schoolmates to sit watching them on cold and windy bleachers then it would also be good for those schoolmates to hear their professors in the same place.

The truth is that athletes, as a class, are not above the normal in health, but below it. Despite all the attention that they get from dietitians, rubbers and the medical faculty, they are for ever beset by malaises, and it is almost unheard of for one of them to pass through an ordinary season without a spell of illness. When a college goes in for any given sport in the grand manner it always has to prepare five or six times as many players as the rules demand, for most of its stars are bound to be disabled at some time or other. Not a few, after a game or two, drop out altogether, and are heard of no more. Some are crippled on the field, but more succumb to the mere wear and tear. In other words, the exercise they get does not really improve their vigour; it only develops and reveals their lack of vigour. The survivors are not better animals than they were; they are simply better animals than the general in the first place. Nor is there any pond-rable body of fact behind

the common notion, so often voiced by college presidents, that physical health is necessary to mental achievement. In itself, to be sure, health is a good thing, just as wealth is a good thing, but neither has anything to do with the operations of the mind. Some of the noblest thinking that history can show was done by invalids. In fact, certain kind of thinking seems to be better done by invalids than by healthy men, and Nietzsche was not far wrong when he argued that the world owes a lot to the tubercle bacillus and the spiracheta pallida. My belief is that Nietzsche himself, if he had been a vigorous animal would have wasted his nights in some Leipzig beer-cellar and so left his masterpieces unwritten. All the pull of his environment was in that direction. The pressure upon him to be respectable and normal, as such things were understood in his place and day, was very heavy. But illness drove him to the high Alps, and there he hatched the ideas which, if the majority of American historians are to be believed, caused the World War, and so among other lovely things, produced Dr Hoover and the American Legion. Ah, for more germs out of the same culture, and another Nietzsche!

Youth-Politics

Mr. Wyndham Lewis is contributing to the *Time and Tide* a very stimulating series of articles on youth-politics. The following extracts are taken from the second of the series.

Are not "Politics" and "Youth" mutually exclusive terms? It may never have occurred to some readers that there were any *politics* specifically related to young persons. Indeed, does not "tender years" preclude the idea of politics? Yet the reflective, in carrying to their noses a bouquet of Parma Violets, may, in sniffing, sometimes reflect that the Cosmetic King Monsieur Coty, extracts from this delicious and modest plant certain delectable properties, which yearly he converts into a good many thousands of pounds.

There is a class of objects, which however ornamental, we are accustomed to regard as strictly useless. Yet many purely ornamental things are highly susceptible of exploitation. There is *nothing* that the Big Business mind does not see in terms of pound s. d. And it has gazed upon "Youth"—and it has found it not "fair" but extremely *profitable*. But even a beggar-woman turns her howling offspring into gold, *via* shame and pity. And shall Big Business be outdone? It is not likely.

Now in the technique of Youth-Politics pure and simple "Youth" is not a thing of flesh and blood, but is something like water or wind, it is considered simply as an abstraction, a natural force. The "harnessing" of water-power provides a large city with electric light. That is very useful. On the other hand, it converts a mountain lake—of great romantic beauty—into a dull reservoir of water. Well, it is open to anyone to dislike these gifted political engineers—these Youth-Politicians I am introducing to you in the same way that Ruskin hated the engineers who spoilt

his natural scenery for him, for the fanatical water-colourist.

Certainly the technique of Youth-Politics does destroy romance. In fact, it must in time actually blot out Youth altogether, as we have formerly understood Youth in Europe, and put something far sterner and less dreamy-eyed in its place. All I can say is that I have only to think of Sir James Barrie, and to recall the worse-than-sweetmeat of the Peter Pan adult nursery, and I at once would give my vote for the blotting out of a concept that had reached such extremities of vulgar sentiment. But I am here not so much considering the desirability or the reverse of these changes, as simply explaining how the Peter-Panish sweetness is squeezed out of Youth and used as a highly aromatic political intoxicant, or its impulsive and pristine vitality harnessed for the sake of its latent power.

Economics have always played a far larger part in politics than any recognized historian has allowed. King Charles's head fell as a result of the fiat of the London merchant princes, for instance, not at all in the romantic and revolutionary way that the historian would have you believe. But if that was true of events in the past, it is doubly true of what is occurring to-day. The Soviet (as the Five-Year Plan should at once suggest) is a business man's or economist's republic, but wherever you look, *politics* spell more and more *economics*, and nothing else—except such politics as pure economics involve, and so much of human impulse as they allow.

In the Youth Revolution, recruits are enrolled almost entirely by means of flattery, as it was in the sex-war, so it is in the age-war. In the militant days of Feminism women were harangued to the effect that they were "as good as men." Most women being, like most men, stupid, stupid things had to be said to them, and of course most "youths"—like most middle-aged persons or "old men"—stupid, stupid things have to be said to "youths": that is inevitable.

The Spanish Revolution

The Living Age, in course of an editorial, discusses the scope and the future of the Spanish revolution.

The Spanish Revolution has been called the most important event in Europe since the War because it represents a new and sudden development of the world revolution through which all of us are living and of which the War itself was but a part. This world revolution—comparable in scope and significance to the Reformation or to the Industrial Revolution—resembles all great historic changes in that it has overthrown certain institutions as no longer adequate to the needs of the day.

Spain, having been spared the war, grew steadily for thirty years into a modern state which finally dispensed with an antiquated form of government. In Russia, Germany, and Austria, the privations of war hastened the same change that has just been wrought in Spain by six years of stupid dictatorship. It would be tempting indeed to speculate on where the next breakdown

will occur and what institution in what country will be the next to give way, but we shall stand on surer ground if we confine ourselves to the present and to Spain.

The activity of various groups of workers in behalf of the Republic attests to the economic background of the Spanish revolt. The Socialist Party and the General Union of Workers were, in fact, chiefly responsible for Alfonso's flight, because they threatened to call a general strike unless he left the country. The variety and nature of the demands in their programme show how many changes were necessary.

What stands in the way of social revolution in Spain—as distinguished from the political revolution that has already occurred—is the Catalan question. Salvador de Madariaga's excellent book entitled *Spain*, recently published in the United States by Scribner's not only anticipates much that has happened in recent weeks but also gives an excellent analysis of the Spanish character. In spite of the revolutionary fervour in both Madrid and Barcelona, the inhabitants of the two cities are so different that they will not find it easy to work together. The Castilian respects authority and has the making of a good Socialist, but the Catalan is a born anarchist and, though his first acquaintance with Communism may have caused some explosions, he is not likely to submit to the strict discipline that Communism demands. Nor is the psychological contrast between Madrid and Barcelona the only force working against social revolution in Spain. The Roman Catholic Church, although quite reconciled to a Republic, would surely assert its great influence if the political revolution should threaten to become social.

Spain's foreign policy is not expected to undergo any immediate change as a result of the revolution. The new government has too many domestic problems on its hands to assert itself effectively in Europe and alter the present balance of power. The French, however, fear that the Republicans, many of whom opposed the Rifian war against Abd-el-Krim, will not apply a strong hand to Morocco and that European prestige in North Africa will suffer accordingly. In the League of Nations, too, the French believe that the Spanish Republicans will be less obliging than the Monarchists. A contributor to the *Intransigent* laments the departure of Senor Quinones de León from the Embassy in Paris because of the valuable services he rendered France, notably by intervening at Geneva over the Upper Silesian question. Also in the New World the Republic is likely to pursue in the long run a more liberal policy than the monarchy. Needless to say, there is no thought of political ambition, and even commercially the New Government will be far less aggressive than the British Laborites or the Prince of Wales. But the existence of a Republic in Spain will inevitably turn the eyes of South Americans towards Europe and cultural bonds are likely to be strengthened. That is to say, more lecturers from Spain and more Spanish ideas will circulate through Latin America, to the almost inevitable detriment of Chevrolet and Engidare sales.

Rathenau's Letters to a Lady

The *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna has published some letters from the famous

German statesman, Walter Rathenau, to a lady who loved him. These letters, as *The Living Age*, which translates them, observes, show the greatness of Rathenau and reveal his qualities in all their admirable purity and spiritual clearness. Here is one of these letters:

Dear Fraulein Lore,—

Your letters, especially the despairing one to your brother, have filled me with care and sorrow. What shall I, what can I do for you? You want me near you, want my support and a part of myself, and how gladly would I give it to you. But I no longer belong to myself. I have given myself away. Nothing remains to me, hardly an hour for rest and hardly any sleep. I am but a stranger who has come to bequeath himself, and as soon as I have given myself out completely I shall live no longer. In private life I should not tolerate giving up so much of my time, I should not bear the weight of hatred and hostility that lies on my shoulders; but I do put up with all this because I have no will of my own, no homestead, no private life, but am like a man in an armed turret who has his orders and works a machine gun.

You want to live for my sake. I feel this with gratitude. Nobody has ever yet wanted to live for me alone. You are the first. Everyone has wanted me to live for them, and that was natural because, as far as my strength allows, I do live for them all, though of course in a different sense from what people want. For what they want is not me myself but things that are attached to me, yet apart—stimulation, support, ideas, negotiations. They do not want me myself but refuse me. You could not live for me in the usual sense. A motor like myself needs but little oil, which may be supplied by any hand at all. It goes on running as long as the fuel that drives it holds out. If you want to exist for my sake, you can do it only by existing for your own sake, not in the usual sense, but in the sense of existing for the sake of the powers that are given you. Do you believe that I have in mind books that you must write and that will be printed? Perhaps you are living for me in that you are helping Klaus, or whoever needs your help. I should like to ask you to be with me one of these dreary autumn evenings, but I should be so unspeakably distressed by the thought of your cold ride home, and I cannot accommodate you for the night. Perhaps you will come early Sunday afternoon if I promise not to keep you beyond the first hour of evening? I am no longer so concerned about Klaus. When you come, tell me his address so that I can send him my last piece of writing. Good night. Fear not and don't be sad.

The Outlook for New Turkey

Of late, Italy has been taking a good deal of interest in the Eastern Mediterranean. One of the features of this interest is the space given to Turkish questions in the Italian Press. In *L'Oltremare* a monthly review of Rome appears an article on

Turkey of to-day and to-morrow by Diego Cantalupo, an Italian economist and political scientist. A translation of this article is given by *The International Digest*, from which the following extract is taken :

The world crisis has further aggravated the already formidable Oriental crisis. In the case of Turkey, it began with the birth of the new state and has since then progressively increased until it has reached the alarming proportions of today. Born with an empty treasury and faced with the necessity of providing internal and external security Kemal was compelled to resort to extreme financial measures. Furthermore, it was necessary to replace the 45 million Turkish pounds formerly obtained each year from the agricultural "tithe," a burdensome and unjust tax which very properly has been abolished in order to help the peasant, who is the foundation of the republic. The last two years have brought extreme economic misery: the poverty of the great mass of peasants is terrifying and the finances of the state are not in the apparently flourishing condition of two years ago. While nothing more can be squeezed out of the people, who lack even their daily bread, disbursements for the army and public works still increase.

These are the real difficulties . . . and morally, technically and . . . have for the past and will for some time in the future hamper Turkey. All plans for reforms, rehabilitation, and reconstruction absolutely require the participation of foreign capital, and capital does not flow to regions where it fears difficulties, intrigues, chicaneries; where promises are made but not kept, where the courts—to which final recourse must be had—are partial and corruptible; and where a permanent mist makes breathing difficult. In the relations between Turkey and the West, the clarification of mutual rights and duties can only be obtained if both sides will free themselves from the pre-war mentality.

Turkey, or rather its responsible representatives, must lay aside the sensitiveness of an oppressed people and the fear of persecution, an unfortunate trait inherited from the old Ottoman regime which saw an enemy in every stranger, too strong to be fought in the open but to be damaged by all possible subversive means. The proofs of this anti-social and anachronistic attitude are many and of daily occurrence. It is useless to hope for intimate collaboration and sincere friendship until, at least where educated and highly placed persons are concerned, Turkey can enter into relations with western society without manifesting ridiculous suspicions. Turkey must be aware not only of its rights, but also of its obligations.

Everybody knows that France enjoys wide sympathies in Turkish intellectual and aristocratic circles; England is admired and feared for her financial and naval power; Germany dominates the military and commercial classes; and Russia hold many trumps in her hands, being a neighbour and ostentatiously of anti-western orientation. Finally, the Turkish government in the execution of public works has inclined to favour the Germans, Belgians and Swedes. But some day Turkey will see that inevitably the help of Europe on a large scale is needed, and Italy should be ready for that day when it arrives.

However that may be, Turkey finds herself today at one of the momentous crossroads in her history where sagacity, absence of illusions and clear vision are required.

An old oriental proverb says "A Turkish administrator needs an Armenian for accountant and a Greek for counsellor." The Turkey of today is a geographical, ethnical, political, and economic unit, destined to become in the future one of the most important factors in the Near East, and it will be the noble mission of Fascist Italy to assist in the development and prosperity of the new republic.

The New Labour Encyclical

Last month we published a short criticism of the new Labour Encyclical of the Pope. A more extended notice of the scope and purport of this encyclical appears in *America*, the leading Catholic weekly of the United States. From it a very clear idea may be formed of the Catholic position with regard to some of the most controversial social questions of the day.

The controversy which has raged—not without some heat—in European Catholic circles, as to Pope Leo's doctrine of ownership, or the right of property, is effectively dealt with. Both extremes are to be avoided: undue emphasis of the private and individual aspect of ownership (against which emphasis most of the active complaints were raised), and undue emphasis of its social and public aspects. Pope Pius lays down once and for all the solid distinction, that the right of property is a matter of justice, but its proper use is matter of other virtues.

"We reassert the fundamental principle, laid down by Leo XIII, that the right of property must be distinguished from its use. It belongs to what is called commutative justice, faithfully to respect the possessions of others . . . The putting of one's own possessions to proper use, however, does not fall under this form of justice, but under certain other virtues, and therefore, it is "a duty not enforced by courts of justice." Hence, it is untrue to contend that the right of ownership and its proper use are bounded by the same limits; and it is even less true that the very misuse or even the non-use of ownership destroys or forfeits the right itself.

The State, therefore cannot take away man's natural right whether by "crushing taxes," or otherwise. But the State has the right to "control its use," as Pope Leo had declared, in accordance with the common good. "When the civil authority adjusts ownership to meet the needs of the public good, it acts not as any enemy, but as the friend of private owners." The grave obligations of "charity, beneficence, and liberality" rest upon the wealthy in disposing of their superfluous income.

There has been a "steady drift," in the Pope's opinion, towards the accumulation of undue wealth on the part of capital, with the consequent impoverishment of the workmen. Nevertheless it is a false moral principle error more subtle than that of the Socialists—to hold that all products and

profits excepting those required to replace invested capital, belong by every right to the workman." The only way to stop this devastating, worldwide process of the impoverishment of the proletariat is to stop accumulating profits and to supply "an ample sufficiency" to the workman, so that "by thrift they may increase their possessions and... bear the family burden with greater ease and security, being freed from that 'hand-to-mouth insecurity' which is the lot of the proletarian." Unless serious attempts are made, with all energy and without delay, "to put these recommendations into practice 'let nobody persuade himself that the peace and tranquillity of human society can effectively be defended against the forces of revolution.'"

Such a programme, however, cannot be realized without proper wages. This discussion of wages is one of the most detailed, and for the general public one of the most interesting features of the *Encyclical*.

The Pope's doctrine as to the reform of the social order takes a middle course between individualism and State absorption: the course which America, particularly in reference to domestic affairs, has strenuously defended for years.

It is an injustice, a grave evil, and disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable, and it retains its full truth today. Of its very nature the true aim of all social activity should be to help individual members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb them.

Society, therefore, should be "organic" in the true sense of the word, in that a "graded hierarchical order exists between the various subsidiary organizations. The Pope is even more specific: the aim of social legislation must therefore be the establishment of vocational groups." Men should not be bound together "according to the position they occupy on the labour market, but according to the diverse functions they exercise in society." Such groups are necessary to the "natural and spontaneous development" of society.

He sees these vocational groupings, while far-reaching, yet as voluntary, or private in their origin. In this his concept differs from the compulsory governmental or syndical system of the Fascist State. He appraises, however, both the strength and the weakness of the latter system.

The abuse of capital, not the system as such, has brought about present evils. This abuse has taken the form of the capitalistic-economic regime, that has brought unlimited power not only to the owners, but even the trustees of invested funds"; and "irresistible power" when exercised by men "grasping as it were, at the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will." This concentration of power, the characteristic of the modern economic order, is a natural result of "limitless free competition," and has led to a threefold struggle for domination. Here, in a profound paragraph, the Pope puts his finger on the heart of the international situation:

First, there is the struggle for dictatorship in the economic sphere itself: then the fierce battle to acquire control of the State, so that its resources and authority may be abused in the economic

struggles; finally the clash between States themselves. This latter arises from two causes: because the nations apply their power and political influence, regardless of circumstances, to promote the economic advantages of their citizens, and because *vice versa* economic forces and economic domination are used to decide political controversies between peoples.

A Liberal's Confession of Faith

In his address delivered on the occasion of a dinner held in his honour by the Academy of Political Science of the United States, reproduced in *Political Science Quarterly*, Mr. Lippmann, the well-known journalist, gave an account of what he considered to be the fundamental philosophical position of liberalism and why it was necessary to the world. After referring to the fact that we cannot be certain of anything in our national life, he said:

What then can we adhere to, since in our world we cannot be sure we have attained the truth? We can adhere, I believe, to the ways in which men have found the truth and to the spirit in which they have sought it. We do not know the answers to all our problems. Who do not even know what all our problems are. We have only to look backward into history to see how often men have been preoccupied with issues that did not matter while they overlooked those which changed the course of history. Is there any reason to suppose that we see our world in any truer perspective? I should suppose not.

We must assume that the future will surprise us. We must acknowledge that we do not know how our destiny will unfold. We must believe that in the kind of world we live in, where invention and discovery engender such rapid change, it is impossible for us to say there is our goal and this is the straight road to it. We are compelled to say that the goal is hidden, that we can see only a little of the road, and that the road we see is not very clearly marked. We are explorers in a strange world, and what and what we must depend upon is not a map of the country—for there is no map—but upon those qualities of mind and heart and those distillations of experience which men have learned to depend upon when they faced the unknown.

This, perhaps, is the testament of liberalism. For underlying all the specific projects which men espouse who think of themselves as liberals there is always, it seems to me, a deeper concern. It is fixed upon the importance of remaining free in mind and in action before changing circumstances. That is why liberalism has always been associated with a passionate interest in freedom of thought and freedom of speech, with scientific research, with experiment, with the liberty of teaching, with the ideal of an independent and unbiased press, with the right of men to differ in their opinions and to be different in their conduct. That is why it is

associated with resistance to tyranny with criticism of dogma and authority, with hatred of intolerance and fanaticism, with distrust of suppression and repression, and all forms of centralized, rigid and alien direction of men's affairs.

This, many critics of liberalism say, leads to indecision and inaction. Mr. Lippmann admits that. But he queries further:

The question, however, is not whether it is easier or more exciting or more immediately effective in results to be illiberal, but whether the world we live in can be brought under civilized control without the gifts of the liberal spirit. I think it cannot be. In a stable, settled, and unchanging society, custom and established truth may suffice. But in an unstable and changing society like ours, the unceasing discovery of truth is a necessity. For the only sure foundation of action is truth that experience will verify, and the great concern of the liberal spirit with human freedom rests at last upon the conviction that at almost any cost men must keep open the channels of understanding and preserve unclouded, lucid and serene their receptiveness of truth. This concern with human freedom is not only a matter of resisting encroachment upon civil liberties. It is matter of personal honour, of seeking always in a spirit searching self-examination to confront the facts with a mind and with a heart that have no hidden entanglements. There are the entanglement of material things which push us to rationalize our self-interest in glorious abstractions. There are also the entanglements of our convictions, the deposits of pride, hope, vanity and stubbornness, which men often guard as jealously as their property. The liberal spirit is the effort, not of any cult, or sect, or party, but of any man or woman, to remain clear and free of his irrational, his unexamined, his unacknowledged prejudices, so that he may the more effectively make his little contribution "to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things."

The Charka and its Utility

Mr. Theodore Maynard puts forward the following justification of the charka in *The Catholic World*, a Catholic monthly of the United States:

I am inclined to think that the part of his programme that has been most effective is that part which has most often been jeered at—his revival of the hand-spinning wheel. Even Rabindranath Tagore when asked to lend the support of his

powerful example to the movement by spinning for half an hour a day is on record as having, retorted with unbecoming levity, "If half an hour why not eight hours?"

We might have expected the great poet to perceive that even half an hour's spinning, done every day in conjunction with millions of his obscure fellow-countrymen, would help greatly in effecting two things—the two things by the way that Tagore himself has been most interested in: the economic emancipation of India and her spiritual emancipation.

I hasten to explain that I do not believe, of course, that all that is needed for spiritual emancipation is a spinning wheel. But I take the *charka* to be a symbol, as well as a very practical instrument, and therefore let it stand for the whole revolt against industrialism. By fighting against the domination of Lancashire, whose machines have destroyed the greatest of the Indian village industries, Gandhi is doing much more than fighting for India: he is at the same time fighting the thing which degrades the spirit of man wherever this prime modern evil triumphs—the materialistic concept of industry. It is not a question here of a conflict between the civilizations of East and West, but of a conflict between God and Mammon.

And the spinning wheel is also the most practical means for supplementing the pitifully slender means of the *poor*. The vast mass of the people of India live always on the verge of starvation, and the failure of the monsoons inevitably brings famine. Though the *charka* will never produce food, when food is not to be had, it will at least provide the means of purchasing food except at times of the complete failure of the crops. No capital is needed to set one in operation, and any one can be readily taught how to handle the wheel, which is besides so little laborious that the aged and small children can take their part in contributing to the family fund. Moreover, the work is always done at home, and is non-competitive, since all are approximately equalized in its use. Should its re-establishment prove successful tremendous encouragement will be given to other peasant industries which have either perished, or are in danger of perishing, owing to the flooding of India by brummagem trash of various kinds.

If Gandhi can re-establish the spinning-wheel—and he has very largely done so already—he can make the people of India economically independent since their actual needs are few. That would give the whole country confidence, and increase the national dignity; and it would practically destroy the main reason for the British occupation: the need to find in India a market for British goods especially cotton cloth.

The Missionaries and Education

Mahatma Gandhi's warning against certain aspects of the missionary activities in India has naturally focussed discussions on these topics. The Rev. W. Paton examines the relations between religion and education in *The National Christian Council Review*.

It is in regard to the use of education as a missionary method that questioning has in fact mainly arisen. The simplest form of restriction has been the Conscience Clause, and as that Clause has been worked in certain Indian provinces where a pupil may be withdrawn from religious instruction in an aided school on the request of the parent or guardian, or of himself if a major, I can see no moral objection to it. In Burma the Conscience Clause has been carried a little further, and is now a condition not merely of receipt of a grant-in-aid but of recognition. This is somewhat less self-evidently just, for it may be held as right that an institution offering a certain kind of education, and that only, to all its pupils, may, if it satisfies educational standards, be recognized as a school within the established system. The process of restriction is carried still further in modern Turkey, where a religion may be taught to children who already are adherents of that religion, but not to others even if they desire it. A fourth stage has been reached in the new regulations in China which if carried out in practice will ensure that no religion of any kind shall be taught in the lower schools, and only as an elective subject in the upper schools and colleges, the idea underlying the proposals undoubtedly being that if no religion is taught in the lower schools it will not be 'selected' in the upper. The final stage is reached in Soviet Russia, where religion of all kinds is banned from the schools as intellectual and social poison.

Judged by the standards of freedom which exist in stable and fully democratic states I do not think that these latter types of restriction are intellectually or morally justified. It is nevertheless important to understand the forces which give rise to them. In the case of Turkey and still more of China, one element in the new restrictions is undoubtedly the belief, which has its origin in influential centres of learning in the West, that religion is an 'old-fashioned' affair, inimical to human freedom, to social progress, and to enlightenment. I imagine that the underlying thought is not different from that of the group of intellectuals in London who during the debates on the last Education Bill in the House of Commons wrote to the *Nation* protesting against the common assumption that some kind of religious education ought to be maintained in the schools. In view of the fact that religion was at best a harmless butty and certainly should have no

place in education. Along with this has gone a still more powerful conviction, namely that the foreign school, i.e., the school established and maintained under foreign auspices, is a denationalizing element in the State. In any country where full national freedom has not yet been achieved or is only being achieved, and the profound confidence engendered by long stability has not yet been reached, such a suspicion is natural, and only time and persistent and humble goodwill can demolish it.

The Decay of Humanism

"Christianity and the New Age" by Mr. Christopher Dawson is one of the latest books in the series "Essays in Order" which M. Jaques Maritain, the distinguished French philosopher and Mr. Wust is bringing out. In this book Mr. Dawson demonstrates the gradual decline of humanism since its glorious apogee in the age of the Renaissance. The following is the summary of his conclusions on this subject, made for *C. S. S. Review* by Father Verrier Elwin.

"The Renaissance has its beginning in the self-discovery, the self-realization and the self-exaltation of Man. Medieval man had attempted to base his life on the supernatural. His ideal or knowledge was not the adventurous quest of the human mind exploring its own kingdom; it was an intuition of the eternal varieties which is itself an emanation from the Divine Intellect—*irradiatio et participatio primæ veri*. The men of the Renaissance, on the other hand, turned away from the eternal and the absolute to the world of nature and human experience. They rejected their dependence on the supernatural, and vindicated their independence and supremacy in the temporal order. But thereby they were gradually led by an internal process of logic to criticize the principles of their own knowledge and to lose confidence in their own freedom. The self-affirmation of man gradually led to the denial of the spiritual foundations of his freedom and knowledge. In science, also, the growth of man's control over nature is accompanied by a growing sense of his dependence on material forces. "So we have the paradox that at the beginning of the Renaissance, when the conquest of nature and the creation of modern science are still unrealized, man appears in godlike freedom with a sense of unbounded power and greatness, while at the end of the nineteenth century, when nature has been conquered and there seem no limits to the powers of science man is once more conscious of his misery and weakness as the slave

of material circumstance and physical appetite and death.

"Instead of the heroic 'exaltation of humanity' which was characteristic of the naturalism of the Renaissance, we see the humiliation of humanity in the anti-human naturalism of Zola. Man is stripped of his glory and freedom and left as a naked human animal shivering in an inhuman universe.

... to deny itself and to pass away into its opposite. For Nietzsche, who refused to surrender the spiritual element in the Renaissance tradition, humanism is transcended in an effort to attain to the superhuman without abandoning the self-assertion and the rebellious freedom of the individual will—an attempt which inevitably ends in self-destruction. But modern civilization as a whole could not follow this path. It naturally chose to live as best it could, rather than to commit a spectacular suicide. And so, in order to adapt itself to the new conditions, it was forced to throw over the humanist tradition.

Hence the increasing acceptance of the mechanization of life that has characterized the last thirty years."

It is significant, as Mr. Dawson points out, that almost the only original element in the thought of the new age should be the work of Jews. In physical science the dominant figure is Einstein, in psychology it is Freud, in economics and sociology it is Marx. The reason is, of course, that "the Jewish mind alone in the West has its own sources of life which are independent of the Hellenic and the Renaissance traditions."

The greatest danger to Europe is not "that we should actively adopt the Bolshevik cult of Marxian materialism, but rather that we should yield ourselves passively to a practical materialization of culture after the American pattern. The Communists may have deified mechanism in theory, but it is the Americans who have realized it in practice."

The realization of the decline of the humanist tradition and the prospect of the complete mechanization of Western civilization have produced a striking change in the modern intellectual attitude towards religion. The present generation, even the rebels are beginning to feel the need for a recovery of the religious attitude to life which the European mind has lost during the last two centuries. It is only in France that this tendency has taken the form of a complete acceptance of orthodox Catholicism. Elsewhere, the old rationalist hostility to the idea of the supernatural and the transcendental persists side by side with the desire to find a new sacred basis for civilization which will serve as a bulwark against the standardized mass-civilization of the new age.

White-Ants

"White-ants may be white but are not ants," says Mr. S. H. Prater, c. m. z. s., Curator Bombay National History Society, in the *Indian State Railways Magazine*. We learn:

White-ants are not ants. In the manner of its development from the egg in the structure of

legs, its mouth parts, of its wings when it wears them, white-ant differs fundamentally from the ant. Its correct name and one less open to objection is Termit.

To those unskilled in distinguishing between them and the business is not simple, all termites are alike. Yet the termitologist recognizes some 1,200 different species. The majority of these dwell in Tropical countries.

Termites are an ancient race whose history goes back to the dawning ages of time. Many millions of years before man's appearance they had already established themselves in flourishing communities all over the world. Through untold ages the race has survived, has conserved its character and maintained its niche in the grand panorama of life on this planet.

The history of the Termit is a record of the ceaseless struggles of a weak and timid people against a relentless and determined enemy. Termites in tropical countries have no foes more dreadful more implacable than the ants. Between the termites and the ants there has been waged a merciless war which has continued unabated for millions of years. It would almost seem that Nature has destined the ant to become the exterminator of these weaker and comparatively defenceless insects.

If necessity be the mother of invention then adversity its grandmother. The persecution of these weak and timid creatures, their ceaseless need for defence against a voracious and ever aggressive enemy have gradually produced among the termites better and more efficient devices for countering the attacks of their hereditary foes.

The Indian Ordnance Factories

The Army Retranchment Committee, now sitting, is giving its particular attention to the Government ordnance factories. The *Mysore Economic Journal* publishes a very timely article on them by Mr. P. S. Ginnston, the former Director of Ordnance Factories.

The maintenance of a standing army is a heavy burden on the state and the expenditure involved thereby is usually regarded as a necessary evil, unaccompanied during peace time by any corresponding benefit to the community. The primary object of this paper is to show that in India something must be placed to the credit side of the account, and that the country does actually derive from the Ordnance Factories she has to maintain some very substantial benefits, usually overlooked.

The manufacture of modern armaments involves two essentials—lightness and interchangeability. The former necessitates the use of high class materials and the latter great accuracy in manufacture to ensure that component parts shall assemble correctly without having to be fitted or adjusted in any way. In order to ensure these two essentials a very rigid system of inspection is necessary. Let it be supposed, for instance, that certain parts of the breech mechanism of an 18-pounder field gun, on active service, require replacement—going to war or damage by enemy fire. The new components must fit without th

necessity for adjustment by a skilled mechanic. No such mechanical adjustments are possible in the field. A very minute departure from standard dimensions would in many cases, render the component incapable of functioning. In breech mechanisms of this kind there are many dimensions which must be kept within a manufacturing tolerance of two-thousandths of an inch, and in the case of certain rifle parts one thousandth of an inch is the maximum departure from standard allowable. It may be mentioned that a cigarette paper is approximately one-thousandth of an inch thick. In order to maintain such standards of workmanship and material very highly organized factories are necessary. It is only natural therefore to expect that the Ordnance Factories should contribute to the introduction of mechanical and other processes into India.

The Ordnance Factories have, it seems to me, contributed to the introduction of technical education into India. The primary object of this was to enable Indians to fill posts on the staff of the Ordnance Factories, but since they are free to use this training in order to qualify for positions in private industry, the benefits conferred on the country is obvious. Every encouragement is given to manufacturers to visit these factories and inspect the processes, and members of the Ordnance Factories staff are sometimes deputed to visit the works of private firms in order to give advice.

An endeavour has been made to induce the more intelligent and better educated to enter the engineering profession and the various trades connected therewith. There has in the past been a tendency in India for the superior elements of society to favour the various writing professions and avoid the vocations connected with production. A change in outlook is, however, taking place in this respect and tradition is being replaced by enlightenment and scientific knowledge. It is interesting and instructive to witness a group of Rifle Factory apprentices many of whom are drawn from the upper social strata, doing manual work which they certainly would not have done twenty-five years ago. These lads realize that if they are to rise to positions of responsibility in the engineering profession they must possess real knowledge which must come in through the finger and cannot be acquired only through book learning.

A Supreme Court for India

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C. I. E., ex-Advocate-General, Madras, pleads strongly for a Supreme Court for all India in *The Indian Review* :

The idea of a Supreme Court for India has entered upon a new phase after the Round Table Conference. It was originally an idea of the politicians. The lawyer was not very much in favour of it. It is intelligible that it should be so. The politician keeps on establishing for India equality of status with the Dominions naturally desirous to have an institution that he conceived to be in a national character of that kind and the lawyer

for the securing of uniformity of decisions in the various provinces should be satisfied with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nevertheless the sentiment in favour of the Supreme Court has been steadily growing. It was first moved in the form of a resolution by Sir Hari Singh Gour in the Legislative Assembly in 1921. By a unanimous vote of the Assembly it was decided to elicit the opinion of the country. Renewed in 1922 it was rejected as inopportune. It was brought up again in 1925 and was defeated by a large majority though Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Eardley Norton were in favour of the motion. Mr. Motilal Nehru was opposed to it and contributed not a little to its defeat. That may be said to be the turning-point in the history of the idea.

Since then Dr. Bhausaheb D. Home Rule Bill adopted by the I.L.P. in England and read once in the House of Commons, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's book on the Indian Constitution, the Draft Constitution of Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar and Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, two ex-presidents of the Indian National Congress and that of Mr. Rangaswami Aiyangar have all been published and they all support the idea of a Supreme Court. Mr. Motilal Nehru himself has in the draft Constitution which bears his name given his support to the institution.

The Simon Report and the Dispatch of the Government of India treated the federation of India as a far-off ideal and did not provide a federal court for India. At the Round Table Conference the Princes surprised everybody by their assent to the idea of federation not as a remote ideal but as one immediately capable of a fair measure of realization. A federal court became at once an essential part of the new Constitution. The Lord Chancellor therefore took it for granted. The question then arises as to whether this federal court should or should not also be a supreme court of appeal from all the Indian High Courts.

Sir Ambrose Martin, the retired Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in a paper read by him before the East India Association on the 10th of March last, urged the conclusion that "for a federal India, a Federal Supreme Court was desirable and it should be a final Court of Appeal from the High Courts in India, subject in some exceptional cases to a further appeal to the Privy Council."

It must be added however that at the recent Madras Advocates Conference held in Easter last Mr. Rangaswami, a public man of the front rank and the leader of the Nationalist party in the Assembly, showed the greatest reluctance to the transfer of appellate jurisdiction from the P. C. to a Supreme Court. Notwithstanding this hesitancy of some of the men of the older generation there is clear and unmistakable indication that opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of a Supreme Court taking over the appellate jurisdiction of the P. C. It is needless to add that the Madras Conference was unanimously in favour of Mr. Rangaswami's hesitation in favour of it.

On the whole then it may be taken that the idea of a Federal Supreme Court is no longer likely to be a subject of controversy or serious dissent in Britain or in India. If there should be any differences, it can only be in regard to details.

Gandh. and Economics

In the *Calcutta Review* for July Mr. R. Sreenivasa Acharlu estimates the service of Mahatma in a machine-ridden world.

Gandhiji has spiritualized economics as he has spiritualized politics. Said he 'Whereas religion to be worth anything must be capable of being reduced to terms of economics. Economics must also be capable of being reduced to terms of religion or spirituality' (A. M. C. A. speech). It must represent years of meditation and communion with suffering and Human Nature. In his scheme of Religion—Economics, as he terms it, there is no room for exploitation. His ideal is that Capital and Labour should supplement each other. They should be a great family living in unity and harmony. (VII. 34) Spiritual economics based on faith in God, Truth and Love of humanity teaches us that men in charge of machinery will think not of themselves or even of the nation to which they belong, but of the whole human race. (VII. 38.)

By a stroke of good luck India may to-morrow send bales of fine textiles to Britain and other countries of the world and commence a chapter of wrongs and exploitation. She might thus wreak vengeance on history but would never save her soul. Her culture and her philosophy of Ahimsa point to a different moral. Her material progress must be based on the religion of humanity. What sublime economic principles are laid down in Gandhiji's statement, 'I want India's rise so that the whole world may benefit; I do not want India's rise on the ruin of other nations' (VII. 41). This is not narrow nationalism but universalism of the purest type.

Summing up from the purely *paramarthika* point of view, Gandhiji considers machinery an evil and a curse, while from the *Vyavaharika* point of view, he regards it as an inevitable necessity. But a machine is only a means for the progress of humanity and must be based on the ideals of Truth, Ahimsa and Love. It must be simple, life-giving, educative, creative, humanitarian and spiritual. Gandhiji has discovered one such machine—*The Spinning Wheel*.

Revision of Insurance Law

Revision of insurance law is a necessity, maintains the *Insurance World* in the face of the refusal of Sir George Raney to the representation to the same effect. Writes the Editor :

In reply to our criticism with regard to the apathy of the Government in the matter of the revision of the existing insurance law, we, have received a communication from the Government of India enclosing a copy of speech delivered by the Hon. Sir George Raney, at the annual meeting of the Federation of India Chambers of Commerce and Industry held at Delhi in April last. The main point emphasized by Sir George was that there was no ground for emergency action in the matter of an amendment of the Insurance Act. Proceeding he said that any bill to revise and

amend the Insurance Act would certainly be highly controversial and Government certainly felt that the atmosphere of the last twelve months was not a suitable atmosphere for undertaking legislation of that kind, because the controversial questions which would arise being the racial character and involving the whole issue of what is and what is not unfair discrimination are precisely the question which have come for consideration at the Round Table Conference. He further remarked that 'these questions so far as the Government of India are concerned have been taken out of our hands for the time being and they will be settled in one form or other at the R. T. C.' He had given an assurance that when this settlement has been reached the way will be cleared to take up the amendment of the Insurance Act.

It is quite clear that there is a wide divergence between the standpoint taken by Sir George Raney and the point of view of the Federation. The former is obsessed with the idea of protecting the policy-holders while the latter representing the interests of Indian trade and commerce has put forward a more comprehensive demand, namely the protection of Indian Insurance.

In the last issue of the *Insurance World* we have pointed out the defects of any scheme to protect the policy-holders only. The demand of the Federation is more reasonable and if the same is conceded it will ultimately benefit the insured as well as the insured. But now that the Government have definitely decided not to take up the question of revision of insurance law till the R. T. C. has concluded its deliberations, we ask our countrymen attending the said Conference to take up the cause of Indian Insurance and fight for same. In the last issue we have already referred to the Protocol agreed upon at the International Conference on the Treatment of Foreigners held under the auspices of the League of Nations. We hope the Indian delegates would not surrender the privilege India has been entitled to under the said Protocol.

Education and Law and Order

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Prof. J. W. Gregory, LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., in the *Khalsa Review* in discussing the problem of Indian education and unemployment. We are amused to read :

Education in India is a factor of the highest political importance. According to the deliberate judgment of competent authorities learning has been longer and is more highly honoured in India than in any other country in the world, and on no other continent is there such a more direct and more intimate connection between education and employment. Yet its existing higher education is widely condemned as mischievous and demoralizing. The Indian Universities are denounced as raising a race of unemployed and unemployable malcontents who are a hindrance to progress. Twelve years ago it was my lot to visit India as a member of the Commission for the Reform of the Calcutta University. Before leaving this country I was emphatically warned by people of long Indian

Even today boys in High Schools, emotional and incapable of forming balanced opinion because of their youth and ignorance, perhaps are easily won over to the methods of violence, and do not for obvious reasons easily give up what they imbibe then. But, the police perhaps are no longer sure of the University graduates. Science students and research scholars, we are told, are objects of their suspicion. They 'like' such educated men.

(1) The Pre-Aryan Art of India, connected with Pre-Aryan religion earliest relics found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa suppressed or submerged during the centuries of Aryan supremacy in religion and culture or perhaps existing in a flourishing state with the old religion side by side with Aryan religion and culture, and coming to its own probably in the middle (or first half) of

(10) The Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan in which (5)(4) and (6) meet with fresh influences from Persia (Sasanian Art), and later on is further modified by (7) and varieties of (8). There is also profound modification by the native art and spirit of China.

Position of Women in Turkey To-day

By Mrs. NILAMA DESAI, B.A.

TO estimate properly the exact position which women in Turkey have acquired to-day, we must turn back to the past, to the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. Only then can we have a true perspective of the vast changes that the Revolution has brought about in the lives of our Turkish sisters.

At the time when English women had just embarked on their fight for equality with men, having fully realized their strength and capacities for even the hardest job in life, during the Great War, women in Turkey were still enshrouded under their veil; Turkey, till then known as the Sick Man of Europe, had just begun to work out her political liberation and had no definite plans for the emancipation of her womanhood. Women had no status, either social or political, in society. They could not move out of their houses alone. If they did, that was always in a group, like so many moving black bundles, seldom speaking to anyone or even amongst themselves; they almost looked like silent spectres. They could not dare accompany their menfolk who moved about only with their kind or at times with European women. In the home, it was even worse. They were secluded in the harem which was sure to be not the best portion of the house. There was a mighty screen of entire separation standing between and dividing the two sexes. The almighty veil, the scourge of womanhood, was there, and denied to them the vision of the world outside. The veil was made of thick canvas and it completely hid their features. Besides, it entailed a number of physical discomforts; it was hot and uncomfortable, causing severe pain in the eyes by sudden exposure to the sun when thrown back and giving rise to a sort of squinting habit. Yet on no account was the veil to be discarded. Abdul Hamid was the most orthodox of the Sultans, and whatever little freedom women had gained during the time of his predecessor was lost to them during his regime. Polygamy was permissible. The law allowed the man the

privilege of divorcing his wife whenever he liked by simple words of repudiation, and taking to himself another one. Women were like slaves or rather mere chattels of the household—whose only goal in life was to find and keep good masters for themselves. They had no freedom in marriage and were given away in marriage to any man irrespective of age, culture, education and opinion. To dream of economic independence when such were the state of things would be nothing but a ludicrous dream.

There was very little of female education. The girls were not allowed to be educated in schools. They received their training, whatever it was worth, at home under the seclusion of the harem. Rich families, however, kept European governesses for their daughters, who thus indirectly came in touch with a culture diametrically opposed to their own. Some girls could speak and read French well, and this also initiated them into a wider outlook of life and gave them some idea about the conditions prevailing in other countries, gradually giving birth to a feeling of discontent and revolt in their hearts. A sort of self-consciousness as the creatures of a new era dawned on them. This new generation of girls, comparing their lives with those of their sisters in Western lands, saw their degradation and realized the true nature of their status. The tortures of the harem and the antediluvian institution of polygamy, with its paraphernalia of hate and jealousies—the ruin of a happy and peaceful home, gnawed at them.

Indeed, to summarize the situation, we might say that women of Turkey in those days were suffering from a terrible mental torpor and were surging with an inner feeling of revolt—a longing to free themselves from the shackles of social and economic bondage, which they dared not express but could not entirely stifle, and consequently a wide gulf separated them from their mothers.

It was the Revolution, the birth of a New Turkey, that brought the question of women's emancipation to the forefront. The young leaders realizing that with their women tied

down to the age-old traditions of social bondage, they would not be able to work out their country's liberation. tried to tackle the problem in a liberal spirit and saw with a deep foresight that education was the premier requisite in securing the liberation of women. Schools were opened and women like Halide and Nakkie Hanoum played an important role in moulding the future of their unlucky sisters and in bringing forth a new awakening. Yet this was a far off way to the realization of the lofty ideal that the Young Turks had set before them.

Women did not avail themselves of the opportunities offered to them. The majority was against any sort of militant and radical attitude similar to that displayed by their European sisters; moreover, there was the extreme fanatical opinion to be coped with. Orthodox opinion was to be won over first before any progress was made. The Revolution brought to the Turkish women the right to travel freely. Turkish diplomats began taking their wives to other countries on the Continent and some adventurous spirits among women themselves went on their own initiative to Europe to see and study things for themselves. Needless to say, the ultra-radical movements prevalent on the other side of the Dardanelles and Bosphorous did not meet with their entire approval. The veil was no doubt discarded once for all in Turkey, and women began to enjoy the blessings and joy of a free and unhampered life. But at home all was not well, there was very little of progress. The Ulemas had succeeded in strengthening the public opinion against the discarding of the veil, citing the Koran in its support: the true spirit of the scripture was misjudged.

Then came the war. This offered a fresh opportunity to the Turkish woman to show her mettle. In the great national calamity, the Turkish women played their role very creditably. They took a very leading part in helping the distressed. Public health, education and child-welfare were all women's spheres of work, and they readily shouldered the responsibilities for these. The leaders of the feminist movement encouraged all these stray efforts. Meetings were held and there men spoke strongly in favour of women's emancipation. There was a very slow and what seemed to be rather a discouraging

response to this appeal, but at last it seemed that their efforts would not be in vain. Women gradually adapted themselves to their new responsibilities and began to take an active part in all progressive movements. But this was a mere beginning. To free the women completely from their shackles, there was only one specific remedy, a fiat from the existing Government. But how was that to be secured? The Government was confronted with strong opposition on every side—the orthodox Ulemas, the old Moslem tradition, the Imperial family, and the existing laws. All these had to be encountered and the Government had neither the strength nor the power to defy Islam and carry out their bold policy. It required daring and strong conviction, combined with a tenacity of purpose, to attain the goal, and it was left to Mustafa Kamal Pasha to handle the situation and deal the final stroke to fanaticism and bigotry. A new era had dawned. Mustafa Kamal Pasha was determined to carry out this bold policy and he was aided in his work by the prestige he had gained by becoming the country's saviour.

By a stroke of the pen the veil was banished from the land for ever. Women were given the right of free and unhampered movement. A new status was given to her both socially and politically on the nation's statute. She became economically independent and was on a footing of equality with men. A radical change was also made in the marriage laws. The girl chooses her own life partner instead of "being given away," and divorce is only permissible under the strict adherence of the Swiss Code, which was made compulsory in Turkey. The courts of law and not the whims of a man decided henceforth such a grave issue. This was an indirect blow to the harem system. Girls were allowed to attend public schools and co-education was advocated. This was a distinct step towards democracy. New Turkey required her sons as well as her daughters to bear this responsibilities, and the farsighted policy of Mustafa Kamal Pasha made Turkey what it is to-day. The women look upon their past as a shadow which has disappeared for ever. All shackles are broken and they are doing all they can to justify their newly acquired freedom.

The Music of the Atoms

A New Application of Sir C. V. Raman's Scientific Discovery

A very interesting application of a scientific discovery of Sir C. V. Raman was recently demonstrated in America. On April 17 last Dr. Donald H. Andrews of Johns Hopkins University played the hidden music of alcohol and other chemical substances in a Science Service radio talk over the nation wide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System at Washington.

The music of the spheres, which up till now existed entirely in the poet's imagination, said Dr. Andrews, is being approached in a tangible way by recent developments in science and indeed was actually transposed and played by him as chords and runs on the piano in the course of his talk.

Sir Chandrasekhara V. Raman of Calcutta, India, has recently given physicists a new way of listening to, or really seeing, the music of the atoms.

The Raman spectrum, said Dr. Andrews, shows us that a molecule, such as one unit of water, is really a little musical instrument, much like a harp, playing its own characteristic tune.

"Of course you do not hear it if you hold a glass of water up to your ear because the tune is pitched many millions of times higher than the highest note on a piano or violin," Dr. Andrews said. "In fact, it is

really light and not sound that is given off. By photographing this light, however, we can detect the notes that are present, and can transpose them to a lower frequency just as you shift a chord from the top to the bottom of the piano. In this way the atomic music can be brought down to a range where we can hear it, and play it on any familiar instrument."

The chords of water, grain alcohol, wood alcohol, chloroform, benzene, gasoline, sulphuric acid were played in turn by Dr. Andrews.

Alcohol had rather a sweet-sounding chord, but chloroform, like wood alcohol, was harsh. Gasoline gave a very modernistic chord extending over the entire range of the keyboard. Benzene was rather melancholy. Sulphuric acid was also very modern.

The spectra or chords of several hundred different chemical compounds have been photographed and analysed.

These experiments also provide much new material for the musicians if they care to use it. Dr. Andrews closed his talk by playing a piece composed by Abram Moses, formerly of the Peabody Institute of Music in Baltimore. The composition was based on the chords of water, grain alcohol and wood alcohol.

INDIANS ABROAD

This month, we shall suspend the usual monthly survey of overseas affairs to take into consideration the report on the emigrants repatriated to India, under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, from South Africa, issued by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhawan Dayal Sannyasi. This document is extremely painful reading and humiliating to the last degree for the people of India. It is not that Indian leaders and publicists are not taking sufficient interest in the fate of thousands of their fellow-countryman in the dominions and colonies

of the British Empire. As a matter of fact, this is one of the sorest spots in the Indian political consciousness. But it does sound incredible that after the publication of stories of such agonizing suffering, a suffering which the authorities of the other parts of the British Empire have done nothing to spare our unfortunate countrymen who have put themselves in their power, and the people and the Government of India have done nothing to alleviate, a wave of indignation should not have swept over the country and called for justice to these men.

INDIANS ABROAD

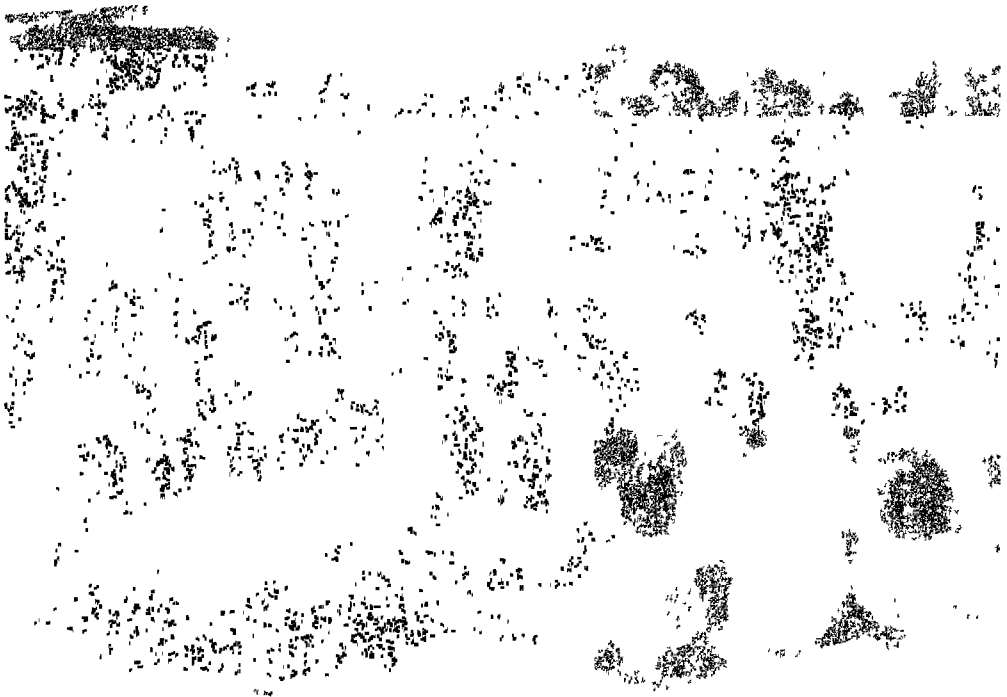
The story of the repatriation of Indian emigrants from 1892 is well-known, and the problems too, are perhaps as old as that date. There are three definite stages in the relationship of the emigrated Indian with the Natal Government. In the first, the South African Government pursued what has been aptly called a system of compulsory repatriation from 1895 to 1913. In the twelve years from 1902, when the Act 17 of 1895 imposing a tax of £3 annually on any Indian residing in Natal at the end of his term of indenture, became operative, the South African Government got rid of 32,506 Indians. Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement brought this system to an end, and the second stage is marked by the scheme of voluntary repatriation which continued for another twelve years from 1914 to 1926. The purpose of the Indian Relief Bill of 1914 was nothing else than eradication of the "Indian cancer," and 20,384 Indians returned from South Africa between 1914 and 1926. They gave up their right of domicile in exchange for the free passage (altogether costing the S. A. Government till 1926, £39,534), and they could never return to South Africa again. This second stage, too, ended and we are witnessing from 1927 the third stage in the policy which is known as "Repatriation under the Assisted Emigration Scheme" or the Cape Town Agreement. A bonus of £20 for every adult and £10 for each minor offered by the Union Government in addition to the cost of passage on behalf of each and all leaving the colony is a generous proposal. The promise of the S. A. Government to receive back any repatriated colonist returning within a period of three years on repayment of the bonus, the cost of passage, etc. looks still more generous. The scheme fulfilled at first all the expectations of the Union Government, but soon there was a fall in the number of people availing themselves of such a generous scheme, and the decrease caused, writes Sir K. V. Reddy, the Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, in his report for the year ending 31st December, 1929, "the greatest anxiety both to the Agent and to the Union Government." But is the repatriation of the emigrated Indian no ground for anxiety at all to any one on earth? "Out of a total of 7,500 returned emigrants (under the Assisted Emigration Scheme) only 73 or 74 have been able to return to South Africa again,"

writes Swarni Bhawani Dava in his report. "It is certain that repatriated emigrants will not return to Africa if they had the means to do so." A definite statement is based on the enquiry made by the Agent into the condition of the emigrants, and his experience and conclusions are supported by Pundit Benarsidas Chaturvedi who have studied the problem of returned emigrants for a very long



Colonial-born children with their families, a distance of 2,500 miles and reach their place Natal, but were immediately deported to India. They had been repatriated under the voluntary repatriation scheme.

The problem is neither new nor unknown. The voluntary repatriation ending in 1926 proved a failure to the unfortunate colonists themselves of it, and Mr. And first lent his support to it, and of the step. Pundit Benarsidas finds that the repatriated color have the same problems as the returned



some repatriates in Madras returned from South Africa under the Assisted Emigration

other parts of the world to the Indian. The problem may be stated in as few as its importance would allow of the repatriates belong to a generation who have grown in the colony, were and brought up there, and are to the climate and conditions of life ing there. For them, the colony is in sense the mother country, and in they are in the midst of an alien and in an inhospitable climate. To others who left the shores of their country many years ago, this no longer appears as that land of offering a cheap livelihood, as they her decades ago. Moreover, uprooted the native soil, they have given up in colony the old caste prejudices, and into marital and other social relationships which their own community in would never tolerate. Wistfully as returned to their villages, they were away, for they could not fit in with social structure of the village community. ally, such a class of old repatriates or colony born children are the victims venturers who hang about them from port dock to the industrial slums where

they finally drift. The b apathy or antipathy of their is counterbalanced by the s economic ruin. The life they used to in the colonies offered standard than that they are to India. The colony born had be tunities of educating himself in could expect a more remunerat a higher standard of living. In have to forgo everything like is more merciless to him here because of an uncongenial climate because of a society in which a mistfit, and economically because a lower remuneration and a low of living.

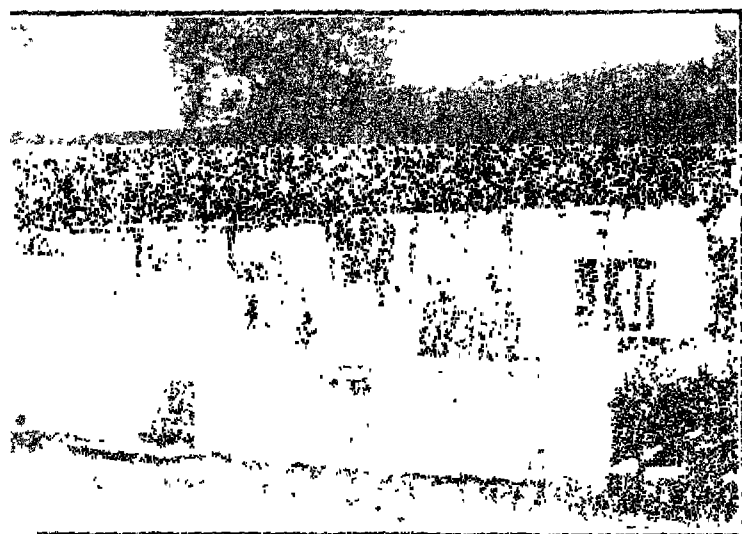
How do they then fare in some concrete instances, called report of Panditji and Swamiji, to language can adequately bring home

More than forty years ago, Gop. Dhaurhari, Dt. Basti, left his village for Natal as an indentured labourer. child of six months named Guljar. for five years under indenture and a free labourer in Natal. By his thr he was able to save some money and bighas of and on ease. He gre

INDIANS ABROAD



The Victims of the Assisted Emigration Scheme in Calcutta



Natal House, Madras

Opened by the Government of India to provide shelter to decrepit Indian immigrants repatriated from South Africa under the Assisted Emigration Scheme

to support his family which
one fairly large. In 1937
the bonus of £ 20 per adult
leave South Africa for India.
-st son of Gonal, tell the

"I told my father to go alone and I
along with my five brothers and the
Natal, but he insisted, with the result that
had to leave Natal. We knew Mr. Soral
Kaka Rastooji person and he told us
leave Natal but my father paid no heed

1
I left
my mother and, for I was only six months old
when I accompanied my parents to Natal. My
brothers, their wives and children not my own
and we are all colonial born. We arrived at Middelburg
and there where we were sent along with a couple
of Coloureds. This guide took two rupees from each
one of us. Neither at Middelburg nor at Calcutta did
any one ask us if we wanted any work. From
Calcutta we went to Calcutta. Our father left us
there and went to his village to see his relatives.
He returned from there after fifteen days a broken-
hearted man and died shortly afterwards. When
he was on his death-bed he called us together and
said, "Now there is no hope of my recovery.
What will happen to you is my only anxiety.
What a great burden I made in bringing you all
here," and he began to weep. We comforted him
and told him that it was our own *Karma* that had
brought us here and he need not be anxious about
us; he must depart peacefully. After our father's
death we stayed for some time in Calcutta and
then left for Calcutta. Since then we have been
living at Obusri near Howrah. We have spent all
the money that we had brought and are penniless
now.

It is very difficult to get any work here. In
Natal I used to get Rs. 22 and a half with rations
and my wife used to stay at home comfortably and
look after the children. Now she too, who had
never worked as a labourer in Natal, has to labour
hard in a public mill. We get Rs. 2 and munnas eight
per week, but the mills do not work more than
two weeks per month. The result is that we do
not get even sufficient food. Once, or sometimes
even twice a week we get no food at all. Two of
my brothers are dead and the unfortunate widows
have to work hard in the mill to keep themselves
alive. I have lost a nephew who was ten years
of age. We have got considerably indebted and
I have to pay interest at the rate of one anna per
rupee per month (i.e. 75 per cent per annum). We
had never imagined that we shall have to lead such
miserable lives in India. Had we only known about
the real conditions in India we would have never
dreamt of leaving Natal."

I saw Guljar and his family crowded in two
rooms. They were more than sixteen or seventeen
—men, women and children. One was suffering
from some skin disease, another was down with
malaria, while the third had another disease. It
was so difficult to realize that they once belonged
to Natal, for they were now so different from the
healthy colonial born children of South Africa.
They had the same old tattered clothes on their
bodies which they had brought from Natal. With
their very much limited means they could not get
new clothes made for themselves here. These
children recognized me and there was a gleam of
joy in their eyes. They met one from their
motherland for Natal was really their motherland,
their parents and themselves having been born
there. They had their bodies here and pointing
out their skin diseases told me "Look here, that's
what we have got in India." They look forward
to the day when they will be able to return to
Natal. That day will never come.

station by adventures a large number of whom
are to be found in the cities like Calcutta. Being
thus left penniless, this man was ashamed to go
to his village and drifted to Mahabur. Here he
has lost a wife and has two children by her. Being without any employment
he is on the verge of starvation. There are women
deserted by their husbands and husbands whose
wives have run away with other people.

There is a widow named M... who has eight
children and who arrived from South Africa in
May 1929. The eldest child is only eighteen years
of age. M... sold away the right of Gese, un-
suspecting children for the net sum of £10 each. She
deposited Rs. 700 with the Special Officer, keeping
a certain sum for expenses. In July, she withdrew
Rs. 100; in August Rs. 150; in October Rs. 250 and
in November Rs. 100. In December when I
reached Madras she had only Rs. 100 in her
account with the Special Officer and she had
already insisted for the payment of that sum many
a time. The children must be starving now. Of
course, their return to Natal is almost impossible.

Sambhagan a young girl who was born in
Natal came away from South Coast Junction with
her husband and a child of one year. The child
died soon after their arrival in Madras in 1928.
The husband also died shortly afterwards. She
was now all alone. The bonus money had been
almost spent, only Rs. 13 remaining out of it.

'Anywhere out of India' is the cry of the
returned emigrants. Mr. Andrews was struck
with it, and Pandu Benarasidas also met with
the same cry. It has been repeated for years
by each and every one of them whether from
Fiji, Trinidad or British Guiana. It rang in
the ears of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanayasi,
himself a Colonial born as he toured from
Bombay to Bihar, to Calcutta and its
suburbs, Howrah and Mahabur, and to
Madras to acquaint himself with the
conditions of his brothers from overseas.
But no way is open to them. The repatriate
colonists can not be happy except in the
colonies—their homes—, they maintain; and
all who have studied the question, from
Mahatmaji and Mr. Andrews to Panditji
and Swamiji, are convinced of this. But
can it be arranged for? The former
Voluntary Repatriation Scheme left no room for
such efforts. 20,384 men were condemned
to live in India. Let us cite the case of
two such men:

Muni Gadu left South Africa with his three
colonial born children—two sons and one daughter—
under the voluntary repatriation scheme.
Muni Gadu had left India when he was only a
child and he could not trace his house or his family
in South India. The climate of India did not suit
these people because they were acclimatized to
South Africa. He, therefore, left India with his
sons Narayanswamy and Amasha Gadu and the

daughter. They managed to reach Dar-es-Salaam and from there they wrote to the Union minister for leave to enter Natal. This was refused. They therefore decided to tramp and eventually reached Bikozi in Zululand. Tramping a distance of 2,500 miles is not an easy thing. But they took all the terrible risks of walking on foot on sands and through forests to enter their land of birth for Narayan Singh, Aashu and their sister did not know of any country but South Africa. As soon as they reached the border of Natal they were arrested, prosecuted, declared prohibited immigrants and ordered to be deported to India. They knock'd down pillars to post but no one heard their tale of woe. The courts decided that they had no right to open the case.

About four years ago one man named Rumnath came to my house. Pravas-Bhawani, in Bihar, and told me that he was in great trouble and would commit suicide if he could not get a job in Natal where he had left his wife and children. Rumnath had left India for Natal with his mother when he was only an infant and he was practically like a colonial born Indian. I tried to console him. But what consolation could be offered? He had said away his right of domicile in Natal and there was absolutely no possibility of his ever being permitted to reside there. I gave him a letter of introduction to Raja Sihab of Surrapura and asked him to give up all hope of returning to South Africa. But Rumnath was not to be deterred from his purpose. He reached Beira in Portuguese East Africa and walked all the distance of three to four thousand miles to see his wife and children in New Caledonia. The police got the news. Rumnath was arrested and deported to India.

Of the 7,600 and more who have returned under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, and all of whom pine for the colonial home, not more than one per cent has been able to regain their Union domicile. The bonus, the passage, etc., they can never earn in the period of three years of grace granted to them for the purpose. So, Swami Bhawani Dayalji warns us: "You can meet these Narayansinghs and Rumnaths all over India—scores of them are to be found in Matruh and Howrah."

Has the Government of India done anything for them? It is to be remembered that the indentured immigration "was promoted and controlled by the Government and was at no time a voluntary and spontaneous movement of the Indian population." Yet, when the Union Government were throwing the people away as squeezed lemon's, the Government of India were indifferent. Wars have been fought between peoples on such issues. Even under the Cape Town Agreement the emigrant filed an explicit form which contained the following sentence:

"Hindustanki Sarkar Hindustan janercle Hindunha seagata karachi yarasiba karangi aur jo lok kara karna chahata hoga unko kama dhundh dengi"

In the day of distress when the repatriate can nowhere see this helping hand of "Hindustanki Sarkar." Their callousness, dilatory methods and red-tapism would not allow them to mitigate the sufferings of a people whom they have allowed to be ruined by a cruel and treacherous Power whom they are always too eager to accommodate.

The cry anywhere out of India is a sufficient indictment of Indians as well. The vocal element in Indian political life is alive to their sufferings of their brothers from overseas, but so far they have made no great attempt to make the conditions of life suitable to such emigrants. If the village communities could be made more tolerant, life would be bearable to the new-comer, and in a few years even the colonial born could absorb. But if the Colonies have barred and bolted their doors, we too have not flung open ours. Here is room for service for the public worker. Nearer at home, Matruh is a dark spot on the Swamipt Municipality of Calcutta, and the suggestions of Swami Bhawani Dayal on this particular area can be carried out without much difficulty. Nor are the conclusions of Swami at all unreasonable or revolutionary. They are simple, moderate in tone and straightforward, and may be summed up in the words of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi as follows:

I. Under no circumstances should any repatriation of colonial Indians be encouraged.

II. It is most difficult for the returned emigrants to settle in India again.

III. Colonial born Indians will not be happy except in the colonies. This statement of Mahatma Gandhi is quite true and it is a sin to offer any temptations to the colonial born to leave the colonies.

IV. Those who have married in the colonies should not think of coming to India to settle here for there is little possibility of their being taken back into their respective social organizations. Marriage of their children will be an insoluble problem.

V. From the economic point of view it is very disadvantageous for colonial Indians to come to India. Certainly they are much better off there.

VI. So long as India is not herself free to manage her own affairs she is not in a position to give any material help to her sons overseas.

VII. Under no circumstances should our leaders or the Government of India be a party to any compromise with the South African or any other colonial Government which has for one of its objects the repatriation of colonial Indians.

VIII. I can quite realize that in spite of all our warnings, a number of colonial Indians will still return to India entirely of their own accord. We have a duty to perform towards them. To use Mr Andrews's word "to run on an automatic track" towards them. The aims of Calcutta and Madras.

NOTES

The Congress Solution to the Communal Problem

The Working Committee of the Congress has prepared a scheme for the solution of the communal problem and suggested its adoption by the whole country. The Hindus of the Panjab and Bengal have not adopted it. These Hindus are the most affected by the scheme and their representatives have subjected it to detailed criticism. But this fact need not, as it certainly will not, make the members of the Working Committee anxious. If the communities in the Panjab and Bengal who have not approved of the scheme had been of the Muhammadan persuasion, the committee might have found reason for reconsidering the scheme.

Mahatma Gandhi has written in *Young India* :

"I do dare to ask the Hindus to accept this scheme because it is charged with the blessings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Madhavrao Amey, not to speak of the other Hindu members of the Working Committee."

But the question is, of how many "communally-minded" Hindus in the Panjab and Bengal are Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Madhavrao Amey and the other Hindu members of the Working Committee the conscience-keepers. We should also like to know what efforts were made by the Working Committee to study the situation in those two provinces and to ascertain and conciliate the opinion of those Hindus there. It may be that most of the Hindus in these provinces are "communally-minded" and the Hindu members of the Working Committee are "nationally-minded." But the Working Committee gave a hearing not only to "nationally-minded" Muhammadans like Dr. Ansari but also to "communally-minded" Muhammadans like Maulana Shaukat Ali. For this reason the Committee would have been both logically and tactically right if it had given a hearing to "communally-minded" Hindus also.

It may not be utterly irrelevant to mention in this connection that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took the leading part in putting into proper shape the statement on the coming constitutional reforms issued by the Working

Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on behalf of the Mahasabha in March last from New Delhi—a statement which, though issued by a communal body, continues to be the most national, most non-communal and most democratic yet issued by any representative body in India. One will have to ascertain, therefore, whether the Pandit was *more* national or more communal at Delhi in March than he was at Bombay in July.

"As Nearly National As Possible"

The Working Committee states that its suggested solution, though communal in appearance, is yet as nearly national as possible and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. That it is communal in appearance is obvious. To us, it is also evident that it is *not* generally acceptable to the Hindu communities in two big Hindu minority provinces—though that fact may not count. We can neither assert nor deny that the scheme is as nearly national as possible, because the possibility has reference to the standard of compromise of the Congress Working Committee and to its power of pushing the compromise to the nearest possible verge of nationalism. The Committee has declared its readiness to accept a better compromise scheme, in the following words :

"The Working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on undiluted communalism and undiluted nationalism. Whilst on the one hand the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will endorse the scheme, on the other, it assures those who take extreme views and cannot adopt it that the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to by the Lahore resolution, accept without reservation any other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned."

We have no doubt that this declaration has been made in all sincerity. But it is futile, nevertheless. The reasons are obvious. The Congress is the only large representative organization which is non-communal in its declared ideals. No other organization is in a position to carry on *pourparlers* and negotiate with communal organizations. So

who is to prepare an alternative or rival scheme? Moreover, it is difficult to attach any definite meaning to the words, "if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned." The Congress scheme itself does not command the acceptance of all the parties concerned. And, circumstanced as India is, it is impossible to frame a scheme which would command the acceptance of all the parties concerned—particularly as one does not know what parties the Working Committee has in view.

Pros and Cons of the Congress Scheme

Law-court fans and readers of newspapers are familiar with the habit of cross-examining counsel demanding that witnesses should reply either "yes" or "no" to questions asked, even though in many cases it may not be possible to give such monosyllabic answers. Devout followers of the Congress are at present in the mood to demand of all and sundry such monosyllabic answers to the question, "Do you approve of the Congress solution of the communal problem?" We are not in a position to give any such answer. Not that our inability to do so matters in the least. For we have no party, big or small, powerful or weak, at our back. We represent only ourselves. Monosyllabic answers being out of the question, we propose to make a few comments on the Congress scheme.

We have said before that the most non-communal, national and democratic manifesto on the constitutional reforms so far placed before the country is that embodied in the Hindu Mahasabha statement of March last. All other schemes are more or less communal. But we gladly admit that the Congress scheme is an improvement on all previous communal schemes. We shall now take the different sections and clauses one by one.

1. (a) The article in the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion and religious endowments.

This clause has our approval. Our only comments are two. There is no anticipation here of the need of the growth of a common Indian culture, nor the corresponding provision therefor. All our scripts may in future have to be scrapped and a scientific one adopted. We hope this

clause will not stand in the way of such adoption.

(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

This also has our acceptance. The personal law of both Hindus and Muhammadans allows polygamy on the part of males. Will this clause stand in the way of making monogamy the law of the land, as it is in all western countries and as it has been recently made in Turkey? So far as Hindu women at any rate are concerned, the laws of inheritance are unjust. Will this clause make it very difficult, if not impossible, to amend such laws? We find it stated in Webster's Dictionary, "The conception of *personal law* is common to races in the early stages of civilization, as the ancient Romans and the natives of India to-day, the conception of territorial law is a modern European development." We hope this development will not be considered bad because it is European.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal government.

This is unexceptionable.

2. The franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women.

(Note. The Working Committee is committed to adult franchise by the Karachi resolution of the Congress and cannot entertain any alternative franchise. In view, however, of misapprehensions in some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community.)

We are against the indiscriminate adoption of adult franchise. But, considering the state of communal suspicion and bitterness to-day, we reluctantly agree to its adoption. As regards the alternative of making the franchise uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community, there are several doubts. A uniform franchise may not reflect a communal population proportion. Which is the essential condition, uniformity of the franchise, or making it so extensive as to reflect communal proportion in population? And if both cannot be secured, which is to be sacrificed? Moreover, it is possible to choose a qualification for the franchise which will give some community proportionally more voters than its population ratio. For these reasons adu

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from seats in the Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

This has our entire approval.

(d) That for the Hindus in Sindh, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab and N.W. F. P. and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25 per cent of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

It will be remembered that at the Lucknow Muslim Nationalist Conference, it was resolved that for Hindu and Muslim minorities in all provinces who are less than 30 per cent of the population seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats. This was meant to exclude the Bengal Hindus (43.27 per cent of the population according to the census of 1921) and the Punjab Hindus (30.81 per cent of the population according to the same census) from the advantages of the resolution. *The People of Lahore* and others have stated that it is believed that at this year's census the Punjab Hindus have been found to be less than 30 per cent (about 26 per cent) of the population; and so to exclude them somehow from any advantage, Dr. Ansari in his presidential address at the Bengal Nationalist Muslim Conference changed "less than 30 per cent of the population" to "less than 25 per cent of the population," and this proportion has been accepted by the Congress Working Committee. It is to be regretted that the Congress has made itself a party to this palpable and deliberate dodge to deprive the Punjab Hindus of an advantage.

This reduction of less than 30 to less than 25 per cent has obliged the Working Committee to mention particularly some communities in some provinces. Let us take some examples. The Muslims in Assam are to have the aforesaid advantages. In 1921 they were 28.96 per cent of the population and they are now most probably much more, as several lakhs of them have emigrated to Assam from the Bengal district of Mymensingh. In 1921 the Punjab Hindus were 30.84 per cent of the population, and now they are believed to be somewhere near 26 per cent. Taking these facts into consideration, can it be argued that advan-

ces should be withheld from the Punjab Hindus? Sindh Hindus including Arya and Brahmin Samaj people have had to be specially mentioned, because in 1921 they were 25.48 per cent of the population. If 25.48 per cent in Sindh can have some advantages, is it fair to withhold them from the Punjab Hindus, who are at present believed to form only 26 per cent of the population?

It is in fact unfair to deprive any considerable communal minority of any advantage which is given to any other considerable communal minority. In Bengal the Hindus are a minority, though a big minority (43.27 per cent). But its bigness may not be able to protect it from Muhammadan electioneering onslaughts. For, in some districts in the elections to local bodies, the Hindus have either secured no seats at all or only a very small number of seats, out of all proportion to their numerical strength in the district. Of course, if no communal minorities in any area were to be given any advantages, Bengal Hindus would not ask for any special provisions for themselves. But if communal minorities anywhere are to be given advantages, it is not right to withhold them from Bengal Hindus.

Though the demand of communal Moslems that the Muslim community should have 33 per cent of the seats in the Federal or Central Legislature, has not been acceded to by the Working Committee, yet the clause under comment may practically bring about the same result.

1. Appointments shall be made by non-party Public Service Commissions which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications, and which shall have due regard to the efficiency of the Public Service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in the public services of the country.

This section is an improvement upon the corresponding Lucknow Nationalist Muslim conference resolution and the corresponding provision in Dr. Ansari's Faridpur presidential address. The suggestion about non-party Public Service Commissions is good. In the course of a speech at a subjects committee meeting of the Hindu provincial conference at Burdwan, Mr. Madhavrao Aney explained the prescription of the minimum qualifications to mean nothing more than similar prescriptions in the case of competitive examinations, for example where it is laid

down that candidates must have passed at least the Matric, the B A, or some other examination, that does not mean that candidates of higher qualifications are to be excluded. If this is the correct interpretation, it should be formally stated. Dr Ansari's corresponding provision demanded that appointments *shall be made* according to a minimum standard of efficiency. As that was in the mind of a Muslim Nationalist like Dr Ansari, a formal interpretation of section 4 would not be superfluous, and would set apprehensions at rest. Provided that is done, the remaining words of the section would be innocuous.

5. In the formation of Federal and Provincial Cabinets interests of minority communities should be recognized by convention.

This we consider to be against the principles of responsible democratic government. The choosing of any persons to be members of cabinets simply because they belong to a particular minority community or command its confidence, though they may not command the confidence of the House, is a bad form of communalism.

6. The N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of government and administration as other provinces.

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate province provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated province.

The N.-W. F. Province can very easily have the same form of government and administration as other provinces by being tacked on to the Panjab, without any extra cost. N.-W. F. P. formed part of the Panjab before Lord Curzon's days. Since its separation, it has been a deficit province, crores upon crores having had to be sunk in it. The population of this province is less than that of some Bengal districts. Yet it must have a separate Governor, Legislature, etc., at the cost of the Central Government, which means at the cost of the other provinces, who are all crying out for more revenue for "nation-building" departments.

The constitution of Baluchistan into a separate "Governor's Province" is an astounding absurdity. This British province has a population of 420,468! Just think of these few people having all the paraphernalia of a Governor's province, and that at the expense of the other provinces!

The prov so ab t be no able o bear ts own burden attached to Sind separat on

ought to have been attached to the section relating to N.-W. F. P. and Baluchistan also. As regards Sindh, it should have been laid down that the different religious communities there are to bear their share of additional taxation in proportion to their numerical strength. It is not just that the Musalmans are to call the tune and the Hindus are to pay the piper for the most part. Even at present, the Sindh Hindus pay most of the taxes.

In the course of his eulogium on the Working Committee's scheme, which production we have not been able thoroughly to grasp and therefore to appreciate, Dr. Munje has said in effect that as Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram of Sindh a Hindu member of the Working Committee, has accepted the separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency, the Doctor cannot oppose it unless and until Sindh Hindus have pronounced their opinion on it. They have recently done so, against separation. Quite accidentally, when we were searching the other day for some other papers, we came across a small pamphlet entitled "Separation of Sindh - why it is inadvisable" by Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram, M. L. A. We make two extracts from its last two pages, 7 and 8.

The greater the number of Indian provinces and the smaller their size, the easier it is for the Government of India to stimulate provincial rivalries and set one province against another and thus retain its bureaucratic power. Apart from this, the constitution of numerous and increasingly autonomous provinces on linguistic and cultural bases involves serious risk of accentuating differences and disintegrating the nation.

It is my conviction that if India were to-day a self-governing nation and its relations with its western neighbours from the Hindukush to the Arabian Sea were not of the best, it would be regarded as a great strategic blunder to break up India's western frontier into small bits of puny autonomous governments like those suggested for the N.-W. Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sindh. I would keep these strategic frontier tracts attached to large provincial governments and thus not only improve our arrangements for national defence but also give to the people of those tracts a larger share of the benefits of a reformed government by association with large provinces than they can hope to enjoy under a separate existence in view of the accepted policy of differential treatment to minor provinces and backward tracts. Any redistribution we effect now under the present feeling of security cannot easily be undone when we have our own national Government, for territorial readjustments are never the work of a day.

We ha no c me t th last section of t scheme wh ch runs as f ll ws

The following are the reasons for opposing the vesting of the Federating units with residuary powers, that we do not propose to do so again now. We want only to point out that section 1, clause (c), taken with section 8 printed above, may not conduce to smooth working.

We have so often given our reasons for opposing the vesting of the Federating units with residuary powers, that we do not propose to do so again now. We want only to point out that section 1, clause (c), taken with section 8 printed above, may not conduce to smooth working.

All compromises like the Congress scheme should be for a definitely fixed short period. But in the Congress scheme no such period is mentioned.

We are not opposed to any and every compromise. But to be acceptable, a compromise ought to be based on some uniformly applied and applicable principles, which the Congress scheme is not in all its parts.

In the League of Nations Minorities Treaties, there is no reservation of seats in legislatures for minorities. In this respect the Congress scheme goes against what may be rightly considered the collective political wisdom of most of the free nations of the World.

It is a good feature of the Congress scheme that it does not favour the perpetuation of communal majority rule in any province.

The Federal Structure Sub-Committee

Additions have been recently made to the membership of the Federal Structure sub-Committee. But whilst communal Muhammadan representation has been strengthened, not a single Nationalist Muhammadan has been nominated to it. This shows the Government's bias against Muhammadan nationalism and prepossession in favour of Muhammadan separatism.

The "representation" of women in the Round Table Conference has been from the start very inadequate. This defect ought to have been remedied. We do not know whether more Indian ladies will be nominated to the Conference, but obviously Mrs. Sarojini Naidu ought to have been nominated to the Federal Structure sub-Committee, as, besides being the most famous Indian lady in the political field, she has personal knowledge of both Indian India and British India.

Whilst there is more than adequate provision for the presentation of the communal Muhammadan viewpoint, such provision in

the case of the Indian States is to be utterly inadequate. So far as the Federal Structure sub-Committee is concerned, even in the enlarged sub-Committee there is no one to place before it the Hindu Mahasabha point of view.

But perhaps the most glaring and the most unjust omission is that not a single subject of any Indian State has been nominated to the sub-Committee to place before it the Indian States' people's point of view.

The States' People's Week

The General Secretaries of the Indian States' People's Conference have published the outlines and programme of the celebration of the Indian States' People's Week, from which we make the following extract:

It has been decided to celebrate the first week of August as the States' People's Week in four provinces of Kathiawar, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bombay. The second week of August will be celebrated in the States of Rajputana and Central India, the third week in the Punjab and Orissa States and the fourth week in the South India States. The programme for the week will be the enrolment of members of the Conference and getting signatures of the people of the States to the mass-memorial to be submitted to the Congress President. Meetings will be held, if necessary to propagate the objects of the Conference explain its resolutions and support its minimum demands. A manifesto has been prepared by the authorities of the Conference which invites support from the public opinion of the world for the legitimate demands of the people of the States. The manifesto will be signed by all prominent workers of the States' People and will be distributed broadcast. A mass memorial has been drafted which supports the demands of the Conference for the fundamental rights of the people of the States to be embodied in the future constitution of India, for the provision of an appeal to the Federal Court for any breaches of these rights and for the representation of the people of the States directly by election on the Federal Legislature. This memorial is to be addressed to the President of the Congress and will be signed by hundreds of thousands of people residing in, and hailing from, States. The provincial offices are making arrangements to enlist members of the Conference from States under their respective jurisdictions. The services of devoted volunteers have been requisitioned by the central office for the purpose of celebrating the Week.

This celebration is a very timely move, and deserves the active support of all friends of the Indian States.

The Panjab States' People's Conference

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveesdar was arrested at the Panjab States' People's Conference, for the offence, we must believe, of indulging in an oral controversy with the Magistrate as to whether the conference was or was not a public meeting. The Sardar said that it was not, as admission was restricted to those who had obtained cards for the purpose: whereas the Magistrate, who wanted to enter and make others enter without a card, was of a contrary opinion.

The Conference was subsequently declared an unlawful assembly and dispersed, on the alleged ground that there was apprehension of a breach of the peace. Who were feared, or rather expected, to be the peace-breakers, we are not told, though that is the essential point. In order that the dispersal of a meeting may be legally justified, it should be shown that its organizers and members are or are likely to become an unruly mob whose intention is to break the peace. If any opponents of theirs, whether hired or not, seek to create a disturbance, it is the duty of the police and the executive to enable the organizers of the meeting to carry on, not to disperse it. If this rule were not followed but its opposite, every meeting, however peaceful and harmless, would lie at the mercy of hooligans, of the official or non-official variety.

Mr. Amritlal Thakkar of the Servants of India Society, affectionately called 'Thakkar Bapa' [Father Thakkar] in his province for his character, beneficent achievements and age, was chosen to preside at this conference. In his very ably argued and soberly worded address, he showed that the Princes have made no sacrifices by agreeing to join an All-India federation.

This is no longer a matter of controversy, for the memorandum prepared by the special organization of the Princes' Chamber admits this in terms. To those princes who feared lest their joining the federation would involve too heavy a sacrifice of their sovereignty, the memorandum gives the assurance in private, which however has been made public by an enterprising journal in Bombay, that the federal list of subjects which has been drawn up by the Sankar Committee contains not a single subject over which the states exercise any kind of control at present. The memorandum therefore says to the ruling princes in effect: "No doubt we have ourselves indulged in a grouse at the Round Table Conference that the Federation cuts too large a hole in our sovereign powers but their exalted and unexalted Highnesses would be very much mistaken if they took this seriously and refused to come into the

Federation. All this lament about sacrifice at the Conference was meant for the consumption of British India, so that British India would not force upon them the democratic ideas which it hugs to its bosom. Our talk served its purpose too: with its aid we were able to resist any inroads upon our real internal sovereignty which some of the British Indian politicians would otherwise have made, and we shall enter into the Federation now without the least impairment of our powers.

Mr. Thakkar believes that "the federation that is now proposed not only does not make the princes give up any powers which they possess at present, but makes it possible for them to obtain a share in the control of matters which they have already surrendered to the Government of India for administration."

This would not be a matter for concern to the people in the States, if the new powers secured to the states would be exercised by popular representatives instead of by the autocratic rulers. But both the chambers of the federal legislature are, in so far as the states representatives are concerned, to be composed of their nominees, if the princes so choose, which means that the princes and not their subjects will be the beneficiaries of the great improvement that will come about in the position of the states as a result of federation, the people of the states remaining just where they are.

Mr. Thakkar desires, as all modern freedom-loving men must, that the states' representatives at the federal legislature should be elected by their people. He has shown convincingly that the Princes would lose nothing by such a method. He has also shown that, if the states' representatives were not chosen by their people, not only would the States' people be handicapped in their struggle for liberty, but that nomination by the Princes would be equally hurtful to the interests of British India and galling to her self-respect. Responsibility at the Centre in the Sankar type of federation would in practice be no responsibility at all. Mr. Thakkar, therefore, urges the representatives of British India at the Round Table Conference to insist in an unflinching manner upon the election of the States' representatives by the States' people.

The People of the Indian States do not desire the federal idea to be frustrated. All that they desire is "that the federation should be of the genuine type."

(1) that it should comprehend not merely subjects which the princes no longer control, but all subjects of real all-India concern,

(2) that elected representatives of the people should sit in the federal legislature,

(3) that fundamental rights of citizenship should be guaranteed and secured constitutionally, and should be enforced by an independent

The Panjab States' People's Conference

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- (2) that elected representatives of the people should sit in the federal legislature;
- (3) that fundamental rights of citizens should be guaranteed by the federal constitution and should be enforced by a federal judiciary.

and residual powers should vest in the Government and not in the governments of provinces and the states :

but the federal government should exercise its paramountcy over the states' governments as these are not brought under popular

An Indian Airman

Rajmadhav Gupta, a young Indian who is now studying mechanical electrical engineering at Hamburg in Germany, joined the North German Flying Club and learnt aviation there. He has



Rajmadhav Gupta and his colleagues
Rajmadhav is seen at the extreme left

won this institution's preliminary test as an airman and has been allowed to wear its gold-crested cap.

Tagore Week in December Next

Tagore Septuagenary celebrations too has decided to celebrate the completing the 70th year of his life during the last week of December in a manner befitting and bringing many-sided genius and achievements. There are to be two literary conferences in Bengali and English, dealing with the poet's contributions to literature, a musical conference, demonstrations of Tagore's songs, staging of his plays, presentation of addresses

and a purse to the poet, a garden party to meet the poet, a *Rabindra-Jayanti Mela* or Tagore Septuagenary Fair, consisting of an Exhibition, Amusements, Sports, Games, Athletics and Popular Lectures, and publication of the "Golden Book of Tagore" and a similar volume in Bengali.

At the Exhibition arrangements are to be made to exhibit Rabindranath's paintings, available manuscripts of his works; different editions of his works; translations of his works in many different languages of the world, which would fill many shelves, works on Rabindranath in Bengali, English, French, German and other languages; portraits, sketches and photographs of the poet at different periods of his life and of his activities during his tours in the East and the West; gifts and presents to the Poet from different countries of the world, which would be a unique collection of great interest; works of arts and crafts by the students of *Kala-Bhavan* (Arts College), *Sri-Bhavan* (Women's College), and *Sri-Niketan* (Rural Reconstruction Institute) of Visva-Bharati, Bengali art products and artistic home industries, old and new, collected from the entire province, and pictures of the Bengal school of painting.

Sir J. C. Bose, the President of the celebrations committee, who is now the oldest personal friend of the poet living, has suggested that the committee should publish a volume of selections from his poems *to be selected and illustrated by the Poet himself*. Should Rabindranath Tagore agree to and be able to carry out this proposal, it would be a memorable production.

Rabindranath's Birthday in Paris

Institut de Civilisation Indienne of Paris celebrated Rabindranath's 70th birthday at a meeting attended among others by some of the most distinguished authors, savants and citizens of France. The signatures of many of those present at the meeting who have sent their greetings to him can be easily made out; for instance, those of S. Charloty, Comtesse de Noailles, Madame Lévy, Sylvain Lévy, A. Foucher, Mme. Foucher, Jules Bloch, Paul Pelliot, Ivan Stohonkine, etc. It is interesting to note that Madame Lévy has signed her name as *Didi-ma*, because when she was at Santiniketan with her husband Prof. Sylvain Lévy she was called *Didi-ma* (grandma) by

NO. 15

the Domes,

Alfred
H. H. O.



A gathering in Paris

Maurice Lytton



Wife of Rabindranath Tagore

Georgette Dean

Margie

Juliette Roche.

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Files of Old Bengal Newspapers

Mr. Pradyumn Nath Banerjee, with whose historical researches and contributions the readers of *The Modern Review* are familiar, is now engaged in writing a history of the Vernacular Press in India. He will be very much obliged if any reader of the *Modern Review*, who happens to possess the files of the following newspapers, will kindly allow him to consult them:

1. Samachar Durpan (1840-41; 1851-52)
2. Samachar Chandrika
3. Sarbad Provakar
4. Gyananveshuni
5. Sambad Bhaskar
6. Education Gazette (1856-60)
7. Hindu Patriot (1853-56)
8. Samprakash (first 3 years)

An Explanation

Miss Nivedita's articles in this and the July number of *The Modern Review* having been printed from unused MSS. in her own hand, we did not suspect that they had been previously published. But we regret to be informed that "The Ship of Flowers" has been published in her "Studies from an Eastern Home," and the article in our current number in *Prabuddha Bharata* for March, 1920. We apologize to the publishers of that book and that periodical.

Disturbances in Indian States

Recently there have been sanguinary disturbances in several Indian states, such as Kashmir, Pudukotta, Junagadh, Mysore, and Rewa etc. These are greatly to be regretted. Their real causes may not be easy to discover in every case. But not only in very recent times but earlier, many of these disturbances may have been brought about by that modern Goddess of Accident who amuses herself by falsifying, by all available means, the statement of Indian publicists and the claim of Indian princes that there is no communal problem in the Indian States.

In Kashmir the disturbances were demonstrably due to the activities of mischief-mongers who had gone to that State from the Panjab. In Pudukotta, the earlier disturbances are stated to have been due to heavy taxation. The more recent troubles there were due to a Kallar-Muhammadan conflict

in a village in that State. The Kallars are a Hindu caste there and are heavily indebted to the Mussalman money-lenders. Islam forbids usury. But Peshawaris in and outside Calcutta in Bengal are among the worst usurers in the country. Evidently, they have their duplicates in the Southern Presidency.

Over and above some immediate and exciting cause or other, it is most probable that the disturbances in the Indian States are due to the general discontent among the people there. Such discontent may or may not be directly political or administrative in their origin. But in the last resort indigenous governments, if not foreign governments too, are responsible for social and economic maladjustments also, particularly when they are autocratic. For, if autocrats can do whatever they like for their own pleasure, why can't they do what they like for making all classes of their subjects enlightened, prosperous and happy?

Agrarian Troubles in U P

At a meeting of *kisans* (cultivators) held on the 20th July last in Pindra (*lahsil* Benares), Babu Purushottamdas Tandon said

A government carried on in the interests of the people would not tolerate such a huge waste on the army and the administration and would not continue the existence of a social structure which was based on glaring social injustice. He was not an anarchist. He wanted them also to co-operate in the attainment of Swaraj. They should entertain no fears, but they could not be allowed to oppress the tenants and to monopolize all the good things of the earth. They should be cheerfully prepared to make sacrifices: that would help in their own moral uplift, while benefiting their poor countrymen.

Low prices of grains had made it impossible for the tenants to pay the rents in full. As a matter of fact, in a large number of districts non-occupancy holdings had become entirely uneconomical. The price of the total produce was insufficient to meet the cost of cultivation.

Mr. Tandon then referred to the reports of enquiries into the alleged oppression practised by landlords and Government servants in several districts. This was an intolerable state of things and could not be allowed to continue long, but pending a readjustment of revenue and rent and while the truce lasted, he exhorted the audience to carry out the directions given by Mahatma Gandhi and the Provincial Congress Committee. He advised non-occupancy tenants to pay at least one-half and occupancy tenants to pay at least three-fourths of the rent for 1338 *faski*, but he made it clear that if they paid so much they could demand receipt in respect of the whole rent of the year.

A non-official resolution relating to the agrarian situation in the U. P. was moved last month in the U. P. Council by Rai Rajeswar Bali in an able and lucid speech.

The demand for a committee to determine the principles on which rent and revenue should be readjusted was accepted by the Finance Member on behalf of the Government. But he opposed the first part of the resolution that any consideration should be shown to the zamindars in respect of their revenue payments for 1338 *fusli* which has just now ended. No division was however, challenged when the resolution was declared carried by the deputy president.

In the course of his speech Rai Rajeswar Bali said:

If the zamindars had not been able to collect even half of their demand, the question was whether it was fair that the Government should insist on payment of the whole of their revenue. During the budget session the Finance Member had accepted a formula that the Government would not make an attempt to collect more than a fair and reasonable proportion of the collections made by zamindars as land revenue. If the assessment was 45 per cent with the cesses, a zamindar could not be reasonably expected to pay the full demand out of his 50 percent collections leaving only 5 per cent for himself. After all they had establishments and many expenses which were not personal. All their obligations could not be met out of the 5 per cent left to them.

As president of the Zamindars' conference at Rae Bareilly, the same speaker observed:

Forces of lawlessness and disorder got the upper hand in some districts; and people who posed as Congress volunteers openly attempted to excite the mob mentality against the zamindars. At some places, the zamindar's property was threatened with destruction, at others, violence was openly preached against him or his *Karindas* and in my district one zamindar and one *Zildar* were actually murdered. The zamindar was to be openly insulted and he was to be disobeyed even when he asked the villagers to extinguish a fire which had broken out in the neighbouring village and which was imperilling the lives and property of their own people. The local Congress Committees let loose forces which they could not, and in most cases would not, control, and that the zamindars were generally more the oppressed than the oppressors.

We have tried to give above some idea of the tenants' and the landlords' versions of the case within the limits of our space. Impartial men belonging to the United Provinces may be able to ascertain by extensive touring who are most to blame for the present situation—the *risans* or the zamindars, bearing in mind all the while the fact that the world economic depression which has affected the whole of India was not brought about by either party in particular. Outsiders like

ourselves may be allowed to make only a few general observations.

In the present crisis the landlords may not have been able to make adequate collections from the tenants in the U. P. or other provinces of India. But it will be conceded that their income in normal years leaves a margin for savings. Hence, they ought to be in a position to tide over difficulties in abnormal years. If any of them have no savings or are in debt in addition, the profligacy or imbecility of themselves or of their ancestors may be mainly responsible for that deplorable fact. Profligacy and imbecility cannot, however, demand charitable consideration.

As regards the tenants in the U. P., it is difficult to say definitely what small percentage of them is generally above and what large percentage is below the margin of subsistence. But it appears to be a fact that even in normal years they are just able to exist. Hence in abnormal years it should not be a matter for surprise if they reach the limit of patience or if their friends among the intelligentsia are not able to hold the balance quite even between them and the landlords. Not that we advocate or extenuate any deliberate bias or partiality, or zamindar-baiting. What we mean is that it is normal human benevolence to lean towards the hereditary drudges rather than towards the hereditary idlers.

Temperamentally and as a matter of reasoned conviction, we are against methods of violence. But landlords in India, as elsewhere, must choose between two alternatives—being bought out or being pushed out; for land nationalization is looming on the not very distant horizon.

Retrenchment on the Railways

The attitude of the Government towards industrial disputes in the past has generally been that of unconcerned spectators, whatever loss, trouble or inconvenience they might cause to the public. Hence the decision of the Government of India to appoint a court of inquiry to consider and settle the differences between the Railway Board and the All-India Railwaymen's Federation in relation to the question of retrenchment on the railways, is a welcome departure. This decision ought to have come much earlier than now earlier than

the railwaymen's threat of a general strike. The successful working of all undertakings depends partly on the contentment and alacrity of the workers. They should not, therefore, be driven to the stage of using threats of any kind. Moreover, what is done under pressure is not as graceful and dignified as what is done voluntarily. This may have been one of the reasons why the Labour Commission has suggested that "there may be a case for the appointment of a tribunal even if there is little danger of disturbance and no clamant demand for action on the part of the public."

Public services in India are notoriously top-heavy. The higher officers are paid too much and the lower too little. The railways are no exception to the rule. When, therefore, retrenchment becomes necessary, the obvious and just thing to do is to reduce the salaries of the higher officers to a sufficient extent for such period as may be necessary. The "Lee concessions" should go at once. But the railway authorities had proposed to dismiss 30,000 men. This may imply that they had been, for years, paying wages to 30,000 more men, at least to thousands of more men, than were absolutely necessary to work the railways. This is hard to believe. Supposing, however, that owing to the slackness of traffic and consequent reduction of the number of trains, due to economic depression all over the world, some reduction in the establishments may be effected without loss of efficiency, why the reduction should be effected only or mainly among those who live from hand to mouth rather than among those who live in comfort, nay, even in luxury and can save something for the rainy day, it may not be hard to understand, but it would not be easy to justify. As the dismissal of 30,000 workers must mean taking away the bread from the mouths of some 120,000 of their dependents also, such a thing should never be done unless proved to be absolutely necessary. Jobs are not going abegging in British-ruled India, that so many men can be sent adrift in a nonchalant manner.

We should like to know the terms of reference of this court of inquiry.

Equality for N.-W. F. Province

It has been stated repeatedly by officials and non officials alike that the people of

the North-Western Frontier Province want the same form and kind of government and administration as the "Governor's Provinces" would have. With this desire we have every sympathy. This desire can be fulfilled in two ways: one, by giving their Province the status of a "Governor's Province" with all its paraphernalia; the other, by amalgamating it with the Panjab. The report of the North-Western Frontier Province Subjects Committee states that "a common view expressed before us by the non-official witnesses was . . . that, if the Central Government were not ready to grant a subvention that would place the inhabitants of the province in respect of government activities on a reasonable equality with the Panjab, they had no objection to re-amalgamation with the Panjab." But it would appear that the Government of India's recent heavy borrowings in London at high rates of interest were a myth. It would also seem that all talks of retrenchment and the peripatetic retrenchment committee's activities, too, were perfect myths. What is a fact is that the coffers of the Government of India are full to overflowing, after meeting all the various requirements of the people of British India, and that, therefore, that Government is anxious to make the N.-W. F. Province a full-fledged Governor's Province by giving it a permanent annual subvention of one and a half crore of rupees. Hence the idea of re-amalgamation with the Panjab has not been seriously considered.

The latest political maxim would appear to be, you may call the tune but need not pay the piper, provided you are what you are.

We have a shrewd suspicion that, as the Congress had at Karachi and recently again at Bombay agreed to the constitution of the N.-W. F. P. into a "Governor's Province," and as the people of that province had clearly manifested pro-Congress tendencies, the Government could not afford to be outdone by the Congress in generosity to that region—albeit at the general taxpayer's expense!

Mahatma Gandhi and Fine Textiles from Lancashire

It is said that Mr. Horace Alexander has expressed a hope that if Mr. Gandhi could be shown the misery in which Lancashire textile operatives of the mills which export goods to India he might agree to

allow Lancashire to sell the finer qualities in the Indian market, as Indian mills do not produce similar things. We have no such hope, or rather, fear. Mahatma Gandhi knows that India does not want any foreign textiles at all, whether fine or coarse. There was a time when we made all the fine and coarse textiles we required, and we shall be able to make them still. It does not, moreover, require greater intelligence and patriotism than the Mahatma fortunately possesses, to perceive that the fine stuffs of Lancashire would displace some of the coarse stuff of India.

"Lead us not into temptation," Mr. Horace Alexander, with your fine stuff.

The Aga Khan and Lancashire

Maulana Shaukat Ali's threat that if the Hindus would not accept his terms, he would conclude a treaty with the English (had he not done so already?) and make arrangements for selling their cloth, has not been forgotten. An English public 'servant' of India has written that as the Hindus had resolved not to trade with Britain, Britain should trade with Moslem India through the Moslem port of Karachi. This bears a family likeness to Sir Muhammad Iqbal's demand that there should be a Muslim State in India which would include Sindh, Baluchistan, N.-W. F. Province and the adjoining districts of the Panjab. Now comes the news that the Imam of a mosque in London has announced that a company has been projected to sell Lancashire goods in India with His Racing Highness the Aga Khan as its great patron and director. Long live H. Rac. H.'s patriotism and statesmanship!

Bengal Jute Bill "Killed"—

though there was no bloodshed.

By 61 votes to 18 the Bengal Council rejected the motion of Dr. N. C. Sen-Gupta to refer the Bengal Jute Bill of 1931 to a select committee.

The British group and the Moslem group combined with the Government in opposing the motion, with the result that the Bill was 'killed'.

The object of the Bill was to secure the regulation of the total area of land cultivated with jute through the agency of union boards according to the directions of a central board to be set up for the purpose.

The Minister in charge opposed the motion as, in his opinion, the bill was impracticable. He further suggested intensive propaganda in rural areas

for the purpose. The Minister asked the hon member to wait, as the Government of India had taken up the question of setting up a central committee which would be charged with the duty of looking after the interests of the jute industry from the field to the factory.

The British group represent those who want to make money by buying raw jute cheap, and the Moslem group are supposed to represent the jute-growers (most of whom are Moslems) whose interest lies in getting a proper price for their produce by limiting the area to be cultivated according to the demand. So there ought not to have been any unholy combination between the two groups but in fact there was.

As for the bill being impracticable, it was not beyond human ingenuity to make it "practicable" through a properly constituted select committee. As regards intensive propaganda, can the Minister hold out any hope that the propagandists will not be treated as H. M.'s guests in Buxa Fort? Lastly, as regards the proposed central committee, it is expected that, if it materializes, it will favour the factory rather than the field.

Bengal State Aid to Industries Bill

The Bengal Legislative Council this afternoon passed the State Aid to Industries Bill 1931 introduced by the Minister, Mr. K. C. M. Farnham. The object of the bill is to obtain statutory powers to enable state aid to be given for the purpose of encouraging the cottage industries. The Minister congratulated the House on the addition of the bill and stated that it would satisfy popular demand.

Yes, if the State actually gives money to honest and capable entrepreneurs.

The Best Protection for Minorities

In the course of a recent debate in the British House of Commons, Col. Wedgwood said:

The best protection for a minority is a vote on a common roll. What protects the Catholic minority here, what protects the Jewish minority here, is the fact that the Jews and the Catholics have votes for every member of this House. If the Catholics and the Jews had communal representation in this House, their protection would be infinitely less. I am perfectly certain that that is so, and that the ordinary Indian nationalist, knowing that to be so, asks for a common roll not only because it is democratic but because it is in fact, the best protection for minorities.

Allahabad and Calcutta Universities

ALLAHABAD, July 22.

It is reported that the annual block grant of about Rs. 7,00,000 given by the Government to the Allahabad University, has been reduced this year by Rs. 51,000 in view of the financial crisis.

The Calcutta University Post-graduate Departments teach a much larger number of students than the Allahabad University. Yet the latter's reduced grant amounts to about Rs. 6,16,000. Calcutta would thank its stars if it could get this reduced sum.

Bengal Hindu Conference

The Bengal Hindu Conference, held at Burdwan this year, damned the Congress solution of the communal problem with faint praise in one of its resolutions, and passed one or two more political resolutions. But most of the resolutions, which were many, related to non-political subjects. The addresses of the Chairman of the reception committee and the President, both of the Vaishya caste, dealt mainly with non-political subjects. These are good signs. For, though we do not minimize the importance of Bengal Hindus occupying as influential a position in the legislatures as their education, ability, public spirit and services to the public, contribution to the public coffers, and numbers justify, it is mainly by their character, intellectual achievements, economic standing and social vitality that they can expect to survive and thrive and serve humanity.

It is to be noted that, though Burdwan is comparatively a sleepy hollow, the organizers of the conference showed commendable zeal.

"Will Gandhi Compromise?"

Rev. John Haynes Holmes, who is now in Russia, has contributed to *Unity* of Chicago, which he edits, an article with the above heading of which we got an advance type-written copy from Berlin. It begins thus.

It is disquieting to find disquiet abroad many hearts lest Mahatma Gandhi be persuaded in the forthcoming Round Table Conference in London to compromise the claims upon the British, and thus in some measure give over the cause for which so many gallant sons have suffered and died in India. Those who cherish suspicions and

fears of this kind do little credit to Gandhi, and can have little real knowledge of the man. Yet are their forebodings at least understandable.

We do not think the Mahatma could or would compromise in any essentials, though he might rightly agree to some temporary "adjustments" in matters which are not essential. But let us hear the conclusion of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes.

It is to be remembered that Gandhi, by statesmanship as consummate as his heroism is sublime, has now led India to a position in which a man less strong than himself must hold out till what he asks is granted. For India is now committed to the cause of freedom, exactly as America was so committed in the Revolutionary War. After Lahore, and the Declaration of Independence, and the raising of the national flag the nation cannot retreat even if she would. She has put her hand to the plow, and cannot look back. After all that has happened, all that has been proclaimed, all that has been suffered, India would become the laughing-stock of the world and the contempt of the world if she should take less than what she has set out to gain. Worse than this, by any policy of compromise or surrender, she would become the shame of her own people. Her martyrs would cry out from their graves. The tears in her myriad prison-cells, the blood on her countless paving stones, would find tongues to clamour their reproach. If India is to survive at all, she must survive in spirit—worthy of her cause faithful to her dream, whole in soul, if not in body. Of all living men to-day, the Mahatma must see and know this fact, and therefore will not forget it.

But not India alone but the world has issue here! There are some things that cannot be compromised. The freedom of a nation is one, for it is either free or it is not free. The soul of a people is another, for it is either true, or it is not true. The sanctity of a cause is still another, for it is either served, or it is not served. Gandhi has won the allegiance of millions of men and women outside his own country and thus untouched by his own nationalistic cause, through that higher cause of love, and non-violence, and soul force which, alone in history, he has made so peculiarly his own. He is to-day the guardian of this universal cause of the spirit, as well as of the specific cause of India. When he sits at London, he will sit as the representative of the millions of his own land who see in him their liberation from subjection but also of unnumbered millions in other lands who see in him their liberation from violence, and war, and hate and death. Gandhi has taught mankind a better way of life. Can he make that way succeed, and therewith prove its worth? It is this which he must answer in London. And if he fails, the heart of the world will break!

Never in all history has one man faced so great a challenge as Gandhi must face in Britain. Never in all history has there been a man so fitted in mind and spirit to answer this challenge, and therewith save humanity. We pray for him who is not only India's but the world's Mahatma, because we trust him and therefore would help him to stand fast.

Sir Victor Sassoon Leaves India

Sir Victor Sassoon, Chief of Messrs E D Sassoon and Co., which is one of the biggest industrial and commercial firms in India, has decided to shift the scene of his business activities to China. In his opinion India in the near future will cease to be a suitable investing ground for outside capital. In China, on the other hand, the foreign business man is welcome and there is plenty to do also in that rejuvenated country. Of course the main cause of the "decadence" of India from the foreign business man's point of view is the current antagonism of Indians to foreigners. This may be due to the fact that, although India is tugging mightily at her chains, she is not yet free. This struggle has not made her attitude towards foreigners very sweet. But the history of India has always shown the Indians to be amazingly tolerant of foreigners and foreign institutions. The present dislike of foreigners, therefore, is the direct outcome of India's subjection. She has also been shamelessly exploited by her political lords in the economic way. That is why we find foreign *entrepreneurs* looked at with suspicion in India. One never knows who is who among foreigners in India. A missionary might be in secret harbouring military motives. A military man or a Government official may be secretly (or openly) helping the economic exploitation of India. A tradesman may be a believer in political oppression. This difficulty of distinguishing between the good and the evil type of foreigner has placed all foreigners under suspicion. When India becomes free, things may change greatly. There is every ground to believe that in a self-governing India genuine commercial enterprise with foreign capital will not be hampered.

China is free and poor,—poor in economic skill as well as in capital. The days when she had to look through eyes of hatred and suspicion at all foreigners are over. It is therefore natural that the Chinese should find it to their advantage to get men like Sir Victor Sassoon to adopt their country as a business place. India first of all is industrially more advanced than China. Indians have had much more training in Commerce and Industry than the Chinese. Indians have also been far more exploited and hampered in the

progress by aliens. It is, therefore, unlikely that foreign business men will ever be so useful in India as they would be in China. Yet, with independence coming to her, India will present a less gloomy prospect to the Wandering Capitalist who prefers profit to politics.

Tariff Board in Bengal

The Tariff Board came to Bengal in the third week of July. They are now holding an enquiry into the paper and wire, wire nails and electric cable industries. They have visited and are visiting in connection with the paper industry the Titagur Paper Mills, the India Paper Pulp Company, and the Bengal Paper Mills in Bengal, the Upper India Couper Paper Mills in Lucknow and the Andhra Paper Mills in Rajahmundry. They are also taking evidence from the Paper Importers' Association, the Paper Traders' Association, and the Controller of Printing and Stationery.

There is a high duty on imported paper at the present moment. Indian paper mills are apparently protected by this duty to the extent that they produce varieties of paper similar to imported goods. The duty on such articles as do not compete with Indian mill-made goods is purely a tax on the consumer and an obstacle to the expansion of the printing and publishing industries. A lowering or the abolition of the duty where it acts as a pure tax may in the first instance greatly increase consumption of paper. Secondly, numerous men will find employment as compositors, printers, readers, authors, binders, book-sellers, etc., etc. An increase in the sale and publication of books and magazines will also be beneficial to the community.

Among imported goods which compete with home articles the question of reducing or abolishing duty will be more complicated. The main idea on which everything will converge is whether the Indian *paperwallah* really needs protection or whether he merely wants to take advantage of the duty to put up his price and indulge in high dividends and wasteful management. No doubt opinions will differ, but let us hope the Board will decide matters in favour of National economics and not Company shareholders.

Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd

Well known example of industrial development in the Cotton Mills Ltd. of Calcutta. The mill originally belonged to Europeans and was called the Bengal Cotton Mills. It was started about 60 years ago. It came under Indian management about 12 years ago and is now managed by Messrs. Birla Brothers Ltd. It is incidentally the largest spinning and weaving mill in Bengal and has 50,000 spindles and 2,000 looms.

The articles produced by the mill are quite decent and appear to be made with an eye to strength and durability. There are also some knitted articles, socks, *genzies*, etc., which are produced by the knitting department of the mill. In point of price the mill produces goods which can be purchased with ease by the poor. We believe the idea of mass production of cheap and durable articles of wear is economically as well as morally sound in these hard days. We hope the mill will stick to this policy.

This Propaganda

When one reads what interested Britishers have to say on the vileness of the propaganda carried on by the Indian Press, one feels as if the Indian Press were particularly obnoxious in the matter of false propaganda. But anti-Indian propaganda, as carried on in Britain, usually goes miles in advance of Indian Press writings. Among the intelligent-sia the nature of the propaganda is different from what one finds in the popular papers. In the first the tone is statistical, economic, historical, moral or humanitarian. Figures depicting the great boon that British rule has been to India in every way, restrained and dignified statements of economic lies and half-truths, subtle fabrications and twisted accounts in the garb of history, outbursts against alleged immoral institutions and practices and rapturous recitations of what India would be in the society of nations if only she could remain under British governance for a millennium or two longer: such is the stuff served out to the educated Britisher.

In the popular branch of the propaganda things are found which may easily serve as inspiration to writers of six penny fiction (who sometimes help the propagandists by

tagging things in India) the writers of the cheap propaganda stuff have an easy job on account of the insular stupidity of the average half-educated Britisher, who is willing to believe anything about a foreigner, the more so if the foreigner's pigmentation differs from his own. Let us take an example.

In the Cassell's Magazine for May 1931, there is an article with the title "Asia's Secret Societies." It is written "by a Victim" who remains "anonymous for obvious reasons." Even a cursory perusal of the article makes this anonymity all the more obvious; for seldom have we come across such a string of idiotic lies against so many nations in so little space. The Near and Middle East, Turkistan, Persia, Turkey, India, China, all eastern countries are so infested with Secret Societies and their billion members that the people of these lands are born, are married, eat, drink, dress, travel, engage in trade, contract maladies or die only with the sanction of or some secret society or other. They have also to perform esoteric ceremonies as often as they do something. Although most eastern countries have been maligned by the writer of this article, India gets the lion's share of his malice (for obvious reasons too). He writes:

The Secret Societies of India, for instance, are far more powerful than the official political parties, which are merely the outward and visible executives of wealthy cliques, composed of high-caste people who largely seek their own ends.

The head-quarters of one of the most active of these Secret Societies was traced at one time to Dacca, in Bengal, and its directing influence was entirely confined to Hindus, Mohammadans as a rule are not admitted to its Councils or membership. Its methods are modelled on those of the old pre-revolutionary Russian Nihilist plan—that is an inner circle, composed of unknown directors, and two outer circles of executive officers. In every Hindu village this society has an active agent and its sources of intelligence are quite equal to those of the police.

Then the writer proceeds to add to his writing a subtle personal touch by recounting some of his "experiences."

I remember trying to be present at one of their ceremonies, but the Societies' spies were too clever for me. How could I guess, at the time, that the ash-besmeared old yogi, who sat by the roadside and to whom I have (*sic*) given alms, was one of the leaders of this criminal organization? Covered with rags, he had the appearance of one of the many helpless cripples one sees throughout India. And yet he was the man who gave the signal

so his confederates to call off the meeting as soon as my presence was discovered.

It takes, indeed, a really clever *yogi* to discover a man's imaginary presence at an imaginary meeting of an imaginary secret society! The writer does not, however, leave his readers in ignorance of the proceedings of the meeting. He says:

Nevertheless, I am well aware of what goes on at these initiation ceremonies. Some silver coins are thrown into a bowl of oil and an aromatic paste is then dipped into the liquid. The new members touch their eyes, ears and nose with the paste and then, forming it into a small ball, fix it to the end of a dagger.

By this they are pledged to secrecy and agree to carry out loyally the orders of their leaders.

We hope the anonymous writer is no relation of Mr. Edgar Wallace. For we are next told:

At one time the society used to levy taxes upon the poor peasants. An order would be placed at a Hindu shrine in a village instructing the headman to deposit a sum of money under a certain tree. Woe betide the village that did not obey the command! Their cows would die by a mysterious poisoning, their har-ticks would catch fire and even children would be kidnapped.

This British writer says, the Secret Society men are all Hindus. And yet they would kill cows by poisoning! The man is not clever enough to avoid telling easily detectable lies.

The writer says nothing about the Secret Societies of foreign tradesmen, missionaries, etc., which also wield tremendous power in India. Their methods are even subtler than those depicted above. For they have killed by mysterious poisoning, not cows but entire industries, reduced whole populations to dire poverty, and of their secret ceremonies nobody knows anything.

"The Burden of Swaraj"

The above is the title of a recent publication dealing with the present political situation in India with some suggestions. The author, Mr. K. M. Parkavastha, is a scholar of distinction and has shown a keen power of analysis in this book. His dissection of the political mind of present-day India is interesting and his views on the various aspects of government, political reform, constitution-making, etc., are, generally speaking, impartial and academic. That the author is not obsessed with anti-British feeling could be proved from his treatment

of the question of safe-guarding British interests. He says:

It has been estimated on very high authority that there is an investment of private British capital in India to the extent of £500 millions. some measure of safeguard for the existing British interest should not be unreasonable to ask for or difficult to provide.

The author might have contended with these "high authorities" that as the valuation of British capital in India is based *not* upon what the British *actually* invested but upon the *earning power* of what they invested, and as this earning power belonged to *Indian* circumstances and not to any peculiar quality of the capital or the investor, the high market value of British Indian industrial capital is no index of British claims on India. It may be suggested that for the correct estimation of such matters one should make researches like those indicated in the chapter on "British Capital in India" in the *Rain of Indian Trade and Industries* by Major B. D. Basu. At another place the author recommends:

"To meet India substantially on her own terms would thus appear to be the only course left open to Great Britain."

This is no brief-holding for the British imperialist.

The book is well written and well got-up.

Protective Tariffs

Protective tariffs and bounties are factors in the development of new industries in a country. It goes without saying that it is incumbent on the organizations that receive the benefit of protection to develop their industries in such a manner as would benefit ultimately the country and the people to which they belong. Still more so is the case with the receivers of bounty. Further, this development should be on such lines as would substantially aid allied or subsidiary industries. In any case, the interests of existing indigenous industries should be looked after, so that no hardships may come on others, while a few are being protected and fostered.

According to the reports we receive from time to time, this is not the case with the industries that are receiving help in the above ways in this country. In last month's issue of this journal will be found an article on the Tata Iron and Steel Co. If what has

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been stated in that article to be true, then it is about time that legislation were enacted forcing this and similar concerns to realize that they owe a duty to the people whose bounty they are receiving.

We have also received reports that since the coming in of Protection in the paper industry, the import of foreign pulp has gone up considerably, while purchases of indigenous grass and other raw materials have gone down proportionately.

The industrial and commercial legislation of this country is singularly faulty. Sufficient care is seldom taken to safe-guard Indian interests. For example, the mining laws of this country with regard to the granting of Approval Certificates, granting of mining and prospecting rights, etc., are nothing short of being iniquitous, as far as the average Indian is concerned. The same is the case with the fixation of tariffs. This is done without the least thought as to the ultimate result to indigenous enterprise. The very high duty on imported matches may be cited as a case in point.

The very heavy duty on matches gave an impetus to local concerns in the beginning. The industry was in a fair way to prosperity, when a very powerful foreign concern dodged in inside the wall and all the rosy dreams of the budding Indian concerns melted into thin air. No provision had been made for intrusions of this nature. The camouflaged name of this concern is Western India something.

It is a wonder to us that the elected members of the legislatures do not take a little more interest in these matters. Only now and then, when a powerful organization like the Bombay Textile group start a commotion, we see the legislators wake up. Directly the commotion is over, commerce, industry and Indian enterprise are expunged from the programme, excepting when necessary for use as a handle for some political propaganda.

The full discussion of the problems involved in the question of Protection is not within the scope of these notes. But it may be laid down as an axiom that no protection or bounty should be given to any industry without guaranteed safe-guards for the interests of Indian capital, labour and enterprise. And India in these instances should mean real India and not "(India) Ltd."

In any case revision and drastic measures are clearly indicated in the cases of Match

Steel and Paper industries, if the interests of the people of this country are to be considered at all.

Franco-British Entente in India ?

The following paragraphs, which appeared in *Advance* on June 24 last, would lead one to ask whether there has been any *entente* between Great Britain and France, so far as India is concerned.

Put not your trust in judges: Mr. Justice Buckland might very well have observed in dismissing Mr. Jitendra Chandra Bannerjee's application invoking the extraordinary original criminal jurisdiction of the High Court for a judicial enquiry into what is known as the French Chandernagore Raid. Rankin C. J. had given him hopes about a month ago that an application moved on the Original Side might bring justice to his client. Of course he had not said so in so many words, as he was careful to add the proviso, "if it lies at all." Mr. Bannerjee thought it was a distinct encouragement held out to him to move on the Original Side and so on Monday last he appeared before Mr. Justice Buckland. The latter asked him to go back to where he had come from, as his application, if it lay at all, was one which ought to have been made on the Appellate Side. But lest the advocate should actually go back to the Appellate Side, Mr. Justice Buckland had the courtesy to point out to him that he had already moved such an application before the Appellate Side and that it had been dismissed.

The lay public will be hard put to it to follow the arguments which High Court Judges have employed to throw out Mr. Bannerjee's application. But the broad facts of the raid are before them. A number of police officers trespass on a foreign territory, enter a private garden house at dead of night and shoot down a young man in the course of the scuffle which follows. The French Government at Chandernagore take lying down this invasion of their sovereignty and forgo the right of a sovereign to punish crimes within its own borders. The Government here refuse to prosecute the men who commit this outrage and withhold their sanction for prosecution by any private party. The Advocate-General defends this attitude on the part of the Government and himself declines to exercise the powers that he has got under the Letters Patent. Faced with these facts, public confidence in law and justice vanishes into thin air.

Public confidence in law and justice has not, however, vanished into thin air. For, judges and lawyers are still as busy as they were in, say, the third week of June, 1931.

We have not been able to follow later developments of the case, if any.

Coastal Shipping in Britain and India

British ship-owners in England and India have pretended to look upon Mr Sarabha

NOTES

N. Haji's Coastal Shipping Bill as an unprecedented enormity in the commercial history of nations. In answer, the history of the navigation laws of Britain and other countries have been made to yield examples of similar enormities. But here is the latest instance, culled by *Liberty* from a British journal, the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*:

"Recently the British Coasting and Near Trade's Shipowners' Association passed a resolution requesting Government to take into consideration the present condition of affairs in regard to the British Coastal Trade and to remedy the same by an Order-in-Council under the British Customs Consolidation Act, 1853, excluding all foreign vessels from carrying cargo from one British port to another. This, the Association argued, was the only way to protect British shipping from unfair competition and assist a national industry to recover a reasonable measure of return on labour and outlay and keep in operation an industry which was essential to the nation's well-being and security."

The Bengal Government and Opium-smoking

The following is part of one day's proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council:

The House circulated the Bengal Opium Smoking Bill, 1931, which provided for the control of the practice of smoking opium. The intention of the Government in introducing the Bill in its present form was to carry out the obligation of the Government of India under the terms of the First Geneva Opium Convention of 1925 to suppress smoking of opium as speedily as possible and with this end in view it has been provided in the Bill to register persons who were already addicted to opium-smoking in Bengal and to permit such persons only to indulge in the practice. Any persons, other than such registered smokers, indulging in the practice, would render themselves liable to prosecution and punishment.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Haridhore Dutt and Sir Nilratan Sircar advocated the total suppression of the evil, as in the opinion of the latter registering a vice meant its recognition and toleration.

The Minister, in reply, pointed out that the persons addicted to the vice were mostly Chinese, who were foreigners, and so they had got to handle these people very delicately and to a certain extent respect their habits.

Dr. Dutt informed the House that he had received a letter from the Chinese Council, urging him to use his influence to see that the evil was totally suppressed.

This is a peculiar method of giving effect to the terms of the First Geneva Opium Convention of 1925. Why make Bengal the object of derision of the world by trying to disguise official cupidity in the garb of philanthropy?

"Respect their habits," is a delightful phrase. If foreign debauchees of a different

description come to India, we register them and provide blot

A high medical authority has said that opium-smokers do not die but give up the habit.

An Indian Boy Wins a Shot

Debendranath Bhaduri, an fourteen, who is a student of Somerset School, Somerset and is also the O. T. C. of his school won prize for shooting at the E Test, which took place last Ma



Debendranath Bhaduri

Victimization of Students

When Mahatma Gandhi's truce with the Government was made we had to point out that students who had been expelled from school for non-violent offences could

svayagraha, would not be prevented from re-entering college or school or otherwise victimized, should have been included in the terms of the settlement. As it was not done, it would be idle now to urge that the spirit of the truce is being violated by the principals and head masters of many institutions in Bengal and Assam. But we do urge it nevertheless.

Dacoities and Unemployment

According to Mr. Prentice, who is in charge of Law and Order in Bengal, there were 1,149 dacoities in the province during the six months or 181 days from January 1 to June 30 of this year. This means that in Bengal, on an average, during each of these days there were eight dacoities. Dacoities sometimes take place in broad daylight, but generally at night—say during the four hours from 11 p.m. to 3 a.m. So every night, there was a dacoity somewhere or other in Bengal every half an hour. This proves two things: that the police do not deserve all the praise which has been showered upon them by this Excellency and that, and that food and raiment are hard to get owing to recent famine conditions and to chronic unemployment among landless labourers, peasants and farmers with small holdings, and educated young men. What passes for political robbery by the last-mentioned class is most probably due in part to unemployment.

This problem should engage the serious attention of Bengal zamindars and capitalists in particular and the public in general. Those who have culturable land, forests, and money can help to ease the situation. In spite of Bengal being congested, agriculture can be further extended here, as there are some six millions of acres of culturable land not yet brought under cultivation. Many industries can and ought to be started. If the Government of India gives up to Bengal the revenue derived from jute (a Bengal monopoly), schools can be opened all over the province for universal primary education, and these schools can provide employment for thousands of unemployed educated youth. If the Government of India will not make over to Bengal this big amount, which does not justly belong to it, the Bengal Government ought to float a big loan and out of its interest finance universal primary education in Bengal.

The Royal Commission on Labour

According to Dr. Besant's organ *New India*, every aspect of the Labour problem has been given consideration by the Royal Commission on Labour—wages, hours and conditions of work in factories, housing, health, welfare, the habits and social customs of the worker, his position under the existing and the new Constitution and the growth of the Trade Union movement. In the opinion of the same journal,

The aptest comment was made by *The Daily Herald*, that no Englishman could read the terrible story without a sense of shame that such terrible conditions have not only been possible under British rule, but actually grown with it. While such would be the obvious impression on those accustomed to a rapidly growing code of social and economic legislation and a fairly high standard of administration, to those in India who are daily compelled to realize the scandalous neglect of all that is vital to a Nation's welfare, the descriptive portions of the report will seem very much of an under-estimate. But even in this form, the report will bring home to readers abroad the destructive character of foreign rule.

Such being the revealing character of the report, it is no wonder that *Forward* of Glasgow has written:

"If this is all that British rule has been able to accomplish in the course of a century, then there is precious little danger of the Indian National Congress or any other Indian Government making the conditions of the Indian masses much worse."

Great Britain and India's Public Debt

In pre-British India there had been no such thing as a public debt. Today the people of India have to bear the burden of a colossal public debt, the interest charge on which they can ill-afford to pay. This money, if it could be used for the material, moral and intellectual advancement of India, would be well spent and bear valuable fruit in the near future. But as much of the money raised through these "national" loans had been squandered by the Government in one way or another, that portion of our national resources which is used for the purpose of paying interest on these debts remains sterile from the standpoint of national well-being and progress. In order to find out how much of our "national" debt was incurred by our rulers for their own selfish and imperialistic purpose and how much was raised for meeting expenses which were genuinely chargeable to India the Karachi Congress had appointed a Select Committee consisting

of Messrs D. N. Bahadurji, K. T. Shah, Bhulabhai J. Desai and J. C. Kumarappa. They were also assisted by Mr. D. N. Joshi. In order to fully appreciate the competence of these people to enquire and report on such a subject as just distribution of the burden of the Indian public debt between Britain and India, let us see what Mahatma Gandhi says about them in the *Young India* of July 23, 1931. Writes Mahatmaj:

Sjt D. N. Bahadurji was at one time Advocate-General and so was Sjt. Bhulabhai J. Desai. Both of them are busy practitioners and well-known lawyers apart from their having held the office of Advocate-General. Indeed that office gives no added importance to the holders. It is a recognition of their importance and status in their profession. Prof K. T. Shah is an economist of all-India reputation, is an author of several valuable works and was for many years and only up to the other day Professor of Economics in the University of Bombay. Sjt J. C. Kumarappa, the convener, is a professor in the Gujarat Vidyapitha. He was chosen for this particular task for his accurate knowledge of economics and his aptitude for research work. These four members were ably assisted at their invitation by Sjt D. N. Joshi, also an economist of considerable experience.

So that the enquiry was made by persons who knew their job.

The Indian public debt was instituted by the East India Company for the furthering of their own imperialistic ends. As the accounts of the East India Company were hopelessly muddled, nobody really knows how much of the people's money they squandered for selfish purposes. But the Committee finds the account of borrowings to be about £50 millions just previous to the Mutiny. This money was not spent for the benefit of India but as follows:

External Wars of the Company:	
1st Afghan War	15 millions
Two Burmese Wars	14 "
Expeditions to China, Persia, Nepal, etc.	6 "
Interest paid on the East India Company's Capital, etc., 1833-1857	15 "
	£ 50 millions

One need not comment upon the honesty and justice of meeting these expenses out of the Indian purse. Let us however hear what Sir George Wingate said about this in his book *Our Financial Relations with India*. He said -

Most of our Asiatic Wars with countries beyond the limits of our empire have been carried on by means of the military and monetary resources of the Government of India though the objects of these wars were in some instances to rely British and in others but remotely connected with the

interests of India. They were undertaken by the Government of India in obedience to instructions received from the British Ministries of the time acting through the Presidents of the Board of Control, and for all consequences they have involved, the British Nation is clearly responsible. The Afghan War was one of the most notable of these, and it is now well understood that this war was undertaken by the British Government without consulting the Court of Directors, and in opposition to their views. It was, in fact, a purely British War, but notwithstanding this, and in defiance of a solemn expression of unanimous opinion on the part of the Court of Directors, and of a resolution of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company that the whole cost of the war should not be thrown upon the Indian finances, the ministry required this to be done. By this injustice, ten millions were added to the debt of India. The late Persian War was proclaimed by the British ministry in pursuance of a policy with which India had no real concern, but the war, not the less, was carried on by the troops and resources of India and one half only of the total cost was subsequently settled to be borne by the revenues of this country. India, in fact, has been required to furnish men and means for carrying on all our Asiatic Wars and has never in any instance, been paid a full equivalent for the assistance thus rendered, which furnishes irrefragable proof of the one-sided and selfish character of our Indian policy."

John Bright also said in the House of Commons

"Last year I referred to the enormous expenses of the Afghan War the real burden of which ought to be thrown on the taxation of the people of England, because it was recommended by the English Cabinet for objects supposed to be English."

How the Honourable Company misappropriated Indian funds can be easily seen from some other examples of their "Indian" expenditure, e.g.

Cape of Good Hope—For supplies in 1806-8, 1819-20 . . . £ 91,043.

Diplomatic Expenses in Persia from 1811-17 . . . £ 172,975

Extra Expenses at St. Helena from Oct. 1815 to 30th April, 1821 . . . £ 950,927

Apart from the expenses of External Wars carried on by the East India Company, "India" paid the Hon'ble Company in 1871 for their India Stock and towards interest on the same sums as follows.

Interest payments	1833-1857	..	15,120,000
	1858-1871	..	10,080,000
Capital Stock		..	12,000,000
			£ 37,200,000

The next item on the list of our debts to Britain is the cost of the Mutiny. This was charged to India most unjustly as is seen from the following extract from a letter

it by the Secretary of State for India in 1872:

"The extraordinary case of the great Mutiny of 1857-58 is the only case which gives even plausibility to the war office representation, in that case, altogether unprecedented in the history of British India, the Imperial Government was compelled, under the imminent risk of losing its Empire in the East, to make one of those efforts which are at times inseparable from Imperial powers and Imperial obligations. It must be remembered, however, that, if similar exertions had been called for by war in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions, not only must the same effort have been made, but the burden of it must necessarily have been borne, in greater part, at least by the Imperial Government; but, in regard to the Indian Mutiny, no part of the cost of suppressing it was allowed to fall on the Imperial Exchequer, the whole of it was or is now being defrayed by the Indian taxpayer."

Incidentally it should be noted that the expenses of the Boer War were not only entirely met by Britain but she also paid the Boers £3 millions for rehabilitation of farms destroyed during the war. The Committee say:

"Thus the burdens and obligations which have fallen upon the people of India from the East India Company amount to over 112 million sterling made up as follow:

Cost of the first Afghan War	15,000,000
" " " two Burmese Wars.	14,000,000
" " " Expeditions to China	
" Persia etc.	6,000,000
On account of Company's Capital and dividend.	87,200,000
Cost of the Mutiny.	49,000,000
	£ 112,200,000

It is but fair that India should now claim to be relieved from the burdens of expenditures which were wrongly put on her shoulders."

After the East India Company the Indian Exchequer was managed no better by the Government of India. The same story of charging imperial expenses to India was repeated perhaps at greater length. The Public Debt under the Crown is divided into two sections, productive and non-productive. Among the non-productive items can be seen such heads as expenses of the Abyssinian Expedition, Second Afghan War, Operations in Egypt and N.-W. Frontier, Burmese War, etc. During the Great War "India" met enormous bills in behalf of Great Britain which the latter country coolly passed off as India's "Gift" of cost of military operations undertaken by India. These items together make up Rs. 397 crores. Further we find:

Thus, under this head of "External Wars," a claim of over 397 crores is made.

The expenses incurred in the maintenance of

India Office, Aden, Persian and Chinese Consulates, Ecclesiastical Charges, etc., estimated at £20 million, are challenged on the ground that these are Imperial charges and so should fall on the Imperial Exchequer and not on India.

It is claimed that the deficits of Burmah budgets since 1886, aggregating to about 15 crores and the interest charges and Railway deficits of about 22 crores and a share in respect of the expenses of Indian defence calculated at 1 crore a year amounting to 45 crores for the period since 1886, aggregating in all to 82 crores, should be made good to India.

This is the "most lamentable" operation, and the losses resulting from these transactions, amounting to about 35 crores, it is claimed, should be made good by Great Britain.

The policy of encouraging Railway construction by the system of guaranteeing Interest on the Capital sunk has led to considerable waste, and in many cases the cost per mile of a Guaranteed Railway is double that of a State-built Railway.

Many or most of the Railways were built out of Military considerations, and only of late they have been able to pay their way. Strictly, a considerable amount of this so called "developmental" expenditure should be charged to Military expenditures. Be it as it may, the recommendation confines itself to only the expenses of admittedly strategic lines in the N.-W. F. Province and at Aden costing about 33 crores, which should be paid by Great Britain.

When the Railway properties were acquired by the State the acquisition was made under conditions that added considerably to the burdens of the people. The Companies were entitled, under the terms of their contracts, to be paid the market value of their Shares or Stock, at the date of acquisition. Because of the Guaranteed Interest payments, the market price of these Stocks and Shares went up enormously when the State was about to acquire the properties. The Companies thus obtained a high price which was not warranted by their assets or by the return from their revenues. This is an unjustifiable burden to be imposed on the people of India amounting to about 50 crores.

The fixed rate of exchange provided in the Contracts of the Railway Companies occasioned enormous losses to Indian revenue, but the actual amount of loss is difficult of determination, and a deduction on this account must be made before taking over the debt said to be incurred on Railway account.

As regards the other "Productive" debt items, such as Irrigation, Posts and Telegraphs, etc., no claim is suggested, although the extravagance of building a new capital at Delhi is criticized and the Back Bay Reclamation scheme in Bombay is condemned.

Thus the total claims advanced are as follows:—

Under the Company	Crores	Crores
External Wars	...	35
Capital and Interest	...	37
Cost of Mutiny	...	40
		112

Under the British Crown	Crores	Crores
External Wars	...	37
European War - "Gifts"		189
Cost		171
		97

		<i>Crores</i>
Miscellaneous Charges	...	20
In respect of Burma	...	82
Reverse Council Losses	...	35
Railways	...	83
Total Rs. 729 crores		

The Committee come to the following conclusion:

The present "Public Debt" of India amounts to over 1100 crores. Taking into consideration the ever growing material and political gain to Great Britain as the result of possessing India, and in consideration of the suppression of Indian industries and talents the Committee recommends that Great Britain should follow in dealing with India the precedent she set in releasing Ireland of her share of the National debt of the United Kingdom when Ireland was made a Free State. Every principle of fair play now requires that if India is to start on a new era of National Self-government, it should start freely and without any burden, if any progress is to be achieved at all. India cannot afford to bear any additional taxation. The only possibilities of progress for India therefore are the application of the national revenues to national purposes, and it is only by reducing the national expenditure on the civil and military administration of the country to suit its own requirements and freeing India from the liabilities for the public debts not incurred in her interests, that saving can be effected, which would be applicable to the advancement of India in the matter of education and sanitation and other national means of regeneration.

Mr. J. C. Kumarappa adds to the report two notes which are summarized as follows:

In the First Note, it is suggested that a claim be made in respect of annual Military Expenditures on such amount as may be shown to be due to Imperial Interest as apart from the requirements of Indian defence. A standard is adopted and over and above that whatever is spent is to be borne by Great Britain. According to the calculation given, about 540 crores, out of a total expenditure of 2128 crores, would seem to be due to be returned.

The Second Note deals with Interest payments on claims. There it is suggested claiming all interest payments made in respect of the items challenged in the report. The calculations show that another 536 crores, out of a payment of 1050 crores, would appear to be due to be given back.

Mr. Kumarappa also thinks that the extra expenditure on account of Burma should not be claimed unless Burma were made a separate province. This is quite right; for if we start on the work of gauging inter-provincial liabilities or the claims of individual provinces, it would lead to provincial jealousy and ill-feeling. For instance, most of the funds squandered by the East India Company came from Bengal and the longer the period that any part of India has been under the British, the

more would be its claim, generally speaking, upon Britain. Francis Henry Skrine, I. C. S., wrote in his book *India's Hope* (p. 39):

The provinces (Bengal) proved of immense value during the era of struggle and consolidation. Its revenues enabled the East India Company to carry on the warfare in which it was involved and to pursue the policy of annexation which was forced upon it.

The Committee would have done well to have claimed a share in the War Reparations on account of the numerous soldiers from India who died and were disabled on the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia. India could also claim a large sum for all the Indian soldiers who have ever died or been disabled in any battle fought for the "Empire."

Critics of the report there have been many among Anglo-Indians. *Capital* of Calcutta says:

The balance-sheet embodied in the Report is the sort of document which might be expected from a "shady" lawyer acting on behalf of a fraudulent bankrupt. In a word, the debts are elaborated but the assets are concealed.

So saying *Capital* (A Ditcher's Diary, July 30, 1931) proceeds to "elaborate" the Assets as befits, shall we say, a fraudulent but highly solvent party. It says:

On the 31st March, 1931, the total interest bearing obligations of the Government of India not covered by productive assets amounted to less than 200 crores.

Capital forgets that this does not disprove India's claims upon Britain. It may be that whatever little money that was *genuinely* put into productive use out of the enormous sums borrowed by the Government in the name of India, is yielding high profit and is paying the interest charge on ill-spent borrowings. But this would prove only the great productivity of India and not the wisdom or the "non-fraudulence" of the British. The question is whether or not the British have misappropriated so much money for imperialistic expenditure from out of the Indian exchequer. If they have, they should pay it back. If they have any counter-claims upon India on other grounds, they should also state them clearly.

Those British economists who are, like Ditcher in *Capital*, in the habit of overstating the British-managed assets of India, always omit to explain the details of such management. If they did so, it would clearly show how from the standpoint of national

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It is interesting to note that while the total of the productive and unproductive, on March 31, 1928 amounts to £ 3.365 millions, the value of the State Railways and Irrigation Works alone (capitalized at 25 years' purchase) is estimated at £ 81,000,000.

These figures, no doubt, exclude the millions that India had to shoulder on account of the Great War. Moreover, such statements merely prove that the State Railways and Irrigation Works are *sources of taxing the already overtaxed Indians*. For what else could they be when their actual cost price (which is not necessarily the price that was paid by the British rulers of India to their British builders, contractors or suppliers of materials) does not justify their high yield of profits. When a nation pays for a productive enterprise, such as a Railway or a canal, it should not be made to pay for the use of such state-owned capital goods at a rate higher than should pay for the lowest world rate of interest on such stock, normal depreciation and maintenance with economy. Will the Government-owned productive departments stand scrutiny on this basis? Moreover, if our national productive enterprises prove highly profitable, would that justify the British in misappropriating our funds? If one man could pay interest, from his income, on £1,000,000, would that justify another man in forging a pro-note in his name for that amount?

Another set of critics attempt to point out how India has gained enormously in many indirect ways by remaining under British rule. It could be said in answer to them that we have lost much more through the destruction of our trades and industries by the British. The British have constructed and instituted many things in India; but all with a view to consolidate their own economic hold upon us. If we have been able to make some profitable use of these British institutions, we have done so in spite of the exploitative genius of Britain. Let us take a recent instance of indirect loss due to our British connection. The Great War caused us tremendous loss of trade, which would not have occurred had we been totally dissociated from the British. Probably it would have given us a chance to make big profit along with the other neutrals.

Professors S. A. and K. Bhatta have calculated this loss at 100 per cent as an underestimate.

Retrenchment

The scientific and the cultural departments of the Government have all along been starved for funds and handicapped by lack of co-ordination with the controlling supreme heads, who have up till now shown practically no interest in these departments, the only exception being perhaps Lord Curzon.

These departments, for example, the Archaeological, Zoological and Geological Surveys—have only recently got into their stride and have already very substantially added to the cultural and scientific knowledge about India, thereby advancing our claims regarding a position amongst the civilized nations of the world. The economic gain has also been, directly and indirectly, very great, as any one conversant with the work of these departments is well aware. It is impossible to give fuller details about the cultural, scientific and economic gains in these notes, but we hope to give more details in our next issue regarding some of these.

The discovery of Mohen-jodaro made by the Archaeological Survey, the Anthropological, Medical and Economic Zoological work done by the Zoological Survey, the economic, stratigraphic and palaeontological work done by the Geological Survey are all achievements of the first magnitude in the cultural sphere. As such, every educated Indian should take pride in these and insist that these departments be substantially strengthened by money grants and appointment of additional highly trained Indian officers.

There is some wild talk about total suspension of work in these departments for a number of years. This would be nothing short of a calamity and the Government will be execrated throughout the civilized world, if they thoughtlessly carry out this mad project.

In our opinion, retrenchment is impossible in these departments as the grants made at present are hopelessly inadequate, as it is. All that the Government can do is to try to eliminate duplication of work and to bring about increase of efficiency in these departments.



RAGINI DIPAK
After an Old Painting

Dharm Press, Calcutta



SEPTEMBER, 1931

WHC

The Soviet System

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

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the oft-repeated tales of history, and intensely disagreeable to hear. But because they are stale and hackneyed, it will not do to suppress them with the muzzle of oblivion. That is the origin of the present unendurable poverty of the country India once gloried in her wealth, and if we forget the conveyance by which it was transported to a distant island, we shall lose sight of an important fact in modern world-history. We must remember the fact that the motive force of modern politics is not military glory, but the lust of wealth. The subjects of a king have some sort of human relationship with his royal power, but no such thing is possible with regard to greed for wealth. Wealth is cruel, impersonal. Not only does greed put the golden eggs laid by the goose into its basket, but it cuts the goose's throat as well.

Let us assume that the old-world skill and the various means by which handicrafts were carried on have naturally died out in competition with machinery. Therefore, to enable the people to live, the first thing necessary was to have taught them the use of machinery by every possible means. In modern times this endeavour has been strenuously made in all free countries for self-preservation. Japan has, within a short time, mastered the machine ridden by wealth. Had that not been possible, then she would have lost her life and property through the machinations of Europe, the master mechanic. Unfortunately, we have not had the same opportunities, for greed is envious. Under the shadow of this enormous greed, our life and livelihood are withering: in lieu of which our masters console us by saying that law and order will be maintained, in order to protect the small remnant of life and wealth that still remains. And we have mortgaged food and clothing, brains and learning to procure the money for their police uniforms with our last breath.

Where the relationship is one of greed, there can be no respect for its medium. And where there is no respect, there the claims of the other side are kept down as low as possible. It is a matter of common knowledge how low are the funds apportioned for our very existence and the common decencies of human life. Only the barest amount of food, clothing, learning, medicine, drinking water strained from mud; on the other hand, no lack of policemen, and officials with fat salaries whose pay ke

the gulf stream, is mostly deviated towards relieving the cold of the British Isles, whose pensions we supply from a portion of our funeral expenses. The only reason for this is that greed is blind, greed is cruel, and India is an object of greed for India's rulers.

And yet even in moments of utter despondency I never deny that Englishmen are generous by nature, that other European nations are more niggardly and cruel than these people in their foreign territories. The rebellious spirit that we express in word and deed with regard to the ruling race would not have been tolerated by the rulers of any other nation, proofs of which are not wanting in Europe itself and even in America. Even after proclaiming open rebellion, when we complain in astonishment if oppressed by the officials, then we prove that our deep respect for the English nation dies hard indeed. We expect much less from our own rajahs or zemindars. When staying in England I noticed that discreditable cases of ruthlessness in India seldom found their way to the English papers. The reason for this was not only the fear of opprobrium in Europe or America. As a matter of fact, those English officials who believe in relentless methods in checking restlessness in foreign subjects fear the conscience of their own countrymen. Government has said that the repressive measures taken in order to punish the recent revolutionary disturbances, were of the lightest kind. We may not like to admit this; and yet when we compare them with the punitive measures in the past and the present, we cannot say that the above statement is exaggerated. We have been rudely handled, often enough unjustly, and worst of all, from behind the screen. This also will I say, that in many cases, the glory was theirs who were beaten and the humiliation theirs who held the rod. And yet judging by the usual standard of administration, we must say that our chastisement was of the lightest. Especially when no bonds of blood relationship exist between us, and when they possess the physical power of turning the whole of India into a Jallianwallah Bagh.

Still, that is no consolation. The punishment that dwells in the end of a stick may become tired after a while, there is even the possibility of its being overcome with shame. But the punishment that dwells within the

nature of men does not disappear behind a hudge party at the gymkhana, after breaking a few human skulls. It is undermining the wealth of the whole nation from within. The punishment inflicted by anger comes to an end sometime; but the penalty exacted by greed is endless.

In the *Times Literary Supplement* I see that a writer named Mackee maintains that the root cause of India's poverty is the over-population resulting from indiscriminate marriage. The insinuation being that the drain going on from outside would not have been intolerable, if fewer people had licked the platter clean of less food. I hear that in England, between 1871 and 1921 the population has increased by 66 per cent. The rate of increase in India's population in fifty years is 33 per cent. Then why this difference in result, where the cause is the same? Therefore, it is evident that the root cause is not increase of population but the lack of food-provision. And where is the root of that?

If the fortunes of those who govern and those who are governed, move in the same orbit, then there cannot be any cause for complaint, that is to say, the spoils are pretty equally divided, whether the products be plenty or meagre. But where there lies the expanse of an immense sea and boundless greed between the bright fortnight and the dark fortnight, where the provision of education, sanitation, self-respect and wealth never rises above the level of miserliness on the dark side, and yet the provision for the bull's-eye lantern of the night watchman is ever on the increase, it doesn't require much delving into the intricacies of statistics to calculate that for the last 160 years, poverty in all things on the Indian side, and prosperity in all things on the British, have existed back-to-back, like the obverse and reverse sides of a medal. If one wanted to draw a complete picture of the above, then one would have to place side by side scenes from the lives of the peasant who produces the jute in Bengal and of those who enjoy the profits thereof in distant Dundee.

The terrible era of trade was ushered in together with the discovery of the whole world by sea-going vessels. The first chapter of the age of commerce began with robbery. The earth then groaned under the frightfulness of slave-stealing and wealth-stealing. This cruel business was carried on chiefly in foreign lands. In these days Spain vied off

with blood, not only the gold hoards of Mexico, but also its whole civilization. The blood-red clouds of that storm reached India in separate gusts from the West. It is unnecessary to deal with that history. The current of wealth and prosperity turned from the East to the West.

However painful may be the cleavage that is created by the heartless process of money-making in the same country, between the members of the same nation, yet there equal opportunities are open to all; there may be differences of capacity, but there is no hampering distinction of rights. The same person who is being ground in the mill of wealth today may be promoted to-morrow to the grinding part of the apparatus. Not only that, but a certain amount of the wealth amassed by the rich, is distributed naturally throughout the country in some form or other. Personal wealth cannot help taking upon itself a large amount of the responsibility of national wealth. Popular education, popular sanitation, popular entertainment, various philanthropic institutions,—these are all very costly undertakings. All these varied claims of the country are satisfied by the rich, whether they wish it or not.

But the wealth of India that belongs to foreign merchants or big officials, is shared by the people of India in the shape of mere crumbs left over from the feast. The peasants' profound needs of education and sanitation remain ignored, but no portion of the outgoing profits is restored to them. That which goes, goes altogether. The village tanks are contaminated in order to make jute-profits possible, but not a pie is dropped from the full money-bags of foreign capitalists in order to assuage this dire water famine. If relief measures for water have to be undertaken, then all the strain of that taxation falls on the blood of these starved paupers. There is no money in the Government treasury for popular education—why not? The principal reason is that vast sums of money vanish from India altogether, that is to say, the water in the tanks evaporates on this side, and is turned into clouds which dissolve in showers on the other side. This poor unfortunate, uneducated, unhealthy, moribund India has for years been supplying funds unostensibly to the hospitals and schools of that far country.

Sir John Simon has said: "In our view the most formidable of the evils from which India suffers are the roots of social

and existence of the nation
by remedying the action
of the Indian people themselves."

This is a contemptuous opinion. The standard by which he has judged India's needs, is not their own standard. He cannot even imagine for a tattered, weak-bodied, disease-worn, India deprived of education, the same ideal of life which has developed in his own country in the shape of unfettered education and untrammelled freedom and opportunities. We must eke out a scanty existence by preventing over-population while making their inflated standard of life possible for ever.

It was when foreign greed and the indifference resulting therefrom had stamped their features upon my mind upon a dark background of despair, that I went to Russia. When I observed in this vast country a strenuous endeavour made by the Soviet Government to impart through education perfect efficiency to the entire people composed of various races, European and non-European, I wished to put the question to the Simon Commission: Is it true that it is the ignorance and superstition in India that has entered like a shaft and has been bleeding it to death through all these years, then why has nothing been done in adequate measure to alleviate it, during the hundred-and-sixty years of British rule? Has the Commission demonstrated by statistics the comparative amount spent by the British Government upon supplying the Police with *batons* and supplying education to the people whose skulls are amenable to these *batons*?

On setting foot in Russia, the first thing that meets the eye is that the peasants and workers' community there, who, eight years ago, were as helpless, starving, oppressed and uneducated as the people of India, whose burden of sorrow was in many directions even heavier than our own, have progressed further along the path of education within this short time, than our upper classes have done in a hundred-and-sixty years. Here I have seen the actual manifestation stretching from one end of the horizon to the other, of that vision of education, which we poor dreaming beggars have not dared to paint even on the canvas of a mirage.

How has this miracle become possible? I have repeatedly asked myself. And the answer I have received in my own mind is that there is no barrier of greed anywhere.

Free people are not afraid to give a complete, thorough education even to their Turkoman subjects in far Asia: in fact, they are eager to do so.

I hear that a French scholar has said, in connection with the spread of education in Cochin-China, that he hopes France will not make the same mistake as the English Government has made, in educating the natives of India. We must admit that there is a certain nobility in the English character by reason of which they occasionally make mistakes in their foreign rule and miss a thread or two in the close-woven mesh of domination; otherwise perhaps it would have taken another century or so for us to find our voices. It cannot be gainsaid that ignorance of the people is not less powerful than police *batons*; perhaps Lord Curzon had some glimmerings of this truth. The French scholar does not judge the educational needs of a subject country by the same standard as he judges those of his own. The only reason for this is greed. To the greedy, the servitors of their greed are very hazy as human beings, and their claims are naturally minimized. Those with whom India is linked by government, have not clearly visualized to this day, what kind of food we eat, what sort of water we use to slake our thirst, what a profound ignorance envelopes our minds. Because, the important point is that we are necessary to them, that we also have our life-and-death needs is not such an urgent matter. Besides, we have been brought down so low, that it is hardly possible to honour our claims.

That is why, when I went to Russia and saw that very greed was chastened, I felt a great joy. For I cannot rid my mind of the central idea behind this, which is that, not only in India, but all over the world, wherever one sees a net of great danger spread, there the inspiration always comes from greed.

Once upon a time the Tsarist regime sought to overpower the people's mind through ignorance and blind piety and to sap their manhood by ruthless police persecutions. I do not imagine that the rod of iron is supine in Russia at present, but the intensive method of education is extraordinary. And therefore this much can be said for certain that the education which the masses of Russia are receiving so freely and plentifully, will naturally counteract the attitude

repression of the freedom of mind with regard to a particular economic doctrine.

One constantly hears rumours of cruel oppression in Russia—that may be possible. And yet, the Soviet Government is continually demonstrating the terrible repression and tyranny of the old regime by means of pictures and cinemas and historical lessons. If this Government has also adopted the same cruel methods, then the least one can say is that it is a strangely mistaken policy for them to arouse feelings of disgust against all acts of cruelty. If the cruelties of Sراج-ud-daula in the Black Hole were everywhere denounced at cinemas and by other vivid means, then at any rate it might be excusable to say that to perpetrate a Jallianwallah Bagh at the same time would be an act of foolishness.

A strenuous endeavour is clearly evident in Soviet Russia to cast the intelligence of the masses in one and the same mould of Marxian economics; and with this determination in view, the way to free discussion on this subject has been forcibly barred. I believe this accusation to be true. During the recent European war, the same attempt was made to gag freedom of speech, and to suppress either behind prison-bars or upon the gallows all individual opinion that went against the policy of the Government.

Where the greed of gaining immediate results is very strong, there political leaders do not care to acknowledge the right of individual opinion. That discussion can be postponed, they say, meanwhile let us gain our ends. Russia is in a state of war now: there are enemies within and without. Various machinations are afoot on all sides for frustrating all their experiments. So the foundations of their constructive work must be securely laid as soon as possible: and hence they have no hesitation in using force. But however urgent the need may be, force weakens for good the foundation on which it raises its tower.

The goal Russia has set itself is to make a pathway for the new age: to uproot ancient beliefs and customs from their old beds: to disturb the tranquillity of long-standing habits. Those who cannot brook the delay of compromising with human nature and biding their time, believe in violent action, but what they build up eventually in a single night by forcible measures, does not bear weight and does not last long. I do not believe in those

leaders who have succeeded in moulding opinions, but not men. First of all, it is not wise to have such implicit faith in one's opinion, which must be proved gradually in course of action. Those very leaders who do not obey the injunctions of sacred writings are rigid believers, I find, in the gospel of economics, with which they want to force men to come into line, willy-nilly, by hook or by crook. They fail to understand that even if they succeed in forcing these doctrines down men's throats, that does not prove them to be true: in fact, that the greater the force used, the less is the proof of truth. In Europe, when there existed a militant faith in the Christian scriptures, then efforts were made to prove their truth by breaking men's bones on the rack, by burning and piercing and stoning them. Nowadays the same kind of reasoning by brute force is being applied to Bolshevik doctrines by friend and foe alike. Both parties accuse each other of curbing the right of individual opinion. In the result, human nature in the Western continent is being subjected to missiles from both sides. It reminds me of our *Baul* song

"O cruel hasty one,

Wilt pluck the tender blossom of thy soul
And throw it in the flames, to shrivel there?
Wilt thou not tarry for the flower to bloom,
But it must scatter scent without delay?
Look at my master now, the holy one,
Who waits in patience through the ages long,
And bides his time for every bud to bloom.
Thy greed is avarice, hence thy cruel rod
Is all thou canst depend upon. Listen now
To Madan's prayer—In my master's heart
The self-unconscious hears in blissful ease
The message of the soul, O hasty one."

I have said that in Soviet Russia the various subjects of the Russian State, irrespective of race and class, have been honoured by receiving equal rights and opportunities for real education. It is because I am a British-Indian subject that this matter has been to me a source of such deep gratification.

Now perhaps I must answer one last question. Many people in my country have asked me my opinion about Bolshevik economics. I am afraid, that scripture-driven and priest-ridden country as ours has always been, the tendency of our hypnotized mentality is to accept immediately as Vedic truth any foreign imported doctrine. Freeing ourselves from this spiritual tutelage we should now

the relation to reality, that the test is not yet finished. The chief ingredient in any doctrine relating to humanity is human nature itself. It takes time to ascertain how far it can be harmonized with human nature.

Man has two sides: on the one hand, he has his independent self, on the other he is related to everybody else. If one leaves out either of these sides, then what remains is unreal. When man inclines uncompromisingly to one particular side, then his adviser wishing to cut the Gordian Knot, tells him to lop off the other side altogether. When individualism culminates in acute self-seeking,

then the wise counsellor advises to annihilate the self altogether. Perhaps that may lessen the disturbances but it may also conceivably stop all movements of life. To kill the horse in order to make the carriage safe is not a wise policy.

Men fight and struggle with one another because they are encased in separate bodies but only an arrogant economic Czar could suggest that all men should be tied together hand-and-foot with one rope, so as to make one gigantic body inhabit the earth. To fly in the face of Providence and try to upset its decrees wholesale, requires more foolhardiness than courage.

Women's Education in American Colleges

By B. B. MUNDKUR, M.A., PH.D.

MOST of the colleges and universities in the United States of America are co-educational institutions. The number of girl students registering year by year in these centres of learning is increasing and to a majority of the middle and upper class girls college education has become a matter of course. To the highly ambitious among them who are not afraid of hard work, a good college training opens up splendid avenues of service. The American women have recognized that a college course will not only increase their earning power but will make them finer women, more capable of meeting whatever situation that may present itself in life, whether in the business and professional world or as a home-maker and a mother.

There has been moreover a growing demand for college-trained women for positions as teachers of home economics, as directors of cafés and tea-rooms, as consultants in commercial firms, as dietitians in hospitals, or as experts in technical journalism, and the demand has been greater than the supply. To meet this need the colleges and universities have usually a well equipped and staffed Home Economics Division ranking as much in importance as

the divisions of liberal arts, science, law, Agriculture and Medicine. Apart from the department of home economics women enter other departments of knowledge in order to specialize. Most popular among these are the departments of medicine, liberal arts, science, and dentistry. A few among them find their way into the law, landscape architecture, architectural engineering departments also.

But the great centre of women's activity in the colleges is of course the Home Economics Division. It is for the courses provided in this department that the largest number of girls are enrolled. And of a necessity the great colleges and universities are compelled to have the best staffs and equipment so as to attract the largest number of students.

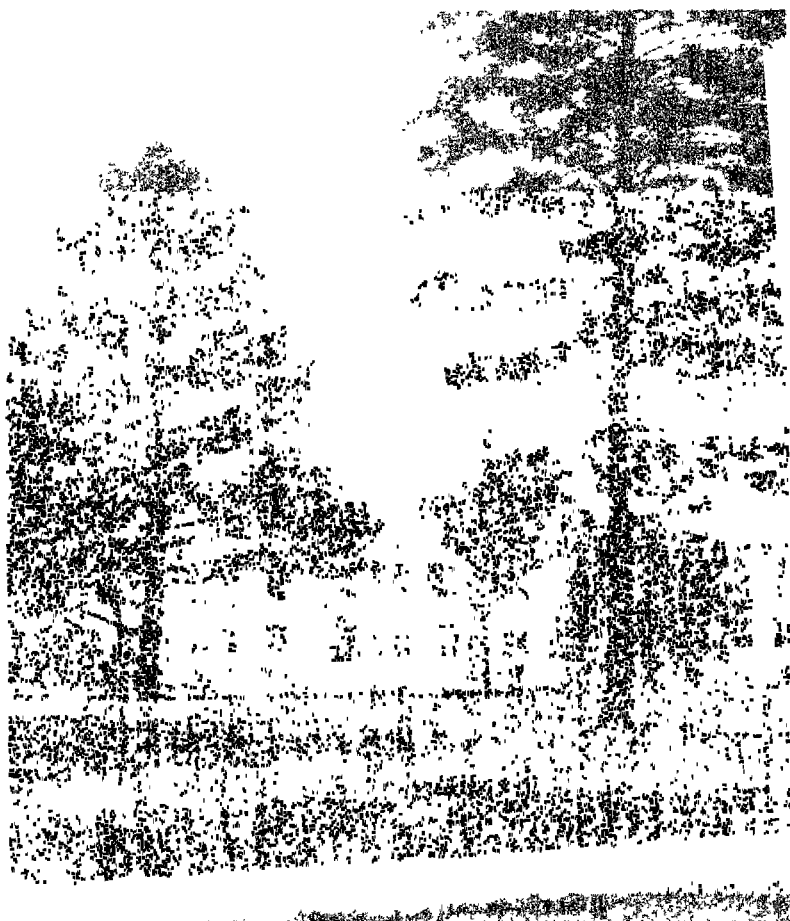
In the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Ames, Iowa, there is one of the best home economics divisions in the country. It is claimed by the Iowa State girls that theirs is the best equipped and staffed institution in the Union. Whatever that be, there is no doubt that it has a nationwide reputation for the efficiency of its training.

Over a thousand girls from Iowa and

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN AMERICAN COLLEGES

for every year in the
the years 1928-1929 and
some from such remote
Washington and New
was one girl deputed by

learning to cook and sew. This
changed. With the increasing
modern civilization it not only
how to administer a home
happily and to occupy a



The Home Economics Building - Iowa State College

vement, another from
rd from Estonia. The
of about sixty women
n their respective fields
e Economics is organized
partments which contri-
lome-making education;
and nutrition; institu-
a (management of tea-
physical education;
n's clothing, household
includes home manage-
ld training, and house-
nes courses in the old
not much more than

in community life but it means
enter one of those profession
home economics provides a l
The following things are kept in
educating the girls, before fit
such important tasks

The knowledge and practice of
The ability to spend time
intelligently

The ability to find and enjoy
everyday life

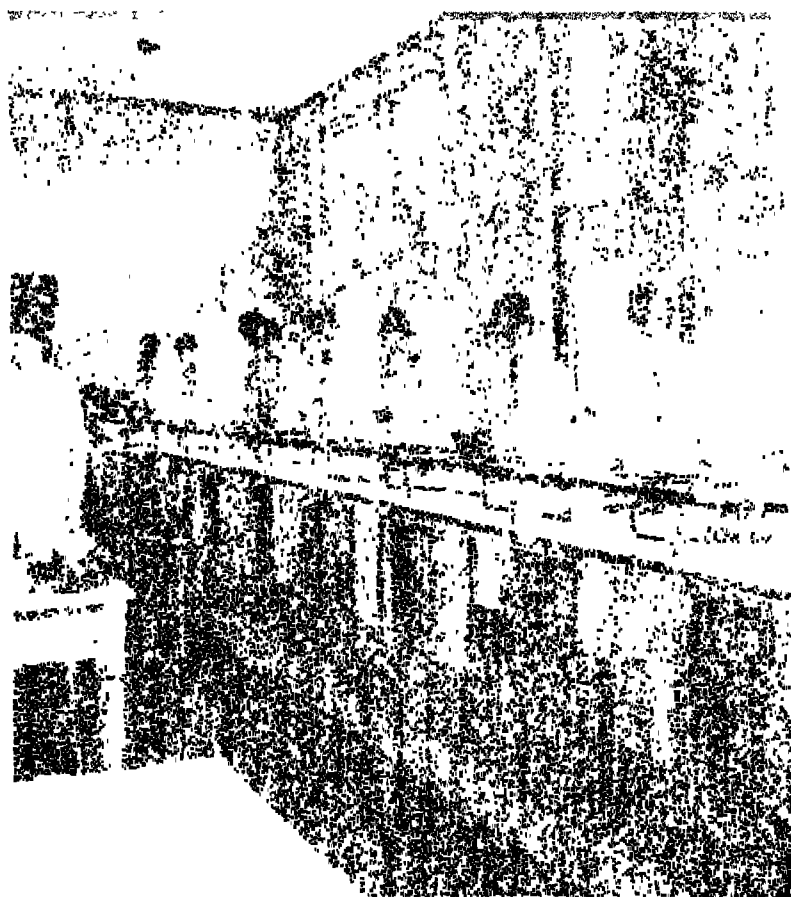
The ability to maintain fine
spiritual relationships with

A girl before she graduates
residence in the college for at lea
Even though the girls are s

... and the subjects
 English language and literature,
 foreign history, psychology,
 biological and social sciences.
 foreign languages, technical
 vocational education, public
 usually insisted upon and the
 main courses are almost com-
 mon, mathematics, botany, physics,

home management and de-
 coration of kitchen and home,
 hygiene and care of
 economics of home life
 that influences home life
 in a scientific manner is

While there are no
 girls graduating in home
 science as a unique final test when
 opportunity to show to the



A Class in Cooking

zoology. A four year course
 in home economics then means a broad
 foundation based on high college

in home economics courses there is a
 freedom of choice. Some
 important courses are: cooking of
 foods, chemical and nutritive
 foods, meats, their recognition,
 different modes of cooking;
 textiles and women's clothing
 management and selection of fabrics;

the use of what they have
 the way. Girls who read
 class have to spend six
 eight in houses known as
 houses. There are four
 Iowa State College campus
 is a child under two years
 from some founding home
 The child and the home face
 ordinary problems of child
 management. The problem
 home when there are guests

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN A LIBERAL CURRICULUM

a of a student to
 already provide excellent
 to test the training the
 comes Hall, or the Hec
 affectionately call it, is
 combining dignity with
 cepting with its purpose
 mpped for the study of
 rking education. Modern
 d with up-to-date appa-

itation studies where probl
 furnishing are worked with as
 an experimental textiles la
 animal laboratory for nutrit
 with guinea-pigs and rabbits
 auditorium for public gat
 physical education departmen
 in an adjacent building
 room in the Home Eco
 The State Legislature has be
 build a hundred thousand do



Exercises in Interior Decoration

t all departments of the
 the special features are
 nced like very convenient
 equipment laboratories
 pes of up-to-date home-
 ntational kitchen and tea
 ecializing in this depart-
 utes to learn the correct
 ivers, serving, and where
 and students can obtain
 a small cost; the house

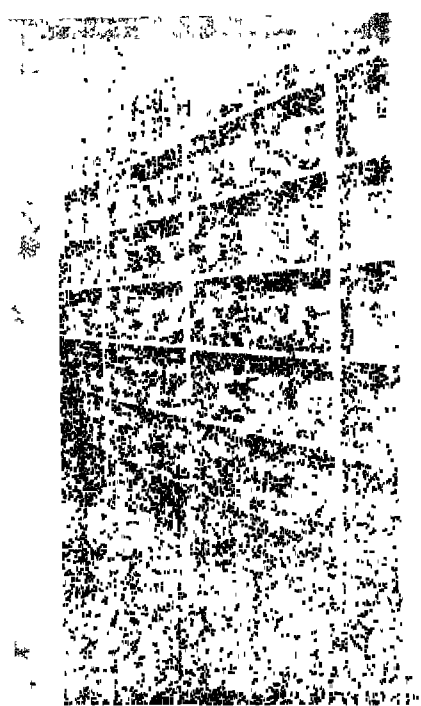
for housing the complete women
 and that is waiting sanction.

While working out the det
 graduate instruction, advanced
 sake of girls who want to go
 not been forgotten. The gradu
 is being steadily improved pro-
 ing facilities for specializat
 in foods and nutrition.

Nor is this all. The Senior
 the fourth year class edit and

faculty a useful journal for in which problems affecting life of American housewives with and important discoveries on the Economics Division are popular language. The *Iowa* an illustrated journal with tion in the State and is popular omen

e Broadcasting station has our in the mornings for the division to give talks on care, child training, etc. During eign students on the *campus* ted to talk on the home life



for studying problems of Nutrition

pics of their respective home-the appreciations which the d from such States as Kansas, Minnesota, it was evident a homemaker's hour on the ed in in several homes college activities of the girls ight of. With over a thousand g the institution on her hands, Women Student Affairs is a n the campus. Those girls who g with their parents have to be freshman year in one of

the college dormitories. These are well furnished and attractive homes where girls enjoy home life. After the 'freshman' year the girls may stay in the Sorority houses, though a large number continue to stay in the dormitories.

The Sorority is a kind of a club house providing both board and lodging. It is entirely managed by the girls themselves. A president, a council, a social secretary, a sports secretary, etc. are elected every year. A house mother appointed by the Dean of Women, but paid by the Sorority chaperons of the girls. On Fridays and Saturdays the Sororities may hold dances, mixers, firesides, when boy friends are invited to the home and additional chaperons who are faculty members have to be requisitioned. All these functions have of course to have the approval of the Dean of Women.

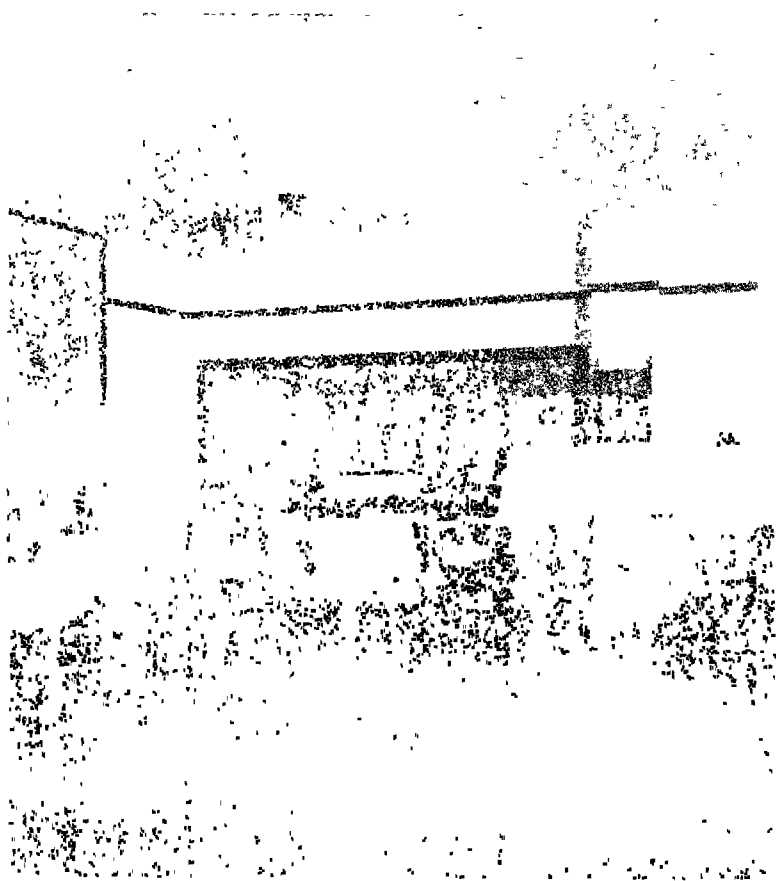
The Sororities have either local or national standing. The former are those that have no branches in other university or college centres. National standing Sororities have a large number of branches (known in the States as Chapters). Greater the number of chapters a Sorority has, greater its importance and Sororities with chapters from coast to coast (Atlantic to Pacific) have very guarded membership. Most of these Sororities have Greek letter names such as *Phi Beta Pi*, *Alpha Nu Omicron*, and a walk round the college campus where most of these are situated is an exercise in learning the Greek alphabet.

Similar club houses where men students stay are known as Fraternities and their organization, etc. is same as that of the Sororities.

Not all girls can enter Sorority homes. Each Sorority has certain standards which have to be fulfilled before the initiate is finally selected. These are: a certain scholastic standing, a particular social position, proficiency in some sports, such as, hockey, swimming, basketball, archery, and also dancing. It is usual for a mother to desire her daughter to enter the Sorority of which she is an *alumnus*. *Alumni* spirit is extremely strong.

Some Sororities have open houses on Sundays when outsiders on the campus may be asked for dinner. Foreign students on the campus, men or women, are on such occasions sometimes requested to give talks about their respective countries or their views about America.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN AMERICAN COLLEGES



A Corner of the Laundry

The College grants every year fellowships to girls who are graduates in high school and who wish to take advantage of the facilities available in that institution for graduate standing and M. S. or Ph. D. degrees.

Those who wish to dedicate themselves to the noble purpose of the emancipation of the colored country and the education of its people would do well to apply, and they are sure to be considered with sympathy and encouragement.



Economic Reconstruction of India

By MANU SUBEDAR

THE poverty of India is real, not merely with reference to the condition of the people in the immediate past before British rule, but also with reference to the condition of the mass of people all over the world. Poverty does not mean merely that the general level of earnings is low, but it also means that a large number is unemployed and they are offering themselves for work at a lower wage. It also means that these men, who are not fully employed, consume their own savings, or, by eliciting the support of others, prevent further savings being made. Indian economic life cannot be set right except by fuller employment of her people and more production. The increased production should also remain in the hands of those who produce. If it were taken away from them in the form of higher rents or taxes, or, if it never falls into their hands, but is taken away by alien interests in the form of surplus profits, the economic position would remain the same.

In order to prepare for better economic life in this country, the people should have the will and desire to face changes. There would have to be changes in law and in practice, which will strengthen the position of the actual cultivator. There would have to be further protective laws, which would give the enterprising people of this country a place far more secure and assured than it is at present. In no country in the world has there been such a disorganization in economic affairs as in India. The door is open, and as a matter of fact, there have been more facilities for those who come from abroad, than for the sons of the soil. The conservation of India's resources in Indian hands and the control of her capital and industry by Indians, is, therefore, a *sine qua non*, but this is sure to involve some degree of interference with established foreign vested interests. The interference will, however, not be considerable. Nor would it be without definite precedents in most other countries, including the United Kingdom. There does not appear to be any sound reason why India should not

reorganize her economic life to suit her own conditions, so as to give the maximum benefit to the large mass of her own population, adopting the same expedients as have been adopted by various other civilized nations in the world. That it was not open to her to adopt these expedients in the past on political grounds, is obvious. Whether it will be open to her even after the promised reforms are introduced, is at present hanging in the balance, since England appears to be determined to ask for safeguards, the like of which do not exist anywhere either in the Empire or in the world.

Another direction in which those who seek reconstruction of Indian economic life will have to go, is the avoidance of waste. Expenditure towards a certain end definitely calculated to secure the efficiency of a producing unit is fully justified. But, beyond that, it is wasteful. The standard, therefore, has to be applied to a million different occasions by different classes of people under different conditions, but there is not the slightest doubt that economy in expenditure has not yet been undertaken in India in earnest. There is wasteful extravagance in the administrative expenditure of the Central Government and provincial Governments as well as large municipalities. Things have been adjusted up to a certain standard in boom years, when everything appeared to be rosy, but no one seems to have had the courage or the public spirit to cut down when the tide has turned. Public opinion itself has been somewhat dormant. If, when the tide has definitely turned away, timely precautions are not taken, the whole machinery may be brought to a stop by a sudden and jerky process. It would affect the credit of all these units and it would generally give a shock to the delicate economic fabric, in which the condition of one set of people and one class inside a nation vitally affects all others. There is wastefulness further in the carrying on of all public utility, both in the hands of the state and of private enterprise. There are losses which are avoidable in many joint

the concerns. There is, further, thoughtless and reckless expenditure on the part of the people in social matters. The social life of the bulk of the population is at present merely drifting. The orthodox tradition holds on without the necessary adjustments, and a community, which is almost leaderless in social matters, merely goes on doing what was done in the past regardless of the changed circumstances and regardless of the fact that resources, which are much more urgently wanted for essential items, are expended in sheer imitation in an erratic manner on matters, which can be disposed of with much smaller outlay.

Apart from absolute savings, which can arise in this manner, the average man in the mass of the population is so ignorant of the world, in which he has to live and of the country, whose condition he shares, that he spends his money indiscriminately. The greatest power in the hands of the people in this country is their purchasing power. Small individually, it still works out in the mass to a very large amount. The bulk of this purchasing power is at present consumed on purchases from abroad. Imported articles, i.e., foreign-made things, are, as a rule, preferred with the obvious result that wages and profits on the manufacture of these articles are shipped abroad, instead of being retained in this country. It is not known to the average buyer of things that from ten per cent to ninety per cent of the cost of various articles is accounted for by wages paid to the labour used in the manufacture. In some cases it is more, in some cases it is less, but in all cases there is a substantial portion of the price, which goes in wages. There is another portion, which goes as profit, leaving the residual for the cost of the primary material. The cost of the primary material is generally extremely small. When, therefore, an article manufactured abroad worth Rs. 1 is purchased by an Indian it means that he has done another Indian out of anything from four annas to twelve annas, which would have gone towards his sustenance. If this elementary lesson in national co-operation could not be learned by our people, all hope of economic improvement must be given up. It is not merely with regard to foreign cloth, but with regard to all articles that this matter needs a closer attention than it has received in the past.

Just as economic deterioration acts in a

cruel and cumulative manner, so that disorganization in one field reacts unfavourably on efforts by the same people in another field, so also does economic improvement act cumulatively in the other direction. Once the atmosphere for better effort and more discrimination in the expenditure of Indians has been established, the push, which it will give to Indian effort in every field, will be so great that the benefit will be reaped by everyone. With astonishing suddenness has the wave of poverty covered this country which was once prosperous. With the same astonishing rapidity can the change be brought about, if the people were determined towards that end and if there were no political or extraneous factors obstructing their path. Leaders of thought in India of all political parties and of all communities have already emphasized most of these notions, but it is one thing to enunciate a doctrine like this on paper, and it is quite another thing for it to become a living day-to-day religious conviction with the mass of the people. It will be thus seen that the greatest obstacle to overcome is the backwardness of the mass. Greater effort is, therefore, necessary to preach that India is for Indians and that the resources of India shall be exploited by Indians for the benefit of Indians. It is unfortunate that facilities for the purchase of indigenous articles are not always available and prices are not always competitive. The only way to end the position would be to persist in the patronage of Indian concerns by Indians. The competition of Indian concerns amongst themselves will soon bring down the prices. This is the better method and this will secure more lasting results than internecine comments on the doings of one set by another and *vice versa*.

If India were left to itself, economic reconstruction would not still be an easy task. It would require a very great effort. But the presence of foreign interested parties, who are anxiously seeking to divide the people amongst themselves either on the ground of provincial jealousies, religious differences, class prejudices, or on any other ground, makes the position much worse than it is. It is not yet generally realized that advice tendered by foreign people to Indians in economic matters is always suspect. These people are not here for the benefit of their health and it is wrong to assume that they would of their own free will help

in building up her economic life, including her industries, when the result may be greater self-reliance and greater independence for the people of this country with regard to imported supplies. Japan, Italy and Turkey offer cases of nations, who were determined to achieve rapid progress in certain directions, and who have managed to show the result. These models are before India, but India is not free to work on these lines, so long as the economic policy of India is directed not by Indians, or for Indians, but from abroad and for the benefit of another race.

It will be thus seen that, while the task is immense, it is not hopeless. Some Indians in some directions have achieved wonderful results, and the suggestion that Indians are incompetent is an offensive libel. The difficulty is the great deadweight of an ignorant mass and of directing this mass in

their economic activities in the right channels. Much could be secured if the inefficiency of the individual worker requiring a lot of supervision, which adds to the cost, could be reduced. If every worker were made literate,—it is a matter of two, three months to teach him the alphabet,—there will be at least some means of expanding the mind and making him realize a better standard. It is true that at present the masses are ignorant and act as a brake on progress, yet they are not as unteachable as some people imagine. The serious defect seems to be with the leaders at the top, some of whom have got half-baked notions with regard to things, some of whom are concerned with the advancement of party politics and party politics alone, and some of whom are seeking things for themselves. An economist can only formulate the conditions of progress. It is for the active politicians and public men to secure those conditions.

The Philippines and its Past

By DHIRENDRA NATH ROY, Ph. D.

Professor in the University of the Philippines

IT is not conservatism with its unbecoming connotation to study a people's past and receive inspiration therefrom. For the present is simply a link in the chain of a people's history which depicts the expression of its soul pushing on its course for ever to realize itself. The people who talk of the present and the future without regard to the past are those who have usurped their present position with false credentials and are anxious to abuse biological induction by attempting to break away from their low pedigree. There is so little inspiration in tracing descent from the Vikings and the buccaneers that it is clever to assume the new epithet of 'progressive' without talking of anything from which 'progress' is achieved as a historical sequence and then most unceremoniously, if not impudently, make a self-appraisal of superiority. The whole thing is a rollicking mess deceptive in all its dazzling appearance. A subject people can hardly allow itself to be swayed by that delusive formula of progress and

run its present course of life separated from its real past. It is like a plant cut off from its roots but given plenty of showers by the gardener; its greenness may retain itself from artificial moisture but when the source of life is gone, it is only a matter of time to see it totally rotten.

Can the people of these Islands build up a healthy present or dream of a golden future without due regard to their past? What inspiration can a subject people have to build its destiny anew when its existing political status is an implicit surrender of national self-confidence and a homage to an alien race? It is the moral imperative of a subject people to keep its brighter past always connected with its gloomy present (for the present of a subject people is always gloomier than when it was not a subject people) so that the sun of its national soul can keep the present vitalized from within and slowly melt away the gathering clouds from its own horizon to anticipate a real sunrise of joy and productivity. There

is no greater religion to a subject people than to save its own ideal, its national soul, for otherwise, it lapses into a degrading idolatry by unconsciously beginning to worship the alien rulers.

It is easy to conceive that the soul of the Island people shrank a great deal at the coming of the Spaniards. The cold blast of Castilian tyranny for three long centuries finally caused it to hibernate. Thus when a people's inner voice is silent it judges things with a foreign criterion and feels shy to think of its own. Can there be a worse tragedy on the part of a people to treat its own with a foreign outlook and then slowly consign it to oblivion?

When I look into the changing conditions of the Philippines which are marked as signs of progress, I am not quite sure if the leaders take it as a natural evolution from its own past. Progress is evolution and not revolution: it means a continuation and no break. Is the present of the Filipinos a push of its vital past, the result of its creative urge? If not, these changing conditions in the Philippines are sure to press heavily upon its soul rendering it inactive until it gets thoroughly atrophied from its own uselessness. Then it is easy to use the people as mere automatons living and moving and having their being in the shadow of the aliens.

When was this soul of the Filipinos most active in its self-expression? Evidently not while under the alien people. As long as an alien race by virtue of its privileged position forces itself upon the subject people, the soul of the latter is in perpetual threat of extinction. The West in its relation to the East has given us this truth. We perceive it very clearly elsewhere in the fate of the ancient races of America, the Hawaiians and the native Australians. How this has happened and how this is happening we need not analyse here. It is just the way of the West with its primitive habits not changed or sublimated but well chiselled by its advanced intellectualism. Lying is now called propaganda, cheating is diplomacy, robbing is imperialism, tribal philosophy dignified by terminology.

That is what I mean by being under an alien people,—a relationship of the most degrading subserviency.

But the Island people had also a close relationship with India. Indeed, until the 11th century India's relation with the Islands

was the most intimate and important. It is unfortunate, that except Dr. Pardo de Tavera who is now dead, we find no great Filipino scholar interesting himself in any serious study of the beautiful period of the Philippine history,—the period which sought to develop its cultural individuality by bringing on a friendly relation between India and the Islands. All that is now being done in the form of research work on the cultural history of the pre-Spanish Philippines is done by two American professors who are obviously working under great handicap of language and tradition. Would that some able Filipinos take up the study themselves and let that period of honourable existence cast its lustre over the present that is surrounded by borrowed light from artificial source amidst thickening darkness of confusion wrought by the last three hundred and fifty years.

At any rate, what is the significant fact in India's relation with the Islands? The little light that has been thrown upon that obscure period of the Philippine history shows that it was a healthy relation in which there was no sense of humiliation, no racial arrogance. Indeed, India can be rightly proud of the fact that in her relationship with other countries she maintained her true cultural spirit. What do we see in her ancient relationships with China, Java, Cambodia and the Philippines? She did not thrust herself upon them but they imbibed her culture and civilization to improve upon their own. The Indian culture did not have them but they had it. In contrast to this relation as I look at the present state of the Philippines shall I be far from truth if I say that the present 'progressive' Filipinos do not possess the Western culture but the Western culture possesses them? When the table is turned that way there is but little hope for the soul of a people.

The peculiarity of Indian culture lies in this that it bodes no danger to any. Its own being is an evolutionary process and not an imposition. When the ancient Greeks by virtue of their political power tried to impose their civilization upon a part of India, there was the inevitable result,—the total expulsion of Greek civilization from that part. The Scythians, the Huns, the Tartars could not impose but were slowly drawn into the heart of the great Aryan civilization. The Muhammadans tried to impose but have they

succeeded. For nine centuries they ruled with iron hand over India, destroyed many precious things and converted many natives, but have they been able to destroy the spirit? On the other hand, the Moslems with their rough habits and violent temper came to India, sword in hand and these centuries of contact with the Hindus have greatly tempered their nature. They have given up the sword for the pen and the plough.

Take again India's relation with China and Japan. Indian culture spread along with Buddhism not to destroy Taoism or Confucianism in China or Shintoism in Japan but to enrich them, not to create friction but to lend its co-operation wherever it is desired in the interest of higher culture. It is why in China, Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism flourish side by side and the same Chinese may at the same time pay equal respect to all. That is why almost all the Japanese are Shintoists and yet they find no difficulty in professing Buddhism. Culture means it, not to impose but to socialize and permeate. It gives whenever it is desired and does not lend India by giving her culture to others has not robbed them of anything, her relationship with them is a fellowship of cultures.

Thus is why in India even today one can find so many aboriginal tribes living their crude primitive life beside the Hindus. India could have easily absorbed or exterminated them long ago. The great forces of her wonderful culture could have easily swept away all forms of primitive life, but that is culture contradicting itself. Indian culture, true to its name, has been existing peacefully amidst all forms of life for more than thirty centuries, believing that it is anything but moral to force itself upon those who choose to love their own and as such remain different. Truth shines in its own glory. If there is any greater value in Indian culture, all will be attracted to it and spontaneously acquire it as their own. There is no humiliation in such process and therefore no immorality.

India's relation with these Islands was based upon this moral principle. Through commercial enterprise the Southern people of India came in contact with the Islanders. They settled on the coast lines of the Philippine Archipelago and along with the various sorts of merchandise invariably came their culture and civilization. No feeling of superiority no conquest and therefore no

sense of humiliation soured the good relationship between the two peoples. They lived on the coast lines, following their own ways of life but with no unsocial attitude towards the natives of the land. That this must have been true can easily be conceived from the very spirit of the Indian civilization, from the fact that there was no motive of conquest no terrorism. Naturally the people received the civilization of India without humiliation and, therefore, without danger to their own. Indian culture came to the Islands as a natural flow brought on through the commercial intercourse between the two peoples. There was no imperialism, no aggression but a slow cultural infiltration as inevitable from the contact with a people firmly rooted on a long established civilization.

It is unfortunate that the Spaniards did their utmost to wipe out all traces of such cultural relationship. Yet the little that has survived and the recent archaeological discoveries go to show that the Indian civilization was the most powerful factor in the life of the Islanders till the coming of the Chinese civilization in the 11th century and the Moslems in about 1400 A. D.

Many writers have found traces of the Indian civilization in the Islands. Among them Dr. Pardo de Tavera and Dr. Najeel M. Saleeby are most important. They have successfully shown by analysing the various native dialects, traditions and mythical stories that Indian culture permeates them all. Dr. Saleeby goes even further and declares that the original people of the Islands came from India many centuries before Christ, that the ancestors of the Filipinos were originally Indians. Similarly Dr. Dixon, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard, recently read a paper at the World Philosophical Congress, in which he declared that the Filipinos were possessed of a real culture as long as 1000 B. C. and that it owed its existence chiefly to Indian civilization.

Professor Austin Craig's translation of some Spanish literature on the Islands has enabled us to see that when the Spaniards first arrived they found many things that had direct reference to India. In costume both male and female, in habits and ideas the people showed distinct signs of Indian civilization. Their temples, their deities and the concrete statues of Shiva, Ganesha and the Buddha were all Indian. That the people venerated even trees and would not kill any animal that the widows would not remarry

but rather burn themselves on their husbands' pyre, that they lived mostly in villages and were averse to town life, all these and many other similar things remind us of India and India alone.

Such names of places as Angat, Banged and Kalinga remind us of India's ancient geographical divisions of Anga, Vanga, and Kalinga. Is it difficult to conceive that the Indian people from these parts came to live in the Islands and gave to their respective colonies the names of their homeland? Is it difficult to imagine that the town of Langayen in Pangasinan acquired its name from the Lingayet sect of South India? Those people who have been still resisting the aggression of the Western civilization are preserving many traditions of India. In the southern islands of the Archipelago and particularly among the Moros it is so easy to find out such traditions. The various mountain tribes in the North are said to give out in their ways of life the crude memories of India's past. Even the Christian Filipinos upon whom Western civilization has now its almost absolute sway have not been able to give up many old customs and superstitions of India; some of them they have changed only by giving them the colour of their new faith. When I talk to them about many things of our Indian life they readily understand and feel more interested in them than in those that are coming from the West whether they are wanted or not.

The people of the Islands acquired this

Indian culture and civilization of their own accord and so the process of assimilating it was slow. But the process was highly moral for it established no anomalous relation between the Indian colonists and the natives. This is evident from the fact that the Indian colonists have been absorbed by the native population while their culture shone over them all. The culture of India was the result of a natural process of human evolution and was not an artificial grafting of an alien hand. The people of the Islands, owing to their climatic similarity and geographical proximity, had good reasons to be slowly attracted to it. They took whatever they understood, for they could not take more than what could be adjusted to their own. So the whole process was slow but constructive. Had not India fallen a victim to the greed of unrefined foreigners her spiritual civilization would have attained a climax of which man has not yet been able to dream. And all the surrounding countries that were drawn to her in a bond of genuine fellowship would have given out to the world that the relationship among races and countries may bear a loftier meaning than what we often find. Let India with her wealth of true culture be happy always to give but never to rob, always to stand by and co-operate but never to press on,—true culture means that and nothing else.*

* Convocation address delivered at the Normal School Bayambang, P. I.



A Critical Study of Present Day India

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

MR. Edward Holton James is an American of English ancestry. He is a Harvard graduate, a lawyer of distinction and a careful student of world history and civilizations. Above all he is an idealist and champion of human freedom. He represents the very best of moral and spiritual forces of American life. He has taken interest in Indian problems for more than twenty-five years and came in close contact with Indian students and exiles in Europe and America. He is an advocate of human brotherhood and enemy of war. During the World War, he had the courage to denounce war and suffered for it. Mr. James, as the author of *Trial Before Pity* (1909), long before the rise of Mahatma Gandhi as a political force in India, recognized the tremendous significance of non-violent non-co-operation and civil-disobedience, as practised by the early Christians. Therefore when Mahatma Gandhi started the non-violent non-co-operation movement, it excited his genuine interest. He saw in it the possibility of bringing a new world order, not on the basis of class-struggle and economic interpretation of history (or materialism), but with a programme of the "idealists of the world are to unite," to bring about a better social order, based upon co-operation amongst them and development of higher nature in man. This led Mr. James to do his share to popularize Gandhi's stand and the justice of the cause of India's struggle for freedom. He wrote two pamphlets—(1) *Gandhi the Internationalist*, (2) *Gandhi or Caesar?* and many articles. When anti-Indian propaganda took its aggressive form, and such men as Lord Meston, Sir John Simon and others began to use the American press, platform and even radio to spread the British point of view regarding the struggle for freedom in India, Mr. James conceived the idea of visiting India and studying the situation critically for his own benefit and to enlighten the world public, especially Americans.

Mr. James was a free American looking into India's struggle for freedom with genuine sympathy. He could do this, because he, like his ancestors who took part in the American Revolution, believed in the right of the people of India to "self-determination." He was a free agent who went to India at his own expense and travelled more than 10,000 miles in India with his eyes open. He worked incessantly for eight months to gather facts, to interview British officials and Indian political leaders and mingled with journalists whose business was to report facts. As an independent journalist, he sent his reports to America; and some of them were published, while others did not pass through the British censor. On his return from India to Geneva, Mr. James has embodied his experience in India in a book entitled *I Tell Everything—The Brown Man's Burden*—.

The book contains very interesting observations on India's burning problems—Indian Princes, Indian poverty, trial of Indian radicals, persecution of Indian peasants, brutalities of British Police, the lot of Indian political prisoners and other topics—It will not be out of place to quote the brief review of the book, published in the *New York Herald* (Paris) on June 22nd, 1931:

"While Mr. James does not perhaps tell everything, he gives graphic account of enough atrocities to make anyone who leads a secluded life ask himself, 'Can such things be?'"

"In his chapter on the 'Meerut Martyrs,' thirty-one Communists who were being tried for 'treason', Mr. James writes:

"I was amazed when I was told that there never had been a court stenographer in the case. A \$2,000,000 case ought to be able to stand the cost of having the evidence taken in shorthand. When thirty-one men are to be sent to life imprisonment, any New York or Boston lawyer would say that there ought to be some kind of minutes kept. 'The judge, it appears, was not a lawyer, and the Government had spent, \$1,850,000 on the prosecution. The juryman had not asked a single question in nineteen months."

"There are plenty of outrages of the more violent type described by Mr. James.

"A week later came the case of Babu Gannu. He was a 25 year old picketer of foreign cloth. There was nothing superficial or shallow about Babu Gannu. He meant business. Several Congress volunteers tried to persuade a driver of a truck loaded with foreign cloth not to move his truck. Three volunteers were arrested by English police sergeants while they were trying to obstruct the moving of the truck. The Babu Gannu stretched himself in front of the truck. The truck was put in motion, one wheel passing over Gannu's head, the other over his stomach...The Government issued the following communiqué: 'One Babu Gannu was walking in front of the truck shouting and jumping about, and apparently fell down in front of the truck and was run over'."

"In his chapter entitled 'The Gospel According to Saint Katherine', Mr. James disagrees sharply with Miss Mayo's findings:—Without trying to be pro or anti anybody or anything, it is my opinion that the Indians, considering what they have to fight against, are as clean as or cleaner than any other people I know. Mr. James concludes:

"The most revolting place I have seen in India was the Delhi jail, an institution under the control of the British. The stench of that place in the hot sun, was sickening. Here human beings are crowded together like cattle in a pen. How the dwellers in crowded cities keep themselves as clean as they do is incredible. How they manage to live at all is a mystery. Year by year starved down to the bone, their money taken away from them to support useless princes and parasites in Britain....."

The most important part of the book is the

* Edward Holton James : *I Tell Everything—The Brown Man's Burden*—Published by Imprimerie Kundig, Geneva, Switzerland.

critical study of the recent Civil Disobedience movement, Gandhi-Irwin Pact and its effects on the Indian political situation, embodied in a long chapter entitled "The Throb of Karachi." No review can do justice to it. One, especially Indians, should carefully read it to get its full import. However the following facts stand out very clearly.

Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience movement and the boycott of British goods was the most effective weapon used by the Indian nationalists towards the attainment of Indian freedom. At the very height of its success, Mahatma Gandhi surrendered to Lord Irwin's superior statesmanship and diplomacy and threw overboard all his cherished principles, to purchase supposed "peace with honour" and "substance of independence" instead of "absolute independence of India." Lord Irwin most successfully used the services of the Rt. Hon. Srinivas Shastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Javakar to convince the Mahatma to come to terms with the British. Mr. James says:—"Credit for the Delhi Truce belongs to no small extent to the eternal triplet—Sapru, Shastri and Javakar. These gentlemen wanted the Union Jack to fly over Delhi, but with responsibility at the centre." (P. 186)

Some of the Indian leaders who were closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi always found ready excuses to support Mahatma's "policy of compromise." For instance, Mahadev Desai told Mr. James, "We want peace with honour. We do not wish the British to leave India, but we want to make them our servants." Mrs Sarojini Naidu suggested to Mr. James that the truce was necessary, because "the country was on the brink of exhaustion." To be sure a few hundred Indians were killed and wounded and about 70,000 Indians were imprisoned; but the masses of India were ready to make greater sacrifice and there was no sign of exhaustion on the part of Young India. It was quite evident that it was Britain and not India which was faced with a very serious situation. Possibly the older leaders of India who are recent converts to the programme of Indian independence were themselves tired and were afraid to carry the struggle any further lest there would be serious bloodshed. It may be that the Indian leaders, who talk of freedom and peace do not realize that a nation must pay the price to gain liberty and to maintain it, and they were not ready to make the sacrifice. During the World War India paid billions of dollars for aiding the British imperialists, and more than 100,000 Indians gave their lives on battlefields and millions died of starvation in India. This did not bring about utter exhaustion of India; and it was silly to talk about India's exhaustion through civil disobedience movement, when the British Government was facing bankruptcy and Lancashire industrialists were crying for help, because of the boycott of British goods was increasing unemployment in Britain. Mr James speaks of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and Delhi truce in the following manner

"Irwin got the truce, and the price he paid for it was practically nothing. Gandhi's strongest weapon, in fact his only weapon against the British Empire has been non-co-operation. But he laid it down. He started at Delhi on the slippery path of opportunism" (p. 186) -- "The awe of the British rule is still in the hearts of the Indians,

although they may seek to deny it. It is that fact, and that alone, which made the Delhi truce possible..." (P. 187).

How the Gandhi-Irwin pact destroyed the Independence resolution, adopted at the Lahore session of the All-India National Congress was described by Mr. Jammadas Mehta, in his speech in the All-India National Congress held at Karachi. He said:

"The resolution endorsing the Delhi Pact is unfair to the Congress, whatever the gloss put on it, it does abrogate the Independence resolution passed a year ago at Lahore. The agreement between Mahatma and Lord Irwin makes it clear that further discussion can only be conducted on the basis of the decisions reached by the first Round Table Conference in London last January. The pivot of these decisions is *federation between British India and the princes, reservations and safe-guards*, and it is impossible for anyone honestly to say that if, when future discussion is thus limited, anything is left of the goal of independence. ... If the goal of independence was to be given up, as it has been by the truce, it is futile to pretend that the Congress still sticks to Independence. As it is, the Congress has already reverted to the position of the moderates and the liberals.... At Lahore, a year ago, Independence was understood by the Congress as the complete emancipation of India, free from British control. While the ink was not dry on that resolution, Mahatma Gandhi came out with his eleven points on the acceptance of which by the the Viceroy he was prepared to go to the Round Table Conference of last year. Again in July last, he coined a new phrase "the substance of Independence," the exact connotation of which is difficult to ascertain. We have before us the shelving of the Indian Independence resolution, the deaths of about 100 civil resisters, injuries to many hundreds, imprisonment of 70,000 men and women, many broken heads and millions of broken hearts. (Pp 213-214)

Mr. Y. J. Meharally, a young nationalist Moslem leader of Bombay, interpreted the Delhi truce in the following way:

"I feel that the truce is a great triumph of British diplomacy. I feel that the victorious car of our national purpose has been halted at a most inopportune moment and that the sudden damming up of the national energy will have very serious and grave consequence.... Let there be no mistake about it. We do not accept the platitude that the nation was tired of the fight and wanted some breathing time to recuperate. If anyone was tired of the fight, it was not the rank and file of the Congress, not the masses of the people, but it was the British Government which found its trade destroyed, its might unavailing, its international prestige completely shattered. Our objection to truce is one of principle—it is against the politics of compromise..." (P. 212.)

Mr. James' own reaction to the truce is as follows:

"Gandhi was all right when he came out of jail full of pep and the old fire. Then they began to drag him down. Crowds of weak people began to surround him with a kind of flabby personal adoration. Lord Irwin was subtle and Gandhi was simple and he was surrounded by all those people dragging him down to their own level." (P. 26)

among the young Indian nationalists who disagreed with the programme of compromise, as indicated by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the ex-Mayor of Calcutta, who spoke against the truce, felt that "the truce was a temporary thing." Mahatma Gandhi and his victory at Karachi "through his threat of starving himself to death if the others did not follow the pathway marked out by him" (p. 204). At times he used arguments which have been summed up by Mr. James in the following way:—

"If you do not like my ways, please keep quiet and let me do my work. Please sit in silence. I have been doing this work for the past 40 years. Let me work for the rest of my lifetime. In case we go to London and, on being fed and feted lavishly, we fail to change our relationship to Britain, you can cut my throat." (p. 211)

Mahatma Gandhi was called the Dictator of the All-India National Congress and he used his autocratic power to gain his point:

"At the Karachi Congress there was opposition to Gandhi, but he put his steam-roller into operation and flattened out the Congress into the shape of a pancake. No Tamany chieftain ever wielded a more autocratic sway over a political machine than Gandhi at Karachi." (p. 211)

Lack of effective opposition to Mahatma Gandhi's policy of compromise proves that the Indian National Congress and Indian political life is still dominated by personal considerations and not by principles. Even those who criticized Gandhi's policy, surrendered meekly to this policy of compromise, and justified their action on the ground of having unity of action. This is the most unhealthy condition of Indian political life. Mr. Jinnah's conclusion on the subject is as follows:

"The fact of the matter is that Mahatma, as the greatest moral asset of the country, has such a powerful hold on us that in his presence all thought is benumbed, all energy paralysed and any courage, any conviction is regarded with the greatest disapproval. I consider this an unhealthy sign of public life in our country and instead of proving our fitness for freedom it tends to prove the contrary." (p. 214)

Perhaps Mahatma Gandhi and others may think that they may secure the "substance of independence" through negotiations at the Round Table Conference to be held in London this winter. But is there any guarantee that the Mahatma will not be forced by the circumstances in London, to make further compromise to make the truce as "permanent peace with the British?" Woodrow Wilson was once hailed as the saviour of Western civilization. But when he, to please British and French statesmen, made a compromise of his famous fourteen points, he began to lose his power and influence. It is well known that by pursuing the policy of compromise Wilson became a victim to those influences which brought about his failure and death. Mahatma Gandhi

is a far more influential figure in India and abroad. It is our firm conviction that he will be far less effective in London than he was in Delhi. It is an admitted fact that in Delhi Lord Irwin outwitted Mahatma Gandhi; and in London the influence against Gandhi will be far more formidable than it was in Delhi. Will the Mahatma be able to withstand the political, social and other pressures that might be used in London? It is to be seen after the outcome of the Round Table Conference about the real nature of the substance of independence advocated by the Mahatma.

Is the cause of Indian Independence a lost one? No, India will win her independence in course of time, but this will not be achieved through the policy of compromise. Possibly, it will be achieved through "force," the same sort of force which Washington had to adopt to free his country from tyranny. Mr. James makes a very clear distinction between "force" and "violence." He very rightly thinks that the Hindus will have to put into practice the teachings of the Bhagavat Gita, which upholds the use of force for a righteous cause. Furthermore, the Hindu society has much to do to purify itself before it can summon all its potent force against a foreign autocracy.

Mr. James' book is the convincing testimony that the Indian question is a world problem, a problem of human freedom. The whole world is watching India and the attitude of American friends of India has been very rightly described in a telegram from Rev. Dr. John Heynes Holmes of New York, sent to Mahatma Gandhi. He said:

"American friends of India sustain you in struggle for independence of your country, through peace if possible, through war, if necessary." (p. 191)

Mr. James has not been a sentimental follower of Gandhi. He regards Gandhi as a great man although he disagrees with him in many things. Mr. James's views on the future of India has been summed up in the following significant passage:—

"Gandhi still holds the key to the situation. Gandhi knows that the force which he experiences comes not from him, but from above him. All men are little—even saints. He has thrown into the arena of human affairs not a new principle, but an old principle—civil disobedience, a bloodless, righteous method of fighting for human progress. Gandhi, let us hope, will still show the world that he has in him 'the spirit of resistance to all demands inconsistent with the dignity of man.' Far above us is a power that is spinning this planet through space, and 'he that is higher than the highest regardeth' (p. 218).

The future of India, the cause of 350,000,000 people is the cause of human freedom and it is above all personality. Mahatma Gandhi has the greatest opportunity to become the torch-bearer of human freedom, if he does not compromise. If he fails, which he might, the net result will be retardation of the movement for freedom for India; but the cause of human freedom cannot be crushed for ever. It will win its victory in time, under more uncompromising leadership.

The Prophet of Potsdam

The Religious Mysticism of Einstein

ORTHODOXY might be said to be fundamentalism snuffed out. To exorcise the human heart of "religion" seems another matter altogether. Indeed, we are amazed to find "people of intelligence" all over the world demanding with a pathetic gesture of human helplessness for some kind of spiritual guidance. And along comes Albert Einstein, by universal acclaim one of the subtlest thinkers of the day, claiming that he is himself "a devoutly religious man," that "the only deeply religious people of our largely materialistic age are the earnest men of research." What holy folly is this?

In a remarkable article, "Religion and Science," he proclaimed his credo much to the undisguised alarm of "scientific" men and the horrified irritation of both intolerant agnostics and orthodox upholders of religious fundamentalism. It was officious for a scientist to dabble with religious creeds. A Catholic clergyman, teaching in a University at Washington D. C. stigmatized the whole thing as "the sheerest kind of stupidity and nonsense. . . Einstein knows a great deal about mathematical physics," but the Reverend gentleman saw no reason for thinking that he knew anything about religion. We imagine Julian Huxley muttering under his breath, "Poor Brother Albert! How he raves!"

But listen to Einstein himself. "The basis of all scientific work," he holds, "is the conviction that the world is ordered and comprehensible entity, which is a religious sentiment. My religious feeling is a humble amazement at the order revealed in the small patch of reality to which our feeble intelligence is equal." This "sacred feeling," "religious sentiment," is so much akin to the mystics' consciousness of the divine in the the cosmos as well as microcosmos that it resembles closely the *amor intellectualis* of Schopenhauer, and, at any rate, is not far removed from the "divine love" of Ruyssbeck.

Obviously, the shy, retiring man, who curiously enough presents the appearance of a sensitive artist rather than a giant intellectual wrestling with mathematical calculations of the utmost complexity, was thinking of other things besides relativity, while plying his sail-boat on the lakes near Potsdam. As he puts it, "the desire to express the unknown," which fired his genius to almost superhuman efforts of concentrated thought, has made of Einstein not only the mathematician at whom the world stands in wonder and amazement but also a mystic of whom nobody knew—perhaps not even himself.

Well might the marvelling crowd exclaim in despair, "What manner of man is this Einstein!" So much of "religious" fervor he puts into his quest for harmony even in mathematical figures, that, when he is working, Einstein is like a sick man. His temperature leaps by bounds, his cheeks are flushed crimson, his pulse beats fast, and his eyes wear an altogether unearthly aspect. His "creative fits" as described by his friends present more than one characteristic of the supernormal state, and the description given might well apply to the ecstasy of a mystic. He even thinks of the achievements of the work he accomplishes in this curious state of awesome expectancy as a mysterious sacrament. "Anyone," he writes to the Royal Society of London, "who finds a thought which brings him closer to Nature's eternal secrets partakes of a great grace."

Albert Einstein is by birth and bringing up a Jew, and he is steeped both in the uplifting spirit and the religious traditions of his race. He is blood-kin to the Psalmist and the Prophets of the Old Testament. But his religious sentiments are not circumscribed by the Law of Moses, nor is his native appreciation for the prophets blind to their narrow exclusiveness. For, like few men living, Einstein is acutely conscious of man's social responsibility to his brother man—the greater a man's

* *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1950.

usefulness to the world, the greater the man.

He loathes war and militarism, and despises chauvinism in every form. A fatalist, like Schopenhauer, he sees naught but weakness in egotistical cravings for personal immortality. His ethical code is founded on sympathy and culture rather than on sanctions, and his admired moral guide is Francis of Assisi. For him there is intellectual peace and sane philosophy in the Buddhist spirit of 'cosmic' meditation. No less clearly he rejects the childish anthropomorphic trend of human thought.

According to this religious scientist there are three levels of religious people, or to put it contrary-wise three kinds of religion that are of value to the three respective grades of religious feeling: men are capable of. On the lowest level he places the "religion of fear." In what seems a hostile universe man is driven by fear to seek the protection of gods and in fear he continues to serve them to escape the dire punishment they mete out to the faithless and the ungrateful. Heaven, hell, priests, gods, miracles, revelations are essentials in the credo of the "religion of fear." On a higher level Einstein would place what he calls "social religion," the fundamental characteristic of which is the belief in a benevolent God or Providence that satisfies "the (human) longing for guidance, love and succour." One is curiously reminded of Sankara's esoteric religion, *napara vidya*, and the modernistic "humanized" Christian of the type of say, Harry Emerson Fosdick. Even Julian Huxley's "religion without God" might be smuggled into this group. For Huxley's motive in making the idea of "the development of personality" the basis of religion is primarily social, and though objecting to the word God on account of its connotations, he would allow the worship of the "sum of forces acting in the cosmos, as perceived and grasped by the human mind"—and he is even socially-minded enough to consider the utilization of the existing churches.

But Einstein goes on and claims for those who are receptive a "third" or highest level of religion, the religion of intellectual love, the *amor intellectualis* that he calls "cosmic religion." And this cosmic religion on closer analysis seems so remarkably like the classical religious mysticism of all times and all climes that one fails to distinguish it from mysticism and to

differentiate its proponent from the long array of mystics that the human race has fathered from the days of Lao-tze to that of Rabindranath Tagore.

What is this "cosmic religion" of Einstein that the choleric cleric aforementioned thinks is really more "comic" than "cosmic"? The concern about the discovery of the unknown, the blind awesome faith in its reality, the daring assumption that the unknown is entirely rational, and that it is ever revealing itself "in wisdom and beauty," constitute the kernel of Einstein's religious outlook. But there is where "cosmic religion" finds its beginning: its characteristic emphasis is yet to be explored. In the first place, with this "religious sentiment" pervading one's whole outlook there comes in a feeling of the vanity of human desire and aims. This is augmented in the second place, by a consciousness of the nobility and marvellous order which are revealed in Nature and the world of thought. Thirdly the believer in "cosmic religion" feels that his individual destiny is an imprisonment and seeks to experience the totality of existence as a unity full of significance. And finally, he rejects dogma and all pseudo-divine reflections of self as unworthy of attention. All these are unmistakably traits definitely associated with the life-outlook and experience of mystics, although it must be admitted that Einstein's Object of Devotion is by no means clearly defined, nor is he very explanatory as to what the implications of such cosmic religious experience are, religiously and metaphysically, as well as from the standpoint of social and ethical well-being. But then is not this latter again, a very decided hall-mark of all genuine mysticism?

Prof. Harry F. Ward of Union Theological Seminary takes objection to the credo of this eminent scientist that he does not give sufficient importance, if any at all, to the fact of *sin* in this world. Says Dr. Ward, "There is no possibility of this modern world going anywhere except back to barbarism unless it realizes its sense of guilt." True This would legitimately apply in the second-level religion Einstein speaks of, but not in the highest level of "cosmic" religion. There one is absorbed in humble amazement in the "order," and like a true mystic has risen beyond all distinctions of good and evil, of the beautiful and the hideous. God whatever that concept

might connote to the mystic, is not separate from the world order. He is not only in it and of it—but is It Itself. And all attempts adequately to convey the experience of that fact fails. What we have to bear in mind is that Einstein in taking the world into the secret of his own beliefs is certainly not advocating that everyone else should also accept it. Indeed, he has very clearly indicated that “cosmic” religion being on the highest level demands on the part of its adherents a decided development of intellect and as high pitch of sensitiveness to the values that surpass the merely mundane. Though he does imply—and at times, hastily generalizes—that men of science who are indeed gifted with more than ordinary intelligence ought to be receptive to this *amor intellectualis*. Einstein is certainly a mystic—but his mysticism is not classical. It is modern. Who knows but that would pave the way to others still befuddled in their religious thought, who have a decided repugnance for organized religion and yet finds it well-nigh impossible to live without the inspiration of religion.

Like Moses and Jesus, Einstein is a Jew: but in his religion he shares more with Jesus than with Moses. The spirit of Moses was a practical spirit. He set up a state and an army, made laws and instituted a priesthood. He was an autocrat and a ceremonialist. Jesus, on the other hand, was very impractical. He loved peace and cared more for the spirit than the law. He denounced and distrusted priests. He was cosmopolitan and anti-national. He preferred to forgive than to punish, to lead than to compel. He was humble and keenly alive to social responsibility. So Albert Einstein, the prophet of Potsdam. He finds no use for organized religion in the life and conduct of intelligent men. “The ethical behaviour of man,” he is convinced, “is better based on sympathy, education and social relationships, and requires no support from religion. Man’s plight would indeed be sad if he had to be kept in order through fear of punishment and hope of reward after death.”

We do not intend to go into any more lengthy comparison of the cosmic religion of Einstein with the religious thought of other founders of religion and other systems of religion. It must be admitted, in passing, that there is, however, more than a facial resemblance between Einstein’s cosmic religious experience and that insisted on

by both the Vedanta and the Hinayana Buddhist mysticism. Just what that relationship is can be worked out in detail by those interested in relating the present with the past.

What, however, is of crucial importance to the thinking world today is the fact which Einstein underscores so heavily, that the difference between science and religion is more imagined than real; that the quest of truth in science is itself a religious search for Reality; that the possession of right knowledge of the universal order (which to human ken remain still the mysterious unknown) despite centuries of patient piecemeal acquisition is indeed the experience of man’s kinship with the Divine, that true knowledge is experience, and that experience is religion in the highest sense. Whatever the future of human religion might be, considering the progress that man has verily made in his capacity for conceptual thought, discursive reasoning and intuitive apprehension, there is a definite indication that the religion of the future would be a “mysticism.” As such it would be personal experience and though not divorced from social conduct, would not be doctrinally tied down to ethical relationships. This latter would be the outcome of other demands, temporal, relative and mundane. It naturally follows then, that organized religion with its orders of priesthood and systems of doctrine would not only grow decadent and die, but would positively prove injurious to religious experience if not actually prevented from proving such a sad deterrent to spiritual progress. In the third place, it is becoming increasingly clear that ethical behaviour would be more and more differentiated from religious experience. It is in the eye of the pious, so called, that circumspective conduct comes to hold such an unduly high place of importance, and what is not considered ethical from the standpoint of the “pious” is given the religious term “sin.” Modern mysticism, however, impractical as it is, rises above this idea of good conduct as a means to an end; being utterly convinced of the Eternal Order as fundamentally intelligent and beautiful it rises above mere considerations of right and wrong which after all human experience proves to be relative, temporal and of the earth, earthy. Finally, without setting forth with any clear ut idea of a God or any set dogma bound

the of Him or His relation with the world of men it would demand that we merely go on the quest for Truth and Light and Reality with an awesome wonder, an *amor intellectualis*, creating in ourselves a receptivity for *experiencing* the object of our search, sinking all differences of race, creed and colour.

The Prophet of Potsdam has indeed stirred up the currents of our religious thought life today. But the stream will ere long be left the clearer for that. John Haynes Holmes who is a shrewd observer of modern trends of thought and a keen appraiser of the true value of their contribution to the future of

the race says: "Science deals with facts, religion with uses, poetry with the symbolic expression of the life." In Einstein's transcendental mind these three are miraculously synthesized into a unity which constitutes one of the intellectual and spiritual miracles of history.

And Albert Einstein, the modern mystic, standing aloof from all cliques, associations, and creeds, the lonely hearted devout dreamer that he is, at once a heretic and a saint, a philosopher and a scientist, lives in the happy contemplation of the personal graces that are vouchsafed to him in his experience of 'the cosmic' religion's Unknown.

No Retrenchment Committee

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSH

THE decision of the Government of Bengal not to form any retrenchment committee as has been done in some other provinces need not surprise those who are acquainted with the ways of the Government as manifested in their tardy acceptance of the recommendations of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee (1923) consisting of Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Mr Surendra Nath Mallik, Rai Abinash Chandra Bajerjee Bahadur and Mr H. B. Spry.

The final crisis that has overtaken the Presidency and the country is the inevitable consequence of the great German war. Every war creates new but temporary conditions in which new industries are created, the demand for raw materials is increased and employment is found for idle hands. The cessation of war, therefore, brings about a depression. James Connolly who sacrificed his life for the cause of Irish freedom thus spoke of the condition of Ireland when the Napoleonic wars came to an end:

"It deprived the agriculturists of a market for their produce, and produced a great agricultural and industrial crisis. It threw out of employment all the ships employed in provisioning the troops, all the trades required to build, equip and repair them, all the industries engaged in making war

materials, and in addition to suspending the work and flooding the labour market with the men and women thus disemployed, it cast adrift scores of thousands of able-bodied soldiers and sailors to compete with the civilian workers who had fed, clothed and maintained them during the war."

The war had brought prosperity to Bengal not only by affording employment to thousands of sailors who manned the river steamers carrying men, ammunition, stores, etc. along the course of the Tigris and the Euphrates but also by raising the price of jute, hide, tea and lac.

Bengal enjoys a monopoly of jute and the extensive use of jute in the "sandbag" war will be evident from the following extract, taken from the *Times* (Trade Supplement) December, 1919:

"Sandbags have been as essential as actual munitions in a war which has seen such great development of trench fighting and aerial activity. The importance in the last four years of India's monopoly of jute can scarcely be exaggerated, not only on account of this use but also for the provision of coverings for the transport of Army and Civil supplies. The Indian export, valued during the period at not less than £37,000,000 has comprised, in addition to nearly two million tons of raw jute, 2,823,000,000 bags and 1,693,000,000 yards of cloth."

River-banks in Mesopotamia were kept steady with sandbags roads across the deserts

were constructed on sandbags, trenches everywhere were protected by sandbags and sandbags were used to prevent enemy shells destroying important and historic buildings. We quote the following description of the Cathedral of Amiens in April, 1917 from Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Towards the Goal*:

"The great west front has disappeared behind a mountain of sandbags, the side portals are protected in the same way, and inside, the superb carvings of the choir are buried out of sight. But at the back of the choir the famous weeping cherub sits weeping as before."

Those responsible for the administration of the province ought to have been aware that with the end of the war the extraordinary demand for jute was sure to cease.

The same may be said of tea on a small scale. In Russia vodka was replaced by tea. But it required no great stretch of imagination to understand that a people, bent on reconstructing their social and economic structure, could easily forgo the luxury of tea drinking when they had successfully given up the stronger drink. But the Government of Bengal took no steps to sound the *tocsin* of alarm and warn the producers. Perhaps they thought that that was not their job.

When the pinch was felt they approached the Central Government for help and appointed on the 13th June, 1923 a retrenchment committee "to make recommendations for effecting all possible reductions in the expenditure of the local Government." The Committee made a detailed enquiry into the expenditure incurred in the different departments of Government and submitted their report.

We will give a few instances to show with what scant courtesy the recommendations of this Committee were treated.

The Committee made the following remarks about the Body-guard of the Governor:

"The expenditure on the Body-guard establishment amounts to Rs. 1,20,000 a year. Apart from sentry duty at Government House the Body-guard are used on two ceremonial occasions in the year. We consider this expenditure is avoidable" (Para 49).

But the Government did not accept this eminently reasonable recommendation regarding what may be called a pompous pageant for a perishing people. The argument they adduced for their action is quoted below:

"The Body-guard is part of the normal equipment of the Governor of a Presidency. It is not

a personal matter, but one which affects the prestige and dignity of the Presidency as a whole. The Body-guard of Bengal are, therefore, not to be reduced in number. The recommendation made by the Committee in respect of His Excellency's Body-guard."

This exhibition of a false sense of prestige and dignity reminds one of the cutting remarks of the genial author of *Twenty-one Days in India*:

"While the Indian villager has to maintain the glorious phantasmagoria of an imperial policy, while he has to support legions of scarlet soldiers, golden chuprassies, purple politicals, and green commissions, he must remain the hunger-stricken, over-driven phantom he is. If old England is going to maintain her throne and swagger in our vast Orient she ought to pay up like a man. I was going to say—These unpaid-for glories bring nothing but shame."

Under the head "Members of Council and Ministers," the Committee recommended reduction of the strength of Executive Councillors and Ministers:

"The present Government, which consists of four Members of Council and three Ministers, has been widely described as unnecessarily large. It has been pointed out that in pre-reform days the Government consisted of the Governor and three Members of Council, and that admitting the increase of work resulting from the new constitution, and from an enlarged and more active legislature, the increase of the Members of Government by four appears to be without justification." (Para 52).

Unable, perhaps, to justify the unjustifiable the Government eluded the real issue by giving an evasive reply:

"The decision as to the number of Members of Council is vested by law in the Secretary of State; the decision as to the number of Ministers rests with His Excellency the Governor personally."

But have the Government recommended to the Secretary of State that the number of Members of Council may be reduced? As for Ministers the power which they enjoy is so circumscribed that their duties cannot be heavy and two Ministers have successfully and satisfactorily discharged the duties which, merely for an adjustment of communal claims or pandering to communal jealousies, are now entrusted to three men chosen by the Governor for reasons best known to him. The Committee devoted four pages in their report to the consideration of the claims of posts of Divisional Commissioners to be retained and came to the following conclusion:

"Our conclusion in this matter is that while Commissioners do useful work its distribution among other officers in the way we have suggested

would lead to no appreciable loss of efficiency. The position of District officers would be strengthened, and their responsibility less obscured if there were no Commissioners. On the other hand, we feel that the office of Commissioner is declining in usefulness . . . that, in the conditions that now . . . decline is inevitable. We recommend that the post of Divisional Commissioner be abolished." (Para 90).

The acceptance of this recommendation would have effected an annual saving of Rs. 5,20,000. But it was not accepted.

It is amusing to note that while the Government readily accepted the recommendation of the Committee regarding economy in the use of envelopes and issued a memorandum requesting all officers to reduce their indents for ordinary envelopes by two-fifths and to make up the deficiency with a similar number of economy slips (para 307) they were chary to accept the recommendation about retrenchment in the expenditure connected with the annual move of the Government to Darjeeling.

Regarding the hill exodus the Committee wrote as follows:

"The bi-annual exodus of Government to the hills has been criticized on the ground of expense, as well as of administrative inconvenience. We are aware that the magnitude of the exodus has been curtailed in recent years, but we consider the objections to it still remain. The fact that the Governor stays in Darjeeling for two periods of six weeks to two months each does not, in our opinion, justify the present practice. The needs of administration would be met by the Members and Ministers being in Darjeeling for two or three weeks in the middle of the Governor's stay to attend meetings of the whole Government and of the Executive Council, and for the disposal of work." (Para 406).

Regarding administrative inconvenience the remarks of Lord Carmichael uttered in reply to the farewell address at Darjeeling in 1917 are convincing "I have often wished," he said, "that Darjeeling was nearer Calcutta, so that I might have got the information I needed more quickly; but I am glad to be here for my own enjoyment and for the sake of my health, though I knew that if I had been in the plains I could have done more work."

In spite of this candid confession by a Governor all that the Government had to say about the Retrenchment Committee's proposal was this.

"The recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee in respect of the bi-annual exodus of Government to the hills has been carefully considered by Government. Although it has not been found possible to accept the recommendation, the

Governor in Council has been pleased to lay down that the principles which were accepted by Government in 1921, and a result of the discussion, on a resolution moved in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 8th February 1921 regarding the move of Government to Darjeeling, should be strictly followed subject to the condition that the Finance Department of this Government will scrutinize the establishment each department proposes to take up to Darjeeling."

We quote below an extract from the memorandum (Political Department No. 5122 dated the 16th April, 1921) in which the principles referred to were stated.

"As a result of the discussions on a resolution moved in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 8th February 1921, regarding the move of Government to Darjeeling, the whole question has again been considered, and in supersession of all previous orders on the subject, the Governor in Council is pleased to lay down the following policy to be adopted in future—

"(a) The Secretariat will not move, as such, and any clerical staff taken to Darjeeling must be reduced to a minimum.

"(b) The period of total stay of all officers in Darjeeling will be curtailed.

"Subject to the observance of these general principles the Governor in Council leaves it to each Member and Minister to use his own discretion as to the time and duration of his own visits to Darjeeling, and to those of the Secretary or Members with whom he is concerned."

How this discretion is being used or misused we all know and just as the Governor still indulges in the luxury of the Band and the Body-guard at the expense of the poor people so the Members and Ministers, as also the President of the Legislative Council and the heads of departments spend the summer months on the hills "like Gods together" and, lay themselves open to the charge of being characterized as "regardless of mankind." The disadvantages and dangers of a hill-top Government have again and again become evident, but the exodus is persisted in by a Government which is not responsible to the taxpayers and which is always alive to the extravagant requirements of alien rulers.

Needless to say the Bengal Retrenchment Committee had treated the scale of pay fixed for the higher officials as sacrosanct and did not recommend any reduction in that direction. Yet the acceptance of their recommendations would have resulted in a net reduction of Rs. 1,20,25,910 and a considerable sum would have been set free every year to be applied profitably to the

spread of education the improvement of sanitation and the organization of industries.

Even the Inchcape Committee regretted that in making increases in salaries in the post-war period consequent on the rise in prices, the Government of India had not stipulated that when prices fell, the salaries also would be revised. And it is needless to say that the present economic depression affords an opportunity to the Government to rectify their past mistake.

The Government of Bengal cannot reduce the salaries of the Members of the Heaven-born Service, but they can, if only they will, reduce their administrative cost considerably in various ways. To give an

instance, there is the well-known "T. A." of which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote as author of the *Awakening of India*—“Every one knows that officers, from school inspectors to chaplains, put large sums of money into their pockets by charging travelling allowances which they never spend.”

But the question is will the Government be serious and cut down their expenditure with a view to afford relief to the distressed people of the presidency and undertake works calculated to benefit them permanently? The huge additions to the expenses incurred on the Police leave little room for hope of relief

The Church and State in Italy

I—An Exposition of the Question

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., PH.D.

JUST about a decade ago Pope Benedict XV. holding his last Consistory in the Vatican, placed upon the head of Mgr. Achille Ratti the red hat, thus making him eligible to the papacy. Just about the same time King Victor Emmanuel, strange as it may seem, presided over the last parliament of democratic Italy, in which Deputy Benito Mussolini made his political debut. The following year while the new Cardinal became the head of the Roman Church, the new Deputy became the head of the Italian Government. Thus both of them rose to the most important positions of leadership in Italy; by virtue of their key positions and natural endowments they seem destined to play their respective and important roles in the solution of the “insoluble” Roman question. The conflict between the Church and State through the ages has centred round the question of the rights of the individual and the infallibility of the State. The recent controversy between Pope Pius XI, the God-chosen ruler of the Catholic

Church, and Mussolini, the self-made dictator of the Italian State, has again thrown into bold relief the problem of the individual's relationship to the State. Does the individual exist for the State or the State for the individual?

CHURCH AND POLITICS

The Italo-Vatican crisis centring round the above problem broke out with such suddenness that it practically took the general public off their feet. Certainly there was nothing which would have led the average man to suspect that the situation would become such as to make bands of Fascisti run through the streets shouting “Down with the Pope,” and trampling underfoot the portrait of his Holiness Pope Pius XI in the streets of Rome. And yet, to more thoughtful men this possibility was by no means unforeseen. For, the Italians are by nature intensely religious, and at the same time they are also intensely anti clerical. They

are quite to prevent any temptation of the clergy to overstep its purely religious duties. Further, the Italians are inclined to be very factions, and delight in taking sides in any dispute and devoting themselves fanatically to the cause of their party. These traits of character make them prone to react readily and violently to any suggestion that the priests are meddling in politics. Such incitement was made about the end of last May by the Fascist daily *L'Onore Fascista*, which published what purported to be an authentic account of a secret meeting of the board of directors of a powerful Catholic organization. Dr. Rossi, the vice-president of the organization was reported to have referred to Fascism as "the enemy" and to have stated that the Catholic organization must become a political force without having the appearance thereof.

Many more violently anti-Fascist speeches were believed to have been delivered, the main burden of them all being that Fascism must be fought at all costs, and that Catholics must keep ready to take the places vacated by its downfall, and that the Catholic organization must develop its activities in the political field. Fascism means, according to Mussolini, a place for every one and every one in his place. Religion therefore has and is given its 'right place' in the social order of Italy, but Mussolini expects it to keep strictly to its place. There is, he maintains, no place for religion in politics, since the latter is the monopoly of Fascism. In fact, when the Fascists came into power, they abolished all political parties, and made it clearly understood that the political field was to be a monopoly of the Fascismo. And it is because there was an infringement, potential or actual, of this monopoly that the young Fascists dared to take matters into their own hands.

Mussolini had been quite friendly to the Catholic Church. In fact, when he heard that Mgr. Ratti, as head of the Vatican Library, desired to buy the historic Chigi Library, collected by a Chigi Pope, Mussolini made the graceful gesture of friendship by presenting it as a gift from the Fascist Government to the librarian pontiff. Furthermore, the new ruler preached religion, restored the crucifix to the schools, went to church at the head of his Cabinet. Moreover, he made instruction in Christian doctrine an integral part of the Fascist educational system. Thus he tried to pave the way to

reconciliation between the Church and State. Nevertheless, the Pope, much like the premier, wanted nothing more than independence within his own sphere. As a result of this demand the Vatican City was established, covering over 160 acres of land, within which the Pope was sovereign. Though the negotiations between these two great Powers culminated in the Lateran Treaty of 1929, yet on both sides there were large reservations to complete the agreement. Even then in submitting the Lateran Treaty to the Senate, the Premier predicted in his remarkable speech that causes of friction between the two sovereignties would inevitably arise.

THE "CATHOLIC ACTION"

The cause of the recent friction, however, seems to be the alleged political activities of the Catholic organization known as the "Catholic Action." Probably few persons outside of Italy ever knew, before the recent conflict, that such an organization as the Catholic Action existed. The Catholic Church divides group action into four different classes: religious, civic, political and Catholic. The first is purely religious and has to do only with preaching, administering church affairs and the like. Civic action includes such activities as preserving civil liberties and promoting such policies as might benefit the citizens. Political action needs no explanation. But the last, namely, the Catholic action concerns itself with efforts to bring back society to the Catholic ideal of Western civilization. It is an organization which has to do mainly with the laymen of the Church, and its object is to advance the study of educational, sociological, literary and artistic movements which look forward to the reconstructing of society on a Catholic basis. In other words, it is more or less a propaganda organization to urge laymen to preserve and promote the Catholic ideal.

In Italy the Catholic Action is quite influential, having some 15,000 branches scattered throughout Italy with a total membership of about 500,000 persons. Its members, however, cannot, according to orders from the Holy See, enter the field of politics. In fact, when the Italo-Vatican conciliation treaties brought the quarrel between the Holy See and the Italian Govern-

ment to an end, permitting them to establish diplomatic relations, special mention was made of Catholic Action. Article XLIII of the Concordat states that the Italian Government recognizes Catholic Action on the express condition that it carefully abstains from politics, limiting itself to pursuing religious objectives alone. In this article of the Concordat, therefore, lies the key to the rights and wrongs of the recent Italo-Vatican controversy. When the Fascists abolished all political parties, a large number of persons, who had no sympathy with the Fascist movement, were left without a political banner. Consequently, when the Vatican Treaty gave State recognition to the Catholic Action, many members of the former Popular Party and other defunct political parties joined it as an alternative.

In Italy the Catholic Action is organized in sections; the student section, for instance, is strongly organized in all the large university towns, and similarly the workers' section in industrial cities such as Milan and Genoa. Other sections are organized according to the needs and character of the towns and cities. At one time the Catholic Action had even the Italian Boy Scout Movement under its care. The members of this Catholic Association are divided into committees and sub-committees, which have to do with various activities such as relief work, playground supervision and so forth. The Fascists believe that this institution is the ringleader in a plot to overthrow the present Italian regime. It must be borne in mind that this very organization,—which is particularly liked by the Pope and is spoken of by him as being "dearer to him than the pupils of his eyes,"—is that which the Fascists charge as having indulged in political activity. Unfortunately, it seems difficult to ascertain how much truth, if any, there is in this accusation.

Taking the position that the Catholic Action has become a sort of political body, which could make itself the nucleus of united opposition, the Italian Government suspended it and closed down all Catholic clubs. The Government stands firmly for "cleansing" the organization of what is described as its political character. The Vatican authorities, however, insist that the organization is purely a religious body, and that its rights are guaranteed under the Lateran Treaty. But a complete statement

of the Fascist point of view regarding this controversy with the Vatican was made by the Rome wireless station for the benefit of the people. The broadcast described as ridiculous the Holy See's attempt to pose as a victim of persecution, while the whole Italian population as well as thousands of foreigners were in a position to testify to the high regard in which the Catholic religion, the Pope and his ministers are held, and the profound respect with which they are treated. Hence it was that the remark that the Vatican's attitude shows "the blackest ingratitude towards the present Government" was made. It contradicted further the assertion that the Catholic Action never took part in politics. "In fact," declared the broadcast, "Catholic Action had banners, badges, membership cards and all other paraphernalia of a political party. What is even more significant is the fact that the heads of the branch organizations of the Catholic Action, formerly belonged to the dissolved Catholic Party which was among Fascism's bitterest enemies."

EDUCATION AND STATE SUPREMACY

It is an open secret that the Lateran Treaty did not remove all friction points between the Fascist State and the Vatican. The Vatican never accepted the Fascist edict that education was an exclusive charge of the State. The Church, maintains the Pope, cannot surrender its rights to advise Italians on mundane affairs. Even on the question of Mussolini's theory of State supremacy the Pope has not hesitated to raise his voice. To a Fascist the individual is first a citizen, he exists for the State. Individual rights, therefore, can only be recognized in so far as they are claimed in the interest of the State. The Church, on the other hand, maintains that the citizen is first a man and hence the State exists for the individual. The Pope has taken the liberty of issuing "dissenting opinions" free; he multiplies encyclicals, sets up a super-power radio station to reach the ear of Italy, and publishes in season and out of season uncompromising Catholic doctrines on every controversial subject, from birth control to socialism. He is now disputing the Fascist theory that the citizen exists for the state and must be so educated.

The logic demands that the citizen is first a man and first a man that the man is first a citizen. In the field of education of the young no conflict is so fundamental as that raised by the question as to whether it is the right of the Church or State to undertake education of its youth. Seldom has this battle been fought with such dramatic simplicity in the Pontifical city between the rulers who symbolize spiritual and temporal powers at their highest. Any one following recent events must be struck by the increased emphasis which the Fascist Party is placing upon the various youth organizations. All the curricular and extra-curricular activities of the youth of the nation have become integral parts of the Fascist State. The fundamental contest, therefore, is to be found here, in the struggle for the mind and soul of the child. "It is necessary," says Mussolini, "to begin at the beginning of every life." The purpose of creating a Fascist generation is as single-mindedly pursued in Italy as is the development of a Soviet generation in Russia. The very essence of Fascism from its inception has been a careful supervision of the human fabric in weaving the structure of the Fascist State. In the formative work the whole civil education system was one of the first things to be recognized by the regime.

There are several graded organizations for the young where they are prepared for membership of the Fascist party. The Fascist formula for the young is "Book and Rifle." "Better to live one day as a lion than 100 years as a sheep" is the motto inscribed on some of the new Fascist coins. These have come to be the slogans of the youth of Italy. Belonging to a "black shirt" organization under the leadership of Mussolini himself is what every youth of the Fascist Italy looks forward to with pride. "I swear to obey" runs the oath, "without discussion the orders of the Duce and to serve with all my strength, and if necessary with all my blood the cause of the Fascist revolution." Thus Mussolini attempts through education and youth organizations to develop the kind of citizens the Fascist State requires for its welfare and expansion. But the training of youth is also the chief concern of the Church, and here we find the disputed territory.

Maintaining that it is the function of the Church to educate its youth, the Pope took the Fascists to task for their interference with religion. In the field of education, he declared "the Church has full competence and authority, and the regime has not only the duty of following her guidance but also assisting her in carrying out her programme for the spiritual and material welfare of the people." Certainly not this but the contrary is in evidence. Hence the Pope never hesitates to denounce in no uncertain terms the Fascist claim of State supremacy. If the Fascists accuse the Church of taking to political activity, the Pope accuses the Fascists of interfering with religion and its true function. While the Fascist State wants to raise conquerors and train youth for conquest, the Church maintains that the youth should be trained not with ideals of conquest and exploitation but with ideals of peace and service.

As for the controversy regarding the Church and politics there is no mystery about the situation in Rome. The state of affairs there may be summarized thus: the Fascists allege that through the Catholic Action the Church is seeking both to develop a direct political influence and to direct that influence in an anti-Fascist direction. It is but natural if the Government does not wish to see the raising of any standard which might serve some day as a rallying flag for the anti-Fascist elements in the country. The Vatican, however, has denied that its spokesmen urged Catholic Action to immediate political activity against the Mussolini regime. Nevertheless, it is plain enough that between the members of that Vatican-sponsored organization and those of the Fascist party there are differences and those differences are political. This conflict has brought into existence an interesting situation, all the more interesting because it throws into the limelight two powerful personalities. Neither the Pope nor the Premier has the habit of backing down on issues in which they have become involved, and one wonders if these two men would ever come to a complete agreement on this historic problem of the respective function of the Church and State.

II.—The Papal Encyclical concerning "Catholic Action"

The action of the Italian Government in suppressing the Catholic Action and the Associations of Catholic Youth and the subsequent broadcasting by wireless of what palpably is a very one-sided account of the whole affair have drawn from the Catholic side an able and strongly worded rejoinder. It has taken the form of a Papal Encyclical to all Catholic bishops, archbishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. In this encyclical Pope Pius XI gives the Church version of the recent happenings in Italy and seeks to define the respective spheres of State and Church action in the field of educating the youth of the country. This weighty document not only gives a very lucid exposition of the issues at stake between the Italian secular Government and the Vatican, but it also touches upon some of the deepest problems of political morality. What the respective rights of the individual and the State should be has always been a thorny political and ethical question. But the very modern tendency to seize upon and monopolize the dynamic energy of the youth of a country to further the ends of a particular political doctrine or party has given to this question an added touch of hardness and acrimony which it did not perhaps possess before. The Papal Encyclical concerning "Catholic Action" discusses the problem from the orthodox Catholic point of view, which, it is needless to say, will not be shared by everybody. But this by itself does not take away from the Papal pronouncement its rightful importance. Its discussion of the moral and political dilemma has more than a sectarian appeal. It is not specifically Catholic or even Christian. This fact gives a quality of universality to a question which otherwise would not have been anything but a local problem concerning the Italian people alone.

In addition to this the intolerance and the political unscrupulousness of the Fascist regime have shed upon the encyclical a dramatic, or rather journalistic, glamour. The fear of Fascist interception led the Vatican to despatch the translations of the encyclical secretly to Paris by its own courier.

Thence it was sent by aeroplane to London and from London it was cabled to America. It was thus that the Papal authorities assured themselves that the encyclical should reach its destination untampered with by the Fascist authorities.

The Encyclical, which was issued from the Vatican on June 29, 1931, is divided into three parts. In the first part the Pope expresses his sorrow at the suppression of the Italian Catholic Associations and thanks the clergy and the laity for their expressions of sympathy for him in this hour of "most bitter trial." The second part is devoted to an elaborate refutation of the Government version of the dispute. In this part the Sovereign Pontiff takes up the charges against the Associations of Catholic youth and Catholic Action one by one and definitely rebuts them. Referring to the manner of suppressing these associations he says :

REAL PERSECUTION . ACTS OF BRUTALITY

It was a disbanding which was carried out in such a way and by such methods as to give the impression that action was being taken against a vast and dangerous organization of criminals, although the young men and young women involved are certainly some of the best among the good, concerning whom We are happy and paternally proud to pay tribute still once more.

It is noteworthy that even among the officers of the law charged to carry out these orders of suppression, there were many who were ill at ease and showed by their expressions and courtesies that they were almost asking pardon for obeying peremptory orders. We have appreciated the delicate feelings of these officers and We have reserved for them a special blessing.

But, in sad contrast with the manner of acting of these officials, how many acts of brutality and of violence there have been, even to the striking of blows and the drawing of blood! How many insults in the press, how many injurious words and acts against things and persons not excluding Ourselves, have preceded, accompanied and followed the carrying into effect of this lightning-like police-order which in many instances either through ignorance or malicious zeal, was extended to include associations and organizations not contemplated in the superior orders, such as the oratories of the little ones and the sodalities of the Children of Mary.

And all this sad accompaniment of irreverences and of violence took place in the presence of and with the participation of members of a political party, some of whom were in uniform, and were carried into effect with such a notion of action

It is easy to admit, and it was equally easy to have foreseen, that the limits of these directions could, and would have almost necessarily been exceeded. We must be seen to refer to these painful and distasteful things, because there has been an attempt made to have the public and the world at large believe that the disbanding of the associations which are so dear to Us took place without incidents and almost as if it were a normal proceeding.

After this the Pope deals with the character of the wireless message broadcast by the Government:

FALSEHOODS AND CALUMNIES

But there have been other attacks on truth and justice on a larger scale. The inventions, falsehoods and real calumnies diffused by the hostile press of the party which is the only press which is free to say and to dare to say anything and is often ordered or almost ordered what it must say, are summarized in a message which was cautiously characterized as unofficial and yet broadcast to the general public by the most powerful means of diffusion which exist at present.

The history of the documents prepared not in the service of truth, but in contempt of truth and of justice is a long and sad story. But we must affirm, with deep dismay, that in our many years of active life as a Librarian We have rarely seen an article so tendentious and so contrary to truth and justice in its references to this Holy See, to Italian Catholic Action, and particularly to the Associations which have been so harshly treated.

If We should be silent and if We should not contradict these things—that is to say if We should permit them to be believed—We shall be too much more unworthy that We already are to occupy this august Apostolic chair: We should be unworthy of the filial and generous devotion which has always consoled Us and now more than ever consoles Us, that devotion of our dear children of Catholic Action, and especially of those dear sons and dear daughters, and, thanks be to God, they are numerous—who, because of religious loyalty to Our invitations and directions, have suffered so much and are still suffering, thereby the more greatly honouring the school in which they have been reared and honouring also their Divine Master and His unworthy Vicar.

But, as he says, "We shall try to be as brief as possible in correcting the facile assertions of the above-mentioned ["wireless"] message and We say 'facile' in order not to be obliged to say impudent. Its authors imagined that the majority of the public would have no possibility of controlling its accuracy." The most fundamental accusation levelled against the Catholic associations

was that they were of a political character. On this point the Pope emphatically declares:

CATHOLIC ACTION WAS NOT POLITICAL

As is well known, We have repeatedly and solemnly affirmed and protested that Catholic Action, both from its very nature and essence ("the participation and the collaboration of the laity with the Apostolic Hierarchy") and by our precise and categorical directions and orders is outside and above all party politics. We have also affirmed and protested Our conviction that in Italy Our directions and orders have been faithfully obeyed and followed.

The message says: "The assertion that Catholic Action has not had a true political character is absolutely false." On the discourtesy of these words We will not enlarge, and, if the case were not so lamentable, We should treat as ridiculous the untruthfulness and discrepancy of that which follows.

Catholic Action, says the message, is a political party because it has banners, badges, identification cards and all the other external forms of a political party. But banners, badges, identification cards and other similar external appurtenances are to-day the most common things in every country of the world for the most varied kind of associations and activities which have nothing, and wish to have nothing, in common with politics, such as sports and professional organizations, civil and military clubs, commercial and industrial groups, and even school children, these organized exclusively in a religious way like the little ones who belong to the Crusaders.

The message itself betrays a consciousness of its own weakness and inability; and, hastening to save its argument, it adds three other reasons. The first reason is that the heads of Catholic Action were almost to a man members or heads of the Popular Party, which was one of the strongest opponents of Fascism. This accusation has been launched many times against Catholic Action, but always in a general way and without specifying any names.

Wherever We have asked for precise data and for names, it has been in vain. Only a short time before police measures were taken against Catholic Action and in evident preparation for them, the hostile press evidently, having no less access to police reports, had published a series of alleged facts and names which, in the message, are referred to in the most general way. These the *Observatore* has corrected and corrected, instead of "..." as the message asserts, in an attempt to mystify and deceive the public...

The message asserts that Catholic Action was organized in a political way, and that it had nothing to do with the "religious education and propaganda of the faith." Leaving aside the incompetent and confused manner in which the purposes of the Catholic Action are thus described, all those who know and live the life of to-day will grant that there is no sort of initiative or activity, from the more spiritual and scientific bodies to the more material and mechanical ones, which does not find the necessity of organization and of

organization. And the act that organization exists does not mean on that very fact the end and purpose of the organization is to

How the continuous existence of the strongest a priori law can be used as justification for the destruction of the Catholic circles of youth is the defence of the State which is no more than the simple duty of every Government."

There is no doubt of the solemnity and the vital importance of such a duty and of such a right. The first right is to do one's duty. But the receivers and readers of the message would have smiled with incredulity or wondered greatly if the message had added what is also true that of the Catholic circles of youth which were the objects of the police-measure, 10,000 were, or rather are, composed of girls and young women, with a total membership of about 500,000. Who can find a serious danger and a real threat to the security of the State in this? And it must be added that only 220,000 are inscribed as "effective members." More than 100,000 are little "aspirants," and more than 150,000 still smaller children, called "Benjaminis."

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB

In the presence of such facts and of such a documentation with an eye and a hand on the facts, we say as we have always said, that to accuse Italian Catholic Action of engaging in politics is a real and true calumny. The facts have demonstrated what was the real target aimed at when Catholic Action was struck, and that was the thing that was being prepared. Rarely has the fable of the wolf and the lamb been exemplified so strikingly: and history will recall it.

After this the Pope passes on to consider the real motive of the persecution—which he says, is to tear the youth of Italy away from the Church and Catholic ideals. This leads him to consider the respective rights of the individual and the State in the third and the most important part of the Encyclical.

TRAINING YOUTH FROM CATHOLICISM

From all which We have explained and still more from the events themselves as they have been evolving, it results that the so-called political activity of Catholic Action, the alleged manifest or disguised hostility of some of its partisans against the regime and the party, "as well as its being also" the eventual refuge and haven of those refugees who, up to the present, have been spared by the regime because they have sheltered under Catholic Action (see communication from the Directory, June 4, 1931) and similar accusations are nothing but a cumulation of pretexts. We dare to say that even Catholic Action itself is only a pretext.

That which was desired and that which has been attempted is to tear away from Catholic Action and through this process to tear away from the Church the young—all the young. So true is this, that after all the talk about Catholic Action, aim was taken only at the Associations of the young. Nor were these attacks limited to Associa-

tions of the Young affiliated to Catholic Action. Doubtless we have laid also upon Associations of a spiritual, devotional character, upon works of pure piety and of a primary catechetical nature, such as sodalities or the Children of Mary and patronages. So far did this go that in many cases the grossness of the acts was recognized by the perpetrators themselves as a blunder.

The real motive behind these measures is to monopolize the youth of the country in the service of a Party and the State. As the Pope says.

STATE, YOUTH AND EDUCATION

And here We find Ourselves confronted by a mass of authentic affirmations and no less authentic facts which reveal beyond the slightest possibility of doubt the resolve (already in great measure actually put into effect) to monopolize completely the young, from their tenderest years up to manhood and womanhood, for the exclusive advantage of a party and of a regime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a true, a real pagan worship of the State—the "Statolatry" which is no less in contrast with the natural rights of the family than it is contradiction with the supernatural rights of the Church.

To propose and to promote such a monopoly; to persecute for this reason Catholic Action, as has been done for some time more or less openly or under cover; to reach this end by striking at the Catholic Associations of Youth as has lately been done: all this is truly and literally to "forbid the little children to go to Jesus Christ," since it impedes their access to His Church and, where His Church is, there is Jesus Christ. This usurpation goes so far as to snatch the young from Christ and His Church even with violence.

The Church of Jesus Christ has never contested the rights and the duties of the State concerning the education of its citizens; indeed, We Ourselves have recalled and proclaimed them in Our recent Encyclical Letter on the Christian Education of Youth. Such rights and duties are unchallengeable as long as they remain within the limits of the State's proper competence, a competence which in its turn is clearly indicated and determined by the rôle of the State, a rôle which, though certainly not only bodily and material, is by its very nature limited to the natural, the terrestrial and the temporal...

A conception of the State which makes the rising generations belong to it entirely, without any exception, from the tenderest years up to adult life, cannot be reconciled by a Catholic either with Catholic doctrine or with the natural rights of the family. It is not possible for a Catholic to accept the claim, the pretence, that the Church and the Pope must limit themselves to the external practices of religion (such as Mass and the Sacraments), and that all the rest of education belongs to the State.

The erroneous and false doctrines and maxims that We have just pointed out and deplored have crowded up many times during these last few years, and it is well known that We have never, with God's help done any less than Our apostolic duty in exposing them and in confronting them with the just claims of true Catholic doctrine, and with the inviolable rights of the Church of Jesus Christ and of the souls redeemed by His precious Blood.

THE LAST OATH

You ask us, Venerable Brethren, in view of what has taken place, what is to be thought about the formula of the oath, which even little boys and girls are obliged to take, that they will execute orders without discussion from an authority which as we have seen and experienced, can give orders against all truth and justice and in disregard of the rights of the Church and its souls, which are already by their very nature sacred and inviolable. Takers of this oath must swear to serve with all their strength, even to the shedding of blood, the cause of a revolution which snatches the young from the Church and from Jesus Christ, and which inculcates in its own young people hatred violence and irreverence without respecting (as recent occurrences have superabundantly proved) even the person of the Pope.

When the question is posed in such terms, the answer from the Catholic point of view, as well as from a simply human point of view is inevitably one, and We, Venerable Brethren, do not wish to do otherwise than confirm the answer already given. Such an oath, as it stands, is unlawful.

Realizing the many difficulties of the present hour and knowing that membership in the party and the oath are for countless persons a necessary condition of their career, of their daily bread, and even of their life itself, We have sought to find a way which would restore tranquillity to those consciences, reducing to a minimum the external difficulties of the situation.* It seems to (is that such a means for those who have already received the membership card would be to make for themselves before God, in their own consciences, a reservation such as "Saving the laws of God and of the Church" or "In accordance with the duties

of a good Christian," with the firm proposal to declare also externally such a reservation if the need of it arose.

We would desire that our prayer may move those chiefs of the party who decide its policy and give the orders. It is the prayer of a father who is jealous for the consciences of so many of his children. Let the reservation just mentioned be included in the oath-formula. Better still, let the oath be dropped, seeing that an oath is an act of religion and that it is out of place on the membership cards of a political party.

The Fascist Party charges Catholic Action with having overstepped the boundaries of purely spiritual and moral activities. The Pope, on the contrary, accuses Fascism of having been oblivious of the true limits of State action. He describes the doctrines of the party as 'Pagan worship of the State.' He goes on to say:

In everything that We have said up to the present, We have not said that We wished to condemn the Party [Fascist] as such. Our aim has been to point out and to condemn all those things in the programme and in the activities of the party which have been and found to be contrary to Catholic doctrine and Catholic practice, and therefore irreconcilable with the Catholic name and profession. And in doing this We have fulfilled a precise duty of Our episcopal ministry towards Our dear sons who are members of the party, so that their conscience may be at peace.

In conclusion, the Pope asserts that the people of Italy are not anti-clerical.

And lest it be alleged that "Italy is Catholic but anti-clerical," We will say something on this point. You, Venerable Brethren, who in the great and small Italian dioceses live in continuous contact with the good folk of all the country, you know and you see every day how (except when somebody deceives or misleads them) they are far removed from all anti-clericalism.

It is known by all who are familiar with the history of the country that anti-clericalism has had in Italy the importance and the strength conferred upon it by Masonry and Liberalism when these were the powers ruling Italy. But in our own day, on the occasion of the Lateran Treaties, the unparalleled enthusiasm which united and overjoyed Italians would have left no room for anti-clericalism if it had not been evoked and encouraged on the very morrow of the Treaty.

During the recent occurrences orders from high personages have switched anti-clericalism on or off, and this has been plain to all. There can be no doubt that a mere hundredth or even a thousandth part of the force used against Catholic Action will suffice to keep anti-clericalism in its place.

* These remarks about the worldly advantages to be derived from the membership of the Fascist Party has apparently stung the Fascist leaders to the quick. On July 14, a meeting of the Directorate of the Party was held under the presidency of the Duce and three indignant resolutions were passed. The first of them runs as follows.

"The Directorate of the Fascist National Party protests strongly against the assertion of a recent Papal encyclical, according to which the oath of the Black-shirts is taken for bread, career or life. The Black-shirts have demonstrated that they know how to give up bread and career and even sacrifice life when necessary, for the sake of the mother-country or the Fascist Revolution; hence it repudiates the grave accusation by which it has been sought to humiliate their faith, proved by their sacrifices; the Fascist National Party is not a party like other such of the past and present, but a fighting organization of a military type which has brought about a revolution and has undertaken the imperious duty of defending it against everybody." (Quoted in *Il Legionario*, July 25, 1931).

Safe-guarding Swaraj For The Rajas

B ST Nihal Singh

I

A quarter of a century ago I first set foot on American soil. *Wanderlust* had goaded me thither. From the province of the five rivers I had moved by slow stages eastwards—to Burma, the Malay Straits Settlements, China, Japan and finally the United States of America.

The country stretched from the verge of the Pacific, where I had landed, to the Atlantic—some three thousand miles. It was vast in area and rich in varied resources. To one born in India, who had recently spent many months in China, it appeared somewhat thinly peopled. As I made my way to the "East" and the South, I noted divergences—dialectical, religious and racial and also, in some localities, the conflict of colour.

Physiographical and ethnic variations notwithstanding, the country was one. The same flag—"the stars and stripes"—floated in the "West," the "Middle West" and the East—the "North" and the "South." The writ of the Federal Government ran unchallenged from the Pacific to the Atlantic—from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. I found the agents of that Government at their posts in all parts of the land exercising, in its name, authority in diverse spheres. It was truly "the United States of America"—one and indivisible.

My thoughts took wing to India. Nature had meant my Motherland to be one. *Himachal*, at the foot of which I had first seen the light of day, cut it off from the neighbouring lands. The Bay of Bengal laved—sometimes lashed—its eastern, and the Arabian Sea its western, shore. Few countries in either hemisphere had been so clearly demarcated by physical forces as India.

Yet India was not one. Even the map depicted its disunity—not merely its diversity. Some two-thirds of it was coloured red—"British red"—in token of its being under direct British rule. The rest (save for a few minute patches reminiscent of the days when Portugal and France had empires

here) was tinted yellow. Just why that nuance had been chosen I did not know. Was it meant as a compliment to the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose royal colour it is?

Yellow bits of varying sizes and shapes were, in any case, fitted into the red areas in jigsaw puzzle fashion. In matters administrative and political these units were cut off one from the other, even where physically they were interlaced. They did not have a collective name.

I wanted one. I generically called these territories "Indian India" to indicate that though Indian rule in them might be pale, still they were admittedly in Indian possession.

Probably because I was young—I was not turned twenty-five at the time—I beheld a vision splendid. I saw Mother India, stretching from the majestic mountains in the shadow of which my infant days had been spent, down to Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin) and from Dwarka—Krishna's capital—to Jagannath Puri—the seat of the mighty Jagannath, united—one and indivisible in the same sense that the American Union was.

To this country I gave the name of the United States of India. And I fancied that any person born in it would have the opportunity of occupying the highest office if he but possessed the necessary intelligence, pluck, perseverance and "push."

About this time I toured the Dominion of Canada, from the Pacific almost to the Atlantic coast, observing, lecturing and writing. I saw a country larger in extent than its neighbour immediately to the south but much more thinly populated. It, too, had linguistic, credal and racial divergences—in some ways more pronounced than they were in the States—but it was nevertheless united. The writ of the Federal Government at Ottawa ran unchallenged from one seaboard to the other.

I was greatly impressed with the fact that this federation, though an integral part of the British Empire and proud to function within that Empire, was conscious of its own separate political entity and determined

to passive resistance. The Is. who were then officials at Ottawa, seemed to be particularly jealous of the Canadian attributes of self-government.

I once again beheld the vision splendid. Disunity in India, in my fancy, yielded to unity. The various units ceased to pull in different directions and worked in harmony for the glory of the Motherland. From the Indian Federal capital the writ of the Central Government ran unchallenged from the Himalayan passes to the tip of land washed conjointly by the waters of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.

II

Some twenty-five years later I find the phrases issued from my literary mint in my youth current coin. I still put inverted commas round "Indian India," but many writers do not. The possibility of the United States of India is discussed even by personages who are not supposed to be made of common clay.

"Federation" has become the phrase of the moment. It leaps from every lip. It glides off every pen.

Lord Irwin—who, according to the noble boss of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company and other dividend-yielding enterprises in India (Lord Inchoape) should have occupied a Bishop's palace in our land rather than the "Viceroy's House"—felt it incumbent upon himself to press Mahatma Gandhi to accept federation as one of the bases upon which negotiations regarding the future governance of India were to be conducted in London this autumn. The Mahatma agreed presumably without offering any, or at least much resistance.

It almost looks as if the glorious vision of my early manuscript is about to become an actuality. What more could mortal man wish?

I should be happy. But I am not. Far from it.

The Sankey-ized "federation" will, I fear, perpetuate—even AGGRAVATE—Indian disunity. It will "Balkanize" our country instead of converting it into "the United States of India." Our Motherland, if administered on the principles enunciated at the (first) Indian Round Table Conference in London, will bristle with Ulsters—many kinds of Ulsters—hundreds of Ulsters.

Among the fashioners of this scheme of "federation" are brainy persons—distinguished

lawyers and politicians. Unfortunately for India, they lack, almost to a unit, first-hand intimate knowledge of any federal system of Government. Born in countries where the unitary type of Government prevails, most of them have never set foot in lands administered on a federal basis; and those who have done so have paid only hurried visits there. What knowledge they possess on this subject has been almost entirely dug out of tomes dealing with political science.

Included among these fashioners of "federation" for India are Indians who have laboured long in the cause of Indian freedom. Their patriotism is fervid—above question.

Unfortunately, however, there are also self-seekers in the constitution-makers gathered together in London, who would not be there if selection in India had been governed by principles similar to those adopted in the case of the British delegates. There are, moreover, men who—whatever their motives, whether good, bad or indifferent—have sought to aggravate the dissipated tendencies among our people; while politicians opposed to such tactics have been given hardly any place at the "Round Table." Some of the factionists are manoeuvring for advantage.

Then there are Rajes—and their Ministers, some of them more ambitious than their august masters—who fancy that they see an opportunity for righting certain wrongs from which they, in their estimation, have been suffering. They contend that under one pretext or another the Government of India has been intervening in affairs that should have been sacrosanct and, at the same time, it has been imposing upon their shoulders an ever-growing financial burden in the shape of indirect taxation, without allowing them any representation. While professing to give away great privileges, they actually are seeking to increase their own power—to render themselves independent at least of Indians who may come into power at "the centre."

The Indians chosen by the British for the "Federal Structure" Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference, are riven by political and religious differences. They also lack the tradition of working in concert for the attainment of common objects.

The British delegates are, on the contrary, the true representatives of the three political parties in Britain. So far as India is concerned these parties have a ways

acted as one. On the present occasion as in the past, they differ only when uttering platitudes—they stand in a solid phalanx for the protection of what they consider to be British interests in India.

The scheme of "federation" that has so far emerged from these elements—one opposed to the other, though none is wanting in politeness or chary of making pretty speeches—withholds completely the "substance of freedom." It pleases only three classes of persons:

(1) The Britons who are seeking to keep their nationals entrenched in power. Originally they chose other means to secure that end—to preserve bureaucratic control "at the centre." They insisted upon picking the central legislature with reactionary elements and imposing upon it an irremovable executive. They have yielded in name only. Their aim remains the same "Responsibility at the centre," as they would concede it, is a sham—a snare. They have hit upon a form of "federation" that would fetter Indian initiative. And with the aid of conservative elements in Indian society, they expect to be able to foist some such scheme upon us.

(2) The Indian factionists who are manoeuvring for "balance of power."

(3) The men in authority over Indian States who are trying to tighten their hold over the "States subjects."

In the measure these persons are satisfied, the prospect of a united, progressive, democratic India will recede farther and farther into the dim future.

III

I propose to examine the problems arising out of the attempt to hold up the march of democracy in "Indian India"; for it offers a double menace:

(1) If it succeeds, some 60,000,000 Indians will remain in their present state of subjection instead of becoming masters of their own destinies as people under a system of "limited monarchy" are.

(2) The continuation of personal rule—whatever its merits or demerits in individual instances—will react terribly upon any responsible regime that may be inaugurated in the Indian provinces.

It seems strange that the Indians who have been loud in their insistence upon "responsibility at the centre," should be

determined to preserve autocracy at the "extremities." I find it difficult to comprehend their psychology. They are, to say the least, inconsistent. Selfish, too. "The centre," for which they demand responsibility, is outside their jurisdiction while the "extremities," where they seem determined to perpetuate autocracy, are under their domination. They propose, in other words, to give away power over a sphere where they do not have any authority but to harden their grip over that which they themselves hold—or are supposed to hold.

How can there be "responsibility at the centre" when "responsibility" does not exist at the "extremities?"

It is not to be supposed for a moment that the union in which the "irresponsible" type of government is to be preserved will not be represented in the legislative organs at the centre. Quite the contrary. The Rajas will not be content with representation proportionate to the population of their respective States. They demand weightage. If I have understood them aright, they wish to be left unfettered to make their own arrangements regarding the selection of these representatives.

Supposing, however, that the Rulers condescend to the point of permitting the "legislatures" (where they exist) to elect the spokesmen for the States, that concession would not be worth the paper on which it may be written. With hardly an exception the Rajas—or really their ministers—carry these "legislatures" in their pockets. "Election" is, therefore, likely to mean, so far as the actual result is concerned, much the same as "selection."

The spokesmen for the Indian States, acting in concert with other Indian conservatives and representatives of the British "vested interests," would smother democracy in British India as effectively as it is shackled in almost every unit comprised in "Indian India." Even the popular house at the Federal capital would prove to be the Toryest chamber in the world. Any executive that enjoyed the confidence of such a parliament would be a junta of unprogressive persons. Once set up, it would be virtually irremovable even though its removability may be definitely provided for in the statute.

I recently had the opportunity of discussing this particular aspect of the

question with a high official of an Indian State which is regarded as progressive but which, for evident reasons, I refrain from naming. I asked him why he advocated a responsible form of government for British India while he was opposed to introducing such a system in his own State. I told him that his conduct appeared to me to be inconsistent.

The high official was ready with his reply. It was specious to the point of being ingenious. I shall give it as nearly as I can in his own words.

"The case is entirely different," he said. "In British India the rulers are foreign. Here the Government and the people are the same. The question of self-respect does not, therefore, arise. Nor that of national dignity.

"You must not forget, also, that in a State like ours, where the officials and the people are of the same blood and live close to each other, the Government readily reacts to public opinion. We study the requirements—even the moods—of the people and shape our policy accordingly.

"Then, too, you must remember that we (the officials of the State) are very close to the people. We live and move among them. We know their needs; and supposing for the sake of argument, if, in some case, we may go wrong there is nothing to stop them from coming to us and telling us just what they need. No barrier of red-tape exists.

"From the highest to the lowest the officials are readily accessible to the people.

"The poorest person can approach even His Highness.

"There are, moreover, recognized channels through which representation may be made. There are all sorts of Councils—in the districts and at the capital.

"Responsive Government—yes. But not responsible government for a State like ours."

I was anxious to know that side of the question. So I held my peace while this explanation was being vouchsafed me.

By nature and even more by training this high official was a man of few words. This was, therefore, a very long speech for him to make.

When he had finished, I remarked:

"The trouble with (what you call) 'responsive' government is that, all of a sudden, it fails to 'respond'."

"That has been the experience in British India. The Responsivists have found that

an 'irresponsible' administration cannot be depended upon to 'respond' every time response is needed. They have, therefore, been compelled to press for 'responsibility'—for a Government that the legislature can break as well as make.

"The same thing must happen in the Indian States—in yours as in others. You, while at the head of affairs, may be 'responsive.' But your predecessor was not. There is no guarantee that your successor will be 'responsive.' One can never rely upon the 'responsiveness' of personal rule."

"And can you guarantee that democracy will be a success in British India?" he interjected rather heatedly.

"It will at least give our people an opportunity to conduct their affairs as they wish—an opportunity they do not have while the bureaucracy is in power," I rejoined.

"I am not so sure," he persisted. "Democracy in British India is an experiment—a plunge in the dark."

"So you are willing to plunge British India in the dark, but not your own State—not any other State?" I asked.

The high official winced. "No, not exactly," he said. "The people in British India insist upon trying this experiment. Let them try it. We shall not stand in their way. If it succeeds we can join in. Why unnecessarily extend the area of experimentation. Don't you think so?"

This attitude reminds me of a story that was current on the Pacific coast of the United States of America when I landed there. It ran in this wise:

One morning, early in the week, a timid knock was heard at the kitchen door of a prosperous-looking home. The cook—a Chinese—opened the door a few inches and saw a tramp—a ne'er-do-weel who wanders from place to place—standing on the doorstep in a suppliant attitude.

"What you wanchee (what do you want)?" asked the Chinaman.

"Something to eat," answered the famishing man.

"What you like-ee?"

"Anything you can spare."

"You like-ee fish?"

"Sure."

"How you like-ee him (fish)? Boiled?"

"Sure."

"You like-ee him fried (fried)?"

"You bet."

You ke ee him baked

"Sure. Any way you have it cooked you can give me."

When the hungry tramp's mouth was watering in anticipation of the food he expected to receive, the Chinese cook blandly remarked:

"You like-ee fish--you come back Friday (Friday)" With that injunction, he slammed the door.

I may add that Friday in America is a "fast" day, when the devout among the Roman Catholics and some other Christians eschew meat, and fish forms the *piece de resistance* of the principal meal.

IV

His Highness the Maharajadhiraja of Bikanir did not hesitate to lay down, in London, a number of "conditions precedent" to his assenting to proposals relating to constitutional reform. He needs to be reminded, however, that there are other "conditions precedent." We must know, for instance, the basis upon which the representatives of the Indian States in the projected federal assemblies are to be chosen must be settled prior to the acceptance of any scheme laying down the powers and privileges of those assemblies.

Shortly after returning from the first Indian Round Table Conference, the Maharaja addressed a meeting at which some of his subjects were present. Instead of telling them that he was prepared to give them a constitution that would transfer power from his hands to those of the elected representatives of the people, he gave vague promises.

The Maharaja of Bikanir is by no means the only member of his "order" who insists on being given a blank cheque by his own people, as also by the people in British India.

The Maharaja-Gaekwar of Baroda, with half a century of administrative experience, pursues exactly the same policy. At a *darbar* held a few months ago at Naosari, in the southern part of his State, he put off his subjects who were pressing for constitutional reform.

That incident brought back to my memory a conversation that I once had with His Highness. It was early in 1911. I was staying as his honoured guest in the Laxmivilas Palace, a truly magnificent pile.

One evening before dinner the Maharaja and I were walking on the ground. He

had been telling me of the educational, social and religious reforms that he had been introducing or wished to introduce and the difficulties that he had been and was experiencing.

When an opportunity that I regarded as suitable occurred, I said to the Maharaja:

"Your Highness has shown India the way to making primary education free and compulsory and is now contemplating action to rid Hindu society of some of the accretions of ages. I should like to see Your Highness also set the pace for the Rajas by granting a progressive constitution."

The Maharaja paused abruptly in his walk. He appeared to reflect for a moment. Then, with his great verbal agility, he fended me off. When the people were fit for responsibility, he gave me to understand, he would not be slow in showing his confidence in them.

Twenty years have elapsed—a little more than twenty years, in fact. The non official element in the legislature in Baroda (the *Dhara Sabha*, as it is called) possesses only the power of persuasion—no real control over the purse or over officialdom.

I have little doubt that the Rajas and the ministers will receive all they desire from the Indian Round Table Conference that is just re-assembling in London. Its composition is such as to enable them to secure the ends they have in view. They are strongly represented on that Conference and the "Federal Structure" Committee, while representation has been denied to persons who are agitating for placing a curb upon the Rajas' powers.

One or two British-Indian lawyer-politicians might put in a word in behalf of the unrepresented millions. But any noise that they may make will be drowned as soon as the Indian rulers and their ministers put their heavy artillery into action.

I firmly believe that only by making Swaraj safe for the Rajas can the Britons who are trying to conserve their monopoly of power in India make Swaraj safe for themselves. So far as this matter is concerned, therefore, the outcome of the Conference may be predicted with tolerable certitude.

But will the sort of "federation" desired by the Rajas make for contentment in India and for progress? It will not, I am convinced.

Nearly seventy-five years ago the Americans discovered that with half the

people met and the other half withdrew, the Union could not endure. For some five years the two parts of the United States were interlocked in a sanguinary conflict over the question of State vs. Federal rights. Victory by the "North" led to the banishment of slavery from the "South." The Union was saved.

Any Conference that should be held of its approval upon a scheme whereby 80,000,000 Indians are to be left in subjection while the other 240,000,000 Indians are to be given freedom to order their own affairs—supposing that such freedom be given—will fly in the face of history.

Sulkis and Nandas of Orissa

BY PANDIT BINAYAKA MISRA

SULKI RULERS OF KODALAKA MANDALA

THE appended table shows that almost all the grants were found in the Dhenkanal State and in its neighbourhood. The villages granted by the plates have also been identified in the same locality. Again Kodalaka, the place of issue of all the grants, can be identified with Koala where architectural remains now exist. It is situated between 20°56" north and 85°19" east on the northern bank of the Brahmani in Dhenkanal. Goyila, which was a *vi-aya* of Kodalaka, is unquestionably identical with Goyilu, between 20°45" north and 85°29" east, which is about 25 miles from Koala. It also appears now that Konkula mentioned in the grant No. 1 is no other than Kankulu (between 20°47" north and 85°17" east).

It has been mentioned in the grant No. 5 that Kodalaka-mandala extended up to a point, surrounded by the Sankhajoti. In Oriya *Jodi* implies a stream (*cf.* Kathajodi). Sankhajoti can, therefore, be taken for the Sankha, a tributary of the Brahmani.

The donor of the grant No. 5 has been represented as the lord of all the Gondas. The states of Bamra, Bonai and Gangpur and the valley between the Sankha and the Kool are dominated by the Gondas even today. It is therefore not difficult to define the territory the Sulkis ruled over.

The Sankha flows in a southerly direction, forming the boundary-line between Jashpur State and Simdega for some distance and joins with the Palamara and from this confluence runs for some miles in a semi circle and at last flows in a south-

easterly direction joins with the Koel, coming from a northerly direction, at Panposh in the Gangpur State. Now the joint stream flows in a southerly direction under the name Brahmani through Gangpur, Bonai and Bamra and enters the Dhenkanal State whence it runs eastward. It is, therefore, evident that the Kodalaka-mandala extended in the north-westerly direction up to the confluence of the Sankha and the Palamara.

It is stated in the grant No. 7 that Kanadastambha first uprooted a king, Dhekata by name, and afterwards duly honoured and restored him to his former position. The tradition relates that Dhenkanal, the name of the state, owes its origin to a Savara, Dhenka by name, who was in possession of the present headquarters of the state. There exists now to the west of the chief's residence, which is about six miles from the Brahmani, a stone called Dhenka-Savara-munda (the head of Dhenka Savara). This stone is also worshipped by the people of the locality once or twice a year.* The traditional Dhenka is probably identical with Dhekata of the copper-plate. In that case, it can be held that the southern boundary of the Kodalaka was not far from the Brahmani. The hills bordering the Hindol State may be supposed to have formed the Southern boundary of the Kodalaka-mandala.

The chronology of the Sulkis deserves careful consideration. The appended table

* Bengal Gazetteers, Pruditory States, Orissa, Vol XXI by L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay p 164.

shows that the genealogies of the first four grants are one and the same, although the grant No. 1 carries the genealogy for a further generation. It should be mentioned here that the texts of those four grants are also one and the same, except the documentary portion.

The genealogical text of the grant No. 5 is also a copy of that of any of the first four grants, although the name of Vikramaditya is substituted for that of Kulastambha, and Ranastambha's son is called Kulastambha in it. There will be

no objection if I hold now that Vikramaditya and Kulastambha mentioned in the first four grants were one and the same person because of having the same eulogy. Hence Kulastambha, son of Ranastambha of grant No. 5 now appears to be Kulastambha II. Evidently Ranastambha had two sons—Kulastambha II and Jayastambha (of grant No. 1).

The text of the grant No. 7 is a copy of that of the grant No. 6, only containing an additional eulogy of Kanadastambha, who is called Kalahastambha in the latter

SULKI GRANTS OF ORISSA

No.	Reference	End-place	Village Granted	Village Identified	Genealogy
1	C—The Grant of Jayastambha, <i>J. B. & O. R. S.</i> , Vol. II, pt. IV, pp. 405-409.	Dhenkanal State	Chandrapur in Konkula Khanda in Govila visaya of Kodalaka Mandala	Chandrapur in Dhenkanal State (26° 47" North and 85° 25" East)	Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
2	Puri plates of Ranastambha, <i>J. & S. B.</i> old series, 1895, Vol. LXIV, pp. 123-27.	Puri	1 Kankavira in Ulokhanda of Kodalaka Patara in Kodalaka	Kankavira in Angul	Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
3	Grant of Ranastambha, <i>J. B. & O. R. S.</i> , Vol. IV, pt. II, pp. 168-71.	Unknown Locality	2 Jara in Jua visaya of Kodalaka Mandala		Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
4	Hindol Grant of Ranastambha unpublished.	Chutalpur in Hindol State	Undeciphered		Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
5	B—Grant of Kulastambha, <i>J. B. & O. R. S.</i> , Vol. II, pt. IV, pp. 400-405.	Dhenkanal State	Jharavada in Govila visaya of the mandala surrounded by the Sankhajoti	Jharavada in Keonjhar State 85° 25" East and 21° 11" North	Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
6	Talcher Grant of Kulastambha, <i>E. J.</i> , Vol. XII, pp. 156-158.	Talcher State	Singri	Singara in Angul 85° 8" East and 20° 56" North	Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
7	E—Grant of Jayastambha, <i>J. B. & O. R. S.</i> , Vol. I, pt. IV, pp. 412-17.	Dhenkanal State	Omitted by the scribe		Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
8	D—Grant of Jayastambha, <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 409-412.	Do.	Lolapara in Kodalaka Mandala	Lolapara in Bonai (84° 56" East and 20° 53" North)	Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha
9	A—Grant of Ranastambha, <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 396-400.	Do.	Kolampaka in Kodalaka Mandala	Kolantapa in Angul (84° 56" East and 20° 53" North)	Kulastambha Ranastambha Jayastambha Kulastambha Ranastambha

N.B. The identification of Govila, Kodalaka and Konkula occurs in the general discussion.

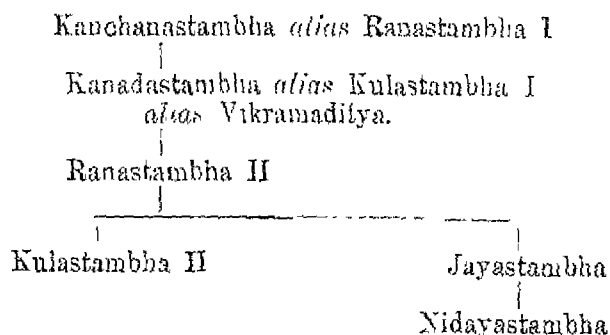
1. Probably misread for Kankavira and Konkula. Kankavira is mentioned in Hindol Plate of Subhakarana, (*J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, Pt. 1, p. 70)

2. This has been wrongly identified in the Radhamandala whence the donor granted.

grant I th n Kalaha l a been read on
n swrtte f i Kanady because t c c was
not much difference betwee the forn s of
and l and of d and k. If it be tenable
Alanastambha of the grant No. 7 can be
identified with Ranastambha of the grant
No 6 because of having the same eulogy.
In that case, Kanadastambha *alias* Vikrama-
ditya of the grants Nos 6 and 7 may be
taken as Kulastambha of the first four
grants, who has been equated with Vikrama-
ditya of the grant No. 5. Now Kulastambha,
son of Ranastambha of the grant No 6, is
identical with Kulastambha of the grant No.
5 and again Jayastambha of the grant No 7
may be taken as the same Jayastambha of
the grant No. 1.

The grant No 9 contains the year of an
unspecified era in numerical symbol. The
symbol is distinctly a *lva* or *lu* which
denotes 200 (see *Prachina lipi-mula* by
Gaurishankara Hirachand Ojha, Plate LXXIV).
The other figure occurring after *lva* is 3.
Thus the year is 203.

We know that Dandimahadevi was
ruling in the year 180 of an unspecified
era.¹ It is also known with some approach
to certainty that Dandimahadevi and her
predecessors held suzerainty over Orissa.²
No Sulki ruler can, therefore, be supposed
to have preceded Dandimahadevi, who was
also reigning in the year 187 of an un-
specified era.³ Now Ranastambha of the
grant No. 9 appears to be the first man
among the Sulki rulers who made land
grants without referring to their overlord.
I, therefore, identify this Ranastambha with
Kauchanastambha of the grant No. 6 or
No. 7. So the Sulki rulers may now be put
in the following chronological order:



N R L OF A A M

Only n p. t. o. this family has been
published so far.* The place whence it
came, is not known. But it is reported that
Pandit Nagendranath Mahapatra found this
plate in a private family while engaged in
searching for Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS.
As far as I know the Pandit worked in the
Dhenkanal State. So I suppose that the plate
was found in that State.

This plate was issued from Jayapura.
There is a village under the name Jayapur
in the Dhenkanal State, which does not
seem to be of much antiquity. I think,
Jayapura is identical with Nandapura lying
between 20°40' north and 85° east in the
Angul district. It is probable that Jayapura
was changed to Nandapura, since the Nanda
rulers used to reside there.

It is stated in the grant that Jayananda
got the territory of the Gondama which
has wrongly been identified with Gansama.
Gondama signifies nothing but the Gond
people.

The document records the gift of a
piece of land in the village Siloda. The
donor addressed the order to the officers of
Airapattanala which is correctly Airavatta
mandala. Siloda may be identified with
Sindi situated between 20°45' north and
85°9' east in the Dhenkanal State.

Pandit Tarakeshwar Gangooly of Mayur-
bhanj has brought another plate of the
Nanda family from Dhenkanal. It is expected
to be published soon. The village Lamveba
in the Potada *visaya* of the Airavatta
mandala was granted by this plate. Lamveba
is identical with Limboo situated between
20°25' north and 85°6' east in the Nara-
singhpur State and Potada with Potala
lying between 20°42' north and 86°14' east
in the Hindol State.

The mention of Airavatta-mandala is
found once again in the Narasinghpur
charter of Uddyotakesari† The villages
Koutalanda and Lova-karada of this grant
have been identified with Kantilo and
Marada§ respectively lying on the
southern bank of the Mahanadi in the
Khandpara State. The southern boundary
of the Kodalaka mandala has been supposed

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 134.

² *J. B. & O. R. S.* Vol. XVI, pt. 1, p. 74.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XVII, pt. 1, p. 110.

* *J. B. & O. R. S.* Vol. XV, pts. I and II,
pp. 87-100.

† *Ibid.* Vol. XVII, part I, pp. 1-24.

§ *Ibid.* p. 4.

to have been formed by the present northern boundary of the Hindol State. It is, therefore, probable that the Airavatta-mandala was bounded by the Kodalaka mandala on the north. The hill-ranges running on the southern border of the states of Ranpur and Navagarh seem to have formed the natural southern boundary of the Airavatta-mandala. Airavatta is identical with Ratagarh in Banku in the Cuttack district.

The text of the unpublished grant is a close copy of the published grant. But it is a curious fact that the donor of the published grant was Dhrivananda, although 'Devananda' is inscribed on the seal of the same grant. The donor of the unpublished grant is Devananda. No mention as regards the relation of Dhrivananda with Devananda has been made in the published grant. Evidently Devananda had another name Dhrivananda.

I need mention here that there is a mistake in the published text. In line 12 the correct reading is "nripati bhutas-satam-agrani" instead of "nripati bhutsutograni" which is ungrammatical. The letter *na* has been omitted by the scribe of the published grant. But in the unpublished grant the same letter is distinct. Again the letter *ta* succeeding *bhu* has not been conjoined with *sa* in the facsimile-print of the published grant. Besides, the metre has been defective by the omission of *ma*. It, therefore, appears that Devananda had no son. Vilasatunga by name, as suggested by the editor, since the interpretation of the text running on the line 12 has been different, according to the revised reading. It is not probable that any ruler of the Nanda family bore a name which

ended in 'tunga' suffix. 'Vilasatunga' seems to be an adjective of Devananda. So the following genealogy of the family is now available

Jayananda
|
Sri-Parananda
|
Sivananda
|
Devananda *alias* Dhrivananda

The unpublished grant contains no date. But the published grant contains the year of an unspecified era. The numerals of the year are represented by symbols. The first symbol has been correctly read as *lu*, but erroneously interpreted as 3 by the editor. The second symbol, which has been wrongly read as *cūn*, distinctly represents 90 (*cf.* Dhauḷi Inscription of Santikar, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64). Then there occurs the decimal figure 3. Thus the year is 193, not 1373 as interpreted by the editor. This year 193 belonged to an era which was used in the plates of the Bhauma or Kara family of Orissa. The title Paramasaugata, assumed by the donor of the published grant, indicates that he was a Buddhist. He, therefore, seems to be a contemporary of one of the Bhauma rulers, because during their reign Buddhism had a stronghold in Orissa. Again the comparison of the scripts of the grant under discussion with those of the plate of Bhanudeva (1312 A. D.), the facsimile-print of which has been incorporated in the *Orissa in the Making* by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, clearly shows that Devananda flourished long before the 14th Century A. D.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, serials of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

FEDERAL INDIA By Col K. A. Hickson, C. I. E., Political Member of the Mahar Government and Delegate to the Round Table Conference and K. M. Panikkar, M.A. (Oxon), Princes Delegation to the Round Table Conference.
London: Martin Hopkinson, 10s-6d net

This work comprising 211 pages deals with a topic of great public interest and importance. The last Round Table Conference dissolved by recording the largest possible measure of agreement on three general principles to be embodied in the coming constitution, viz., (1) Federation (2) Safeguards for minorities and other agreed subjects and (3) Responsibility at the centre depending upon (1) and (2). The question of federation as affecting the provinces of British India has almost ceased to be a question. Even the Simon Commission has recommended practical provincial autonomy and responsibility with certain reservations for the only point that remains to be decided, viz., the residuary power, whether it should be in the federal or the provincial government. Hindu opinion favours the former view in the interests of the unity and well-being of India as a whole which throughout its long history has lacked a strong central authority necessary for a self-conscious nation. Muslim opinion, on the other hand, stands for the sovereignty of the federating units, as in the U.S.A. constitution. But the greatest difficulty of the proposed federation will come from the Indian States, numbering more than 600 and covering a third of India, but carrying a fourth of her population and comprehending within their number a wide diversity of conditions concerning history, tradition, administration, moral and material progress, revenue and, lastly, the growing power of public opinion. Mahatma Gandhi has already laid his finger on a vital point in the situation in his famous declaration that a federation of autocracies and democracies will be an incompatible mixture which may produce an explosion. While all the provinces of British India are out for nothing less than complete responsibility for themselves in the coming constitution, the Princes of India do not yet know their minds. No doubt, they are already in a sense the sovereigns or representatives of national states, considering that the personnel of their administration is Indian

and national, but these national states are all of one invariable type which Aristotle called despotism and which tends easily to pass into its morbid form which Aristotle dubbed as tyranny. It must, however, be admitted that history cannot be made to order or that political reform can write itself on a blank, clean slate. The states have their difficulties, problems, and social conditions, the outcome of their history with the irresistible power of its momentum. The constitution of a Greater India bringing together in an organic and integral federation the provinces of British India and so many States that have so far evolved on their own lines which have been moreover protected and guaranteed by treaties with the Paramount Power such a stupendous and singular political construction must allow for some time for the growth of the necessary adjustments to a novel situation. Fortunately, the Princes themselves have contributed in so small measure to the creation of that situation. They themselves set the ball rolling at the Round Table Conference by proposing an all-embracing federation comprehending the whole of India, to the surprise of those with whom the primary and more immediate concern was the organization of British India as a self-governing Dominion of the Empire. The present work points out the path of least resistance in an untried and untrodden field by an analysis of the conditions for gradually building up a system of closer co-operation between British India and the States, a discussion of the necessary guarantees, juridical, and institutional, and of other possible federal subjects including a supreme federal court on the basis of which alone the Princes can come into the proposed federation. The political sagacious authors of the work have, however, linked the main issue now before the country which Mahatma Gandhi has already raised on its behalf, whether the steel-frame of despotism on which the States rest will remain unbending or yield to the strain of modern political ideas. Nor have they made any reference to the States subjects who are not a negligible factor in the political evolution now in progress. They have confined themselves only to the point of view of the Princes.

RADHA KUMOD MOOKERJEE

F. V. L. D. V.
1. W. C. L. A. S. S.

This is an anthology mainly of 17th and 18th century verse and contains in addition to selections from Dryden, Pope, Gray, Collins, Clowse, Blake and Burns, numerous poems of lesser lights like Sedler Rochester, Prior, Parnell, Amherst, Philips and others. Wordsworth at the end of the volume does not seem to fit into it and he might conveniently have been put in the company of his friends who will presumably figure in Vol. IV.

PAPER-BLOCKS. By K. S. Venkatarani :
Saetranaga Ashirama Mathas

These sketches of village life in Southern India have been highly praised by numerous critics whose opinions are quoted as advertisement on the cover. One finds little to add to these notices. It is a pleasant book to dip into and its sentimentality and gentle humour will doubtless appeal to numerous middle-aged readers.

THE MAGIC OF STORY. By Maurice Maeterlinck :
Altru and Umuu.

It is not possible to do justice to this recent work of Maeterlinck's in a short notice. The thousands of readers who enjoyed his *Life of the Bee* and admired his handling of scientific themes made easily intelligible to lay-readers will find the same qualities exhibited here. The universe, the earth and sidereal influences are the topics discussed but here is not the manner of Professor Bigsby. It is the product of a century which takes pride in having abolished to a marked extent the line of demarcation separating the students of literary and scientific works.

N. K. SUDHANTA

INDIAN STATES AND INDIAN POVERTY. By S. R. S. Raghavan, M. A. with an Introduction by Prof. Abhyankar. Printed at the Indian Press, Bangalore City, 1931. Price Rs. 1.

This brochure contains a short but a fairly comprehensive essay on the problem of the Indian States as it presents itself at the present juncture. It has been written with a view to help the members of the Round Table Conference to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem. The author believes that a federation is the only real solution and that a full-fledged federation is practicable today. I am afraid he has not grappled with any of the serious difficulties that stand at present in the way of an all-India federation. He is quite right in holding that a federation is not possible till responsible government is established in the States but he does not apparently realize that mere asking will not bring it into existence. Hard work and heavy sacrifices will be needed to achieve responsible government in the States and it will also take time. Mr. Raghavan makes no mention of perhaps the most serious difficulty in the way of an all-India federation, i.e. the existence of a very large number of small, un-economic States, which can never be independent separate units in the Federation. What is to

be done of them? The rulers of these States must follow the patriotic examples of the Japanese chiefs and renounce their ruling rights and become merely landed magnates and noblemen, then a real federation will be possible. Another defect in the book is that it is written in two parts—one written before the first Round Table Conference was held and the other after its work was over. It would certainly have been better if the author had taken the trouble of re-writing the essay in view of the work done at the Conference instead of merely adding a few paragraphs on the results of the conference at the end and a summary of the recommendations and speeches in an appendix. However, the brochure presents in a short compass clearly and ably, the view point of the progressive leaders of the State subjects and as such it possesses a value of its own.

CHANDRAN N. SENAI

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE 1914-1930. Compiled by Mr. Puras Nath Senha, B. A., LL. B. and issued by the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

This is a concise statement giving facts and figures in connection with the management of India's currency from 1914 up to date. For the last two or three years the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce has devoted considerable attention to the problems of our currency and exchange, and this book presents in a nutshell the whole case of the Federation, backed up by some very useful and convincing facts and statistics.

Without entering into the academic questions in connection with the best monetary standard for India the book gives a faithful account of the happenings from 1914 to date, and critically exposes the Government policy so far followed. The conclusion is clear that India has suffered immensely and is still continuing to suffer as a direct consequence of a most careless handling of currency and exchange by the Government of India. The most tragic consequence has been the frittering away of our gold reserves so much so that the position on the 15th March, 1931, so far as India's gold assets were concerned, was actually worse than on 31st March, 1914 the deterioration having been in sterling more than £5 millions. The total dissipation caused by the currency policy over the period 1914 to 1930 would come to about £100 millions. Of this about £51 millions were frittered away in the attempts to stabilize exchange at 2s. gold, while the present rate is responsible for the dissipation of something like £12 millions.

The publication is a most reasonable one coming at a time when safe-guards in connection with financial and currency policies are being discussed. It exposes clearly the hidden weakness and the thoroughly unsound condition of the business that is going to be transferred over to a responsible federal government of India. And it fully demonstrates that until the transfer of finance is real and complete India cannot come to her own.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

erson of the ma ag e enonj of P asa a and Sa a a are l had a celebrated th a th deals of a ne a a a Hindu marriage rite! Naturally our modern scientifically equipped editor concludes: 'However laudable the motives of the interpolator may be and however venal such transgression may appear from the purely human standpoint, this propensity to alter an inherited text, perverting its sense, is obviously fatal to any claim of superiority that might be set up on behalf of the Southern recension in questions concerning textual purity and integrity. It puts this recension at once on its defence whenever it differs from the Northern.'

Fascicule No. 5 shows how the exciting adventures of Bhima in the serpent world are suspicious interpolations, and how the birth stories of the Kuravas and the Pandavas and specially the story of Duhsala vary widely in the Kashmiri, the Vulgate and the Southern recensions; and also how much of the "Kinder geschichte" or children history has insidiously filtered its way into all the Mahabharata MSS. Such accretions to the original, whether detected to be additions (in the versions in which they are found) or omissions (in the versions in which they are missing), have been found to be utterly superfluous and unauthentic merely weakening the text and the movement of the Great Epic which with the possible exception of the Kashmiri version, seems to have emerged "indiscriminately conflated in all other versions." The more to the credit of the conscientious and learned editorial board and of the superb apparatus of textual criticism that has been reared up to tackle with this colossal problem of the literary history of India.

K. NAG

TALES FROM SANSKRIT DRAMATISTS: By Prof. M. Hryyanna, Dr. S. K. De, Kunhan Raja, and others G. A. Natesan and Co. Madras. Price Rs. 2 only.

Lumb's *Tales from Shakespeare* is a beautiful model for the present volume which includes a rich selection ranging over the large field of Sanskrit drama from Bhasa's (?) *Swappnavasavadatta* to Visambadatta's *Mudrarakshasa*. Between the two masters several centuries elapse, and *Swappnavasavadatta*, *Arimuraka*, *Mrichchakatika*, *Sakuntala*, *Malatikagnimitra*, *Vikramorvasiyam*, *Malati-Madhava*, *Nagavanda*, *Ratnavali* and *Mudrarakshasa* which are presented here typify the various periods in the development of the dramatic technique. Messrs. Natesan and Co. are to be congratulated for persuading such competent and esteemed hands as Prof. Hryyanna, Dr. S. K. De, Dr. Kunhan Raja, Dr. P. S. Subramanaswami Sastri, Vidwan G. I. Somaraji, T. L. Krishna-swami Ayyar and Kamala Sarthimadhan to contribute to the volume; and the ease and vigour of the English version, closely following the Sanskrit version, is expected to make the students and general readers look into the original. Those already acquainted with these will be glad to renew their old acquaintances through the grace of these scholarly narrators and their publisher. The prefixed short sketches of the

ceptive authors of the plays are a happy and helpful idea.

GOPAL HALDAR

NATIONAL DEFENCE: A study of the origins results and prevention of war: by Kirby Page Editor, The World To-morrow (America, Published by Farrar and Rinehart inc New York, Demy 8vo, x+405 gilt cloth with dust jacket, price \$ 3.

Mr Kirby Page is one of the foremost publicists of the United States, and he has fully proved his ability as an analytical student of history and a far-seeing judge of present-day politics in this book. The question arose to him whether there would be any more wars and he set himself to answer the question with a thoroughness rarely found in the modern mass production week-end authors. He has gone to the deepest recesses of popular psychology to discover why people fight one another in such tremendous packs as are provided by the modern nations. He has worked out the remotest interrelations of the world's institutions to explain the gigantic folly of war. He has given a constructive scheme for the abolition of the war system and has pointed out how the next war is no mere fantasy but may materialize any day into a reality before whose cosmic dreadfulness the last war would appear just a side-show.

Among the causes of war are nationalism, imperialism, militarism, chauvinism, fear, alliances, etc., etc. Nationalism comes first as the spirit which created the nations which fought one another. Nationalism is the strongest unifying as well as disruptive force today. It unites extremely divergent groups while at the same time it separates the "nations" from one another by creating artificial "suspicions, fears, animosities" and superiority complexes. National egotism is too ridiculous to be logical and true. For instance, all nations try to believe that they are the best of all. Kaiser Wilhelm said, "We are the salt of the earth. God has created us to civilize the world." Lord Curzon "believed" that "the British Empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good that the world has ever seen." Fichte told the Germans that "among all modern peoples, it is you in whom the germ of perfecting humanity most decidedly lies. If you perish as a nation, all the hope of the entire human race for rescue from the depths of its woe perishes with you..... if you sink all humanity sinks with you." While in Bulgaria a Bulgarian super-man said, "In the string of recorded events, the largest beads standing out most conspicuously are the literature and culture created in Bulgaria." Then come international vituperation, rights, sovereignty, honour, patriotism and war. Imperialism is the natural outcome of a feeling of national superiority and a love of national greatness and expansion. Greed and the spirit of competition accentuates imperialistic fervour. Militarism is the faith in warfare that one finds in professional soldiers and members of allied professions. The view is preached by militarists that war is biologically necessary, beneficial and the best way to achieve peace. J. Ellis Barker once wrote, "The abolition of war would be a misfortune to mankind. It would lead not to the survival of the fittest and strongest, but to the survival of the slug-aard and the unfit and therefore to the degeneration of the

with provocative fervour and of war at all hours of the day as an immediate necessity. Lord Fisher once said before the war, "I hope to remain in office long enough to see the German fleet at the bottom of the sea." Among British Chauvinists are to be found university professors, bishops, army officers, journalists and who not? The *Saturday Review* in 1897 published an article entitled "Germania Delenda" the *Daily Mail* advocated the destruction of the German fleet in 1902.

Fear helps the chauvinist and militarist. All nations fear that other nations are getting too strong to remain peaceful. So a race for armaments begin and end in war. The pre-war literature of Europe is full to the brim with alarmist stuff. Fear drives nations into alliances which lead to counter alliances, thus preparing the ground for a large scale conflagration. Thus it was that with the ground well laid psychologically and materially the murder of a prince in the Balkans drew men from every corner of the globe to the gory battle-fields of Europe, leading ultimately to the death of 13 million soldiers and 13 million civilians. The wounded list of war was 20 million. There were 9 million war orphans, 5 million war widows, 10 million war refugees and 3 million war prisoners. The total costs of the war would be about Rs. 1011,00,00,00,000.

Mr. Page has made a great effort of suggesting remedies for the possible repetition of such cataclysmic happenings. He recommends international (with special reference to the U. S. A.) arrangements for better mutual appreciation. This will be done through adoption of text-books in all schools everywhere which will promote peace rather than war by the establishment of national peace departments which will work systematically to demolish militarists, chauvinism and the other instruments of war-mindedness.

Mr. Page does not pay full enough attention to the dangers of imperialism. A few well-chosen instances of imperialism, tyranny, exploitation would have helped people to appreciate the nature of the powder magazine upon which the free nations are sitting and discussing "international" fellowship and peace.

A REPUTATION OF THE VERSAILLES WAR CRIME TRIALS. By Alfred von Wegerer, translation by H. J. Zeydel, published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, Demy 8vo XXXII+330; Illust. 8. Price \$ 3.00.

The Treaty of Versailles was based on the assumption that Germany alone was responsible for the war. The whole question of reparations depends on this assumption. So that it is of supreme importance to ascertain clearly whether the Germans were alone responsible for the war. If not, one should know how far the responsibility lies with them and how far with England, France, Russia, Serbia or other nations. Professor Wegerer is perhaps the greatest authority on the war-guilt question. He has shown point by point how the Germans were guiltless in the

pre-war Europe. He cites documents of inestimable value which prove beyond doubt that the sole responsibility theory has hardly a bottom to it. It was pure fabrication by the Allies. Some of the documents put up at the Treaty Conference were forgeries and others were mutilated.

A study of the book also shows people where to look for danger in the future when diplomats, soldiers and munition sellers would once more get busy starting a war. The book should be recommended as a text-book to all students of contemporary history.

ASOKA CHATTERJEE

CHARIT TRAINING OF OUR HINDUS. By Ernest Wood. Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras pp. 177.

This is an account of Hindu Yoga, in all its branches, and, as we are told by the publishers, the subject is dealt with entirely from original sources. It is refreshing to learn this but it is not equally pleasing to find that the author traces the etymology of the word *māyā* (माया) to the suffix *mayā* (मा) — (p. 80). And the author's translation of some of the technical Sanskrit terms of Yoga also does not appear to be quite happy (p. 89). It cannot, therefore, be claimed that Mr. Wood's handling of the original sources of his subject was entirely beyond reproach.

Some times Mr. Wood gives rather fanciful interpretation of terms as when on p. 16 he says that *Idam Yoga* is so-called because the man becomes king or master of his own faculties and propensities.

The author has also ignored the latest and most widely accepted method of transliteration of Sanskrit words.

His summing up of the teachings of Sankara as given on p. 91, also does not appear to be quite happy.

But nevertheless, on the whole, he has succeeded in giving a careful and lucid account of Yoga theories and practices, in all its various phases. One thing, however, has been overlooked. In the occult teachings of Yoga, all that is found is not necessarily good and is not acceptable to a modern man. A careful sifting is necessary. Besides the subject should have been treated in reference to modern science and morality. Whatever, for instance, may be the case of *Cheranda samhita*, it belongs to a class of literature all of which cannot be presented to a modern, cultured man. Mr. Wood is not giving merely an historical account. If that were the case, no fault could be found with his treatment of the subject. But he pleads in behalf of these theories and practices—he advocates them and urges us to adopt them. He should, therefore, have been more careful in separating the kernel from the husk. Otherwise, the book is an accurate presentation of Hindu Yoga ideas.

There are just a few printing mistakes but

are not too bad. The printer's set up
the book on a high level quite good.

U. C. BHATTACHARYA

INDIA AND ENGLAND AND OTHER POEMS: By G.
Pillai. Author H. Stockwell Ltd. London. 1-6 net.
21 pp.

Mr. Pillai shows considerable genius in these
poems, and we have read the book with pleasure:
England replies to mourning India

Freedom is a fruit
Must grow and grow and grow,
Must grow up from the root
Can't come as dice's throw.

There are many excellent poems: those on
Laxmi, Indian Sage, Mendicant are particularly
recommended

(RITA)

BENGALI

RABINDRA-JANANTI: *Varsha-panji*: By Prabhat
Kumar Mukhopadhyay. Prabasi Press, Calcutta.
Price 4 annas with a portrait of Rabindranath
Tagore.

In this booklet, the author has availed himself
of the occasion of the poet Tagore's completing his
70th year to mention chronologically the chief events
of his life, the dates of his works and of the
periodicals which he founded, edited or contributed
to, and similar facts. It is a very useful brochure.

BOJARATIYA MADHYAKSRE SADDHANAR DHARA (The
course of spiritual self-realization in the Middle
Ages in India): Being the Adhar Mukherji Lectures
of the Calcutta University for 1929. By Professor
Kshintimohan Sen. M.A., Sastri, of Visva-Bharati.
With an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore.
Published by the Calcutta University.

As their title indicates, these lectures relate
to the teachings and self-discipline of the saints
of India of the mediaeval age. Brief biographical
sketches of these teachers, where available, have
also been given. Pandit Kshintimohan Sen has
made this subject peculiarly his own. For decades
he has trudged over many provinces in search of
real sadhus and their sayings. Many most eminent
sadhus have left this world without their sacred
songs and sayings being recorded by anybody.
The glimpses which we get in this book of their
inner lives are fascinating and make us desire that
the author would give us several volumes dealing
with his subject. Many of the saints were Hindu
and many Musalman by birth.

R. C.

SANDHAN (The Quest): By Birendra Kumar
Datta, M.A., B.L. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons,
Calcutta. Price Re 1-1-0.

This book is a continuation of the authors
previous volume which he named *Yugamanar*
(the representative man of the age). They are

and contains on an - g the authors views on
men and things. The present volume of 232 pages
is less ambitious than the earlier one, and does
not contain any of those exquisite touches
inspired by the beauty of nature in all her manifold
moods which make a direct appeal to the heart in
the earlier book. The author summarizes the
views of some distinguished western writers whom
he has read and makes running comments on
them. The books he deals with are concerned with
religious and social problems, and the excerpts
(rendered into Bengali) possess a high seriousness
which elevate and broaden the mind, and enable
one to look at life from a universal standpoint. As
a guide to the truth-seeker or to conduct of life
they possess a high value. The author's chosen are
all up-to-date and their outlook is thoroughly
modern. The object aimed at is to seek from
these master-minds the key to a worth-while
existence and save ourselves from utter futility.

Those who have read the authors previous
books need not be told that he is a rationalist
through and through: but in his ripe old age, he
has become a confirmed agnostic. For this reason
he is no longer an admirer of Rabindranath. His
creed is: "Forget God, forget the ego and the
universal soul, forget religion, let women be
completely free, harbour the thought that all are
equal" (p 236). The Brahmins, as usual, come in
for severe castigation at his hands. To many it
will appear that this is somewhat overdone, for
there is hardly any mention of the great services
rendered by them to culture and civilization. As
for caste, the evils of which are apparent to all, it
would be a greater service to Hindu Society, as
at present constituted, to live in open defiance of it,
rather than to fall foul of it. Without
abjuring it for all practical purposes, and without
thought, it may be said, prepares the ground for
freedom of action but in India thought has
always been perfectly free and it is practice which
has ever been canalized and made to flow along a
fixed groove, deviation from which has been regarded
as rank heresy. The essential test of breach of
caste is intermarriage and the time has come when
it should be rigidly applied to all would-be breakers
of caste. There are many indications in the book
under review that the author's frank atheism gives
him no consolation, and cannot altogether free his
mind from a belief in after-life. A blind alley is
hardly a solution. Never was a greater falsehood
uttered than when Rousseau said that all men are
born equal. If there is to be any progress in the
world, we cannot do without the aristocracy of
talent, which is the root-idea of caste, though it
has been subjected to vile abuse at the hands of
our law-givers.

A very full index enhances the value and
usefulness of the book. It is well printed and
nicely got-up.

POL.

DARJEELING-SATI: By Mr. Anil Krishna
Sarkar, M.Sc. Published by the author from 47
Munipukur St., Calcutta, pp. 153. Price Re. 1-8.

The number of people going to Darjeeling
either as health-seekers or sight-seers is growing
day by day. The author of this book describes
all the sides of this important hill-station of
Bengal, which is not surpassed by many. With
its descriptions, illustrations and map it deserves

to be a good deal of Dandya and the new thing about the place. The Dandya H. says and the poet, people even in the new world have been described to arouse our interest. In this, is specially to be marked. The author treats of the hillmen not as barbarians but with sympathy and from the historical aspect, considering the fact that in the past there was a cultural link between Bengal and those regions. This is not generally found in such books. We hope the book will be found useful by the intending goers to Dandya.

SRI DHARMAPURANA OF MAYURBHATTA: Edited by Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, pp. xxxviii+152+2. Price Re. 1-8.

Mayurbhatta was reputed to be an early writer on the Dharma cult of Bengal. But his work was not published by any scholar. The text here edited by Mr. Chatterjee is a very late one, but because this may give some clue to the original it was considered worth publishing. One important thing is that the poet says that he flourished at the time of the grandson of Lansen, the celebrated hero of the Dharma cult. The poem describes many images of Dharma in different parts of Western Bengal. There is a learned introduction dealing with the history of the cult and its rites as practised by its non-Brahmin priests who under pressure of the orthodox cults had to take recourse to eclecticism.

RAMES BANSI

GUJARATI

KALPANA KUSUM: By Lalit Mohan Chaudhary Gandhi, B.Sc., M.A., LL.B., Advocate. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp. 257. Price Rs. 2 (1930)

This collection of seventeen "short stories", picturesquely called the "flowers of imagination", which marks the debut of the young writer on the stage of Gujarati literature, is a remarkable work. It far outdistances the so-called short stories appearing almost every fortnight or every month, in the pages of the numerous periodicals and journals, in imitation of English short stories; and which lack both force and imagination, and are forgotten as soon as read. Not so these stories: they are in our opinion a finger-post guiding the ignorant and the unwary wayfarer, as to what way he should go, if he desires to reach his destination, viz., the writing of short stories, "which interpret character and human life—stories which make a distinct emotional appeal," which after all is the function of a short story. He has been fortunate enough in getting Mr. N. B. Divatia, to write an introduction for his book, and it is a most valuable contribution on the matter, reviewing as it does the subject from a scholar's and a critic's point of view. Mr. Gandhi has been able to pass the high test laid down by his critic who rightly detects in the writer's art, both psychological analysis and brevity. All the stories are equally good, but even if the first one "Love, Is it of the Body (Carnal) or of the Individual (possessing the body)?" be read through, it furnishes

ample evidence of the above two characteristics, having been fully brought out. The book bears the promise of still better work being turned out by the writer as he grows in years and as his pen gathers more practice.

1. **GRAMYA HINDU PUNARVIVAHATA:** By Thakurji Mohanlal Desai, B.A. pp. 281. Price Re. 0-13-0 (1929)

2. **GRAM JIVAN MAN SAKSHAK:** By Kesharlal Ambhal Thakkar, B.A. LL.B., pp. 114. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1930)

3. **MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE:** By Vaidraj Bopalal Garbandas Shah, pp. 360. Price Re. 1-9-0 (1930)

4. **VIVANAN NI VISA VATO:** By Martand S. Pandya, B. Ag. Pp. 91. Price Re. 0-6-0 (1930)

5. **SWAYAM PRERANA:** By Ravishankar A. Oldeng, B.A. LL.B. Pp. 225. Price Re. 1-1-0 (1930)

6. **LINGA VICHAR:** By Chandulal S. Dwivedi, M.B., B.S. Pp. 154. Price Re. 0-15-0 (1930)

7. **MUNOO PAREK'S TRAVELS:** By Samant Nathji Dhatt, B.A. Pp. 274. (Part I+151 (Part II). Price Re. 1-14-0 (1930).

All of them cloth bound, and published by H. H. the Gaekwad's Vidyadhikari Office as part of the Sayaji Sahitya Mala.

(1) F. L. Brayne's "Remaking of Village India" has been translated very intelligently, by one who has been familiar with village life in Gujarat. The translator's object has been to keep the language as easy as possible so as to facilitate the task of anyone who has to move amongst villagers with a view to their uplift. The original has been translated into several vernaculars. Gujarati lacked it, and the defect is now remedied.

(2) Co-operation in Village Life, is another book meant for the uplift of villagers. It is also written by one who is in immediate touch with villagers and with the Co-operative Department of H. H. the Gaekwad. He has thus been able to present his case with first-hand knowledge and draw his lessons home.

(3) Till now no good book was written in Gujarati on this highly important subject, though Bengal possesses two such books. Lyon's *Medical Jurisprudence* is one of the best textbooks in India for this purpose, and Vaidraj Bopalal has mainly followed that book though he has consulted many others also—in preparing the one under notice. He has done his work extremely well, and supported his conclusions by reference to Sanskrit works also.

(4) Twenty Science Stories, comprises twenty informative and interesting lessons, clothed in the garb of stories told to juveniles on such familiar and domestic subjects and articles as trees, roots, metals, water, soap, sugar-cane, etc. The characteristics of each are well brought out.

(5) Auto-suggestion or Couéism has become a fashion in the West. If not a fashion, it is at least in vogue there. There was nothing in Gujarati which would explain this method of recovering from illness, and getting better health by merely thinking of it. Think that you would get well. Repeat that you would get well, and you are sure get well. This theory has been worked out successfully by Mrs. Emily Coué

so she claims. The book under review states the methods and the details of the experiment. It reveals an interesting phase of human thought.

(6) This is an independently written work in the life of man from birth to old age, i.e., it gives hints and suggestions as to how a child should be brought up, how one's youth should be passed, what an old man should do to make his old age comfortable and happy.

(7) Mungo Park's travels into the interior of Africa, and the narration of the work that he did as a pioneer in that direction, have had a fascinating effect on those who read the book in English. The risks and perils of such a travel and the adventures due to such a sort of life, rendered into easy and flowing Gujarati, are calculated to excite equal fascination in the Gujarati reader also.

K. M. J.

HINDI

MARATHONKA UTTHAN AUR PATAN: By Mr. Gopal Damodar Tamaskar, M. A., L. T. Published by the Sasta-Sahitya-Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. iv+639. Price Rs. 2-8

The history of the Marathas as reconstructed now assumes immense proportions. Not only the Maratha scholars themselves but also English, Bengali and other scholars have given attention to this fascinating study. Mr. Tamaskar was well-advised to present this history in a convenient form. He has utilized the works of the original writers on the subject and his handbook will be welcomed not by a few. The land and the people of Maharashtra have special claims on our attention and the book under notice deals with the various topics in connection with both of these from the very earliest times down to the early part of the nineteenth century. The whole thing has been shown in its proper perspective, as the political, military, social, literary and religious activities of the Marathas have been touched upon. There are maps and useful appendices. We have no hesitation

in recommending the book to the general public. But we should point out that the book is not a history of Chhatrapati Shivaji being the first Maratha ruler, it is a history of the Marathas, appointing. The author also claims one or two things as exclusive of Maharashtra, which are to be found in other parts of India, e.g., the *Katha-Kirtan*, the game of *ganjafa*. On the whole the work is an acquisition to Hindi historical literature.

KARACHI KI KANGRESS: Edited by Mr. Jitmal Luria. Published by the Hindi Sahitya Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. 176. Price 0-12-0

This book deals with the various activities of the last session of the Indian National Congress at Karachi and other social and political conferences during the National Week. There are many illustrations of the leaders.

JAINA LETH SAMGRAHA: Vol. III (Jaisalmer)—Collected and edited by Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. Published by the editor 46, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta. Pp. ii+229. Price Rs. 8.

In ancient India the Jaina community was always enthusiastic in keeping records of their activities. This is amply proved by the innumerable manuscripts and inscriptions which have been discovered from time to time. But up till now no serious or regular attempt was made to collect those inscriptions. Mr. Nahar, the well-known Jaina scholar of Calcutta, is an indefatigable worker in the field, and the result of his unsparing activities has now come out in these monumental works on Jaina inscriptions. Indeed, his books have been the veritable store-house of original matter as regards Jaina history. We cannot be too grateful to him for this excellent volume of Jaina inscriptions found in and near Jaisalmer. He has spared neither energy for collecting nor money for producing the excellent illustrations which leave nothing to be desired. The introduction and the appendices instruct on various topics connected with the texts of the inscriptions. This book surely enriches Hindi literature in its historical department.

RAMES BASU



Faraday Centenary

(August 29, 1931)

By V. SRINIVASAN

I

ON the 29th of August 1931 falls the centenary of the first of the epoch-making discoveries of Michael Faraday which has resulted in the whole of electrical engineering as we know it today. Foley's admirable statue of Faraday—"the most original experimenter of the world," to quote R. A. Gregory—shows in his hand the simple ring with two coils which he used on the memorable occasion. No wonder that British scientists and electricians are celebrating the great event by a commemorative meeting at the Queen's Hall, London, and a Faraday exhibition at the Albert Hall, to which leading scientists from all parts of the world have been invited.

Faraday's greatest claim to glory is, of course, his electro-magnetic discoveries—beginning with the experiment on the 29th of August 1831 whereby he showed that an electric current can induce another in a different circuit—and his other researches in electricity like the construction of the voltametre and the discovery of specific inductive capacity to which we owe the various applications of electricity today. In the field of chemistry, he discovered Benzene, the basis of modern aniline industry, and liquefied gases. He produced, too, several new kinds of glass for optical purposes and investigated alloys of steel. He left also a rich harvest of ideas for his successors to develop, the most noteworthy among them being the electro-magnetic theory of light, developed later by his student, James Clerk Maxwell.

The only practical application of his work that he took an active part in perfecting was the electric lighting of lighthouses. What made him not to work out the practical applications of his other discoveries is evident from one of his letters :

"I have rather been desirous of discovering new facts and new relations dependant on magneto-electric induction than in exalting the force of those already discovered, being assured that the latter would find their full development hereafter."

Faraday was born in Newington, London September 22, 1791 of poor parents, so poor that his father who was a blacksmith could give him in his ninth year but one loaf of bread a week. He received very little education ; it consisted of "little more than the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic at a common day school." In his thirteenth year he started life as an errand boy in a bookseller's shop, and a year later he was taken up as an apprentice by a book-binder without any premium "in consideration of his faithful service." The books that were brought to him for binding evoked the latent genius of the boy. To quote his own words :

"Whilst an apprentice I loved to read scientific books which were under my hands and delighted in Marcet's *Conversations in Chemistry* and the electrical treatises in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. I made such simple experiments in chemistry as could be defrayed by a few pence per week, and also constructed an electric machine, first with a glass phial and afterwards with a real cylinder, as well as other electric apparatus of a corresponding kind."

His master was kind-hearted ; he allowed the young apprentice to go occasionally of an evening to hear the lectures delivered by Mr. Tatam on Natural Philosophy. The charge—one shilling per lecture—being defrayed by his elder brother, he attended nearly a dozen lectures and became acquainted with persons like Magrath, Nicol and others. These lectures created in him a desire to be engaged in scientific occupations to such an extent that he actually wrote to that effect to Sir Joseph Banks, the then President of the Royal Society, of course, getting no reply. Meanwhile, he had improved his knowledge of English ; the letters which he wrote to his friends and the personal diary called the "Philosophical Miscellany" which he regularly kept bear marks of a beautiful style of writing. Be it noted that he was still a book-binder's apprentice and not yet 21 years of age.

On October 8, 1812 he went as a Journeyman Book-binder to one Mr. De La Roche, a French emigrant in London. A customer of his master took him to hear four of Sir Humphrey Davy's lectures in the Royal Society. He was attracted towards the great chemist and took notes of his lectures, some of which he sent to Sir Humphrey. The chemist was so highly pleased with the work that he employed the young apprentice for a few days—when he was wounded in the eye from an explosion of Chloride of Nitrogen—as an amanuensis.

In 1813, in his twenty-second year, at Davy's instance, he got the situation of Assistant in the Laboratory of the Royal Institution on a salary of 25 shillings a week with two rooms at the top of the house. That year he joined the City Philosophical Society in Tatum's house and began to take an active part in it. He also established the Mutual Improvement Plan.

"They met to read together, criticize, correct and improve each other's pronunciation and construction of language. The discipline was very sturdy, the remarks very plain and open and the results most valuable."

On October 13, 1813 he accompanied Sir Humphrey Davy to France, Italy, Switzerland, the Tyrol and Geneva and returned to England on April 23, 1815. He assisted Davy in his experiments, took care of his papers and apparatus and also served as a sort of valet or confidential servant. It was then that he made the acquaintance of some of the greatest scientists of Europe like M. Volta and Professor De La Rive. He kept a journal in which he narrated everything that impressed him.

A fortnight after his return to England, he was re-engaged at the Royal Institution as an Assistant in the Laboratory and the Mineralogical Collection and Superintendent of Apparatus on a salary of 30 shillings a week and free apartments. Then began in earnest his scientific work—researches, papers and lectures—which lasted till the end of his life. In 1816, his first original work—an analysis of native caustic lime—appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Science*. In the same year he began to lecture in the City Philosophical Society. In 1820, while he was 29, he began a most laborious investigation in collaboration with Mr James Stodart on the alloys of steel. In May

of that year he was appointed Superintendent of the house and laboratory.

On June 12 of the next year, he married, after a long period of courtship, Sarah, third daughter of one Mr. Bernard, an Elder of the Sandemanian Church. Twenty-eight years later he called it an event "which more than any other contributed to his earthly happiness and healthful state of mind."

A month after his marriage, he made his confession of sin and profession of faith before the Sandemanian Church. He did not tell even his wife of it previously. When she asked him why he kept it a secret from her, he characteristically replied "That is between me and my God."

In 1824, he was elected to the Royal Society. Two years earlier his name was proposed, but there was a misunderstanding in some circles that he had plagiarized Woolaston's work. Sir Humphrey Davy was one of those who opposed his election. The charge was later proved to be false. Of this, he wrote: "My love for scientific reputation is not yet so high as to induce me to obtain it at the expense of honour."

In 1825, he became a member of the Royal Institution and Director of the Laboratory under the superintendence of the Professor of Chemistry. Then he began the weekly evening lectures which continue to this day. From this time onwards many scientific societies all over the world began to honour him. He received as many as twenty-nine honorary titles and marks of merit. Of this he wrote "Only one title, namely, that of F. R. S. was sought and paid for; all the rest were spontaneous offerings of kindness and goodwill from the bodies named."

On August 29, 1831, when he was thirty-nine years of age, he began his famous electrical researches—really extensions of his work done from December 1824. In 1832, he was awarded the Copley Medal of the Royal Society and became a D. C. L. of the Oxford University.

Two years later, he was appointed for life as Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution on a salary of £ 100 a year with the privilege of giving no lectures.

In his forty-fourth year, he was offered a pension by the Government. As the Premier, Lord Melbourne had told Faraday in the course of a private conversation that he looked upon the whole system of giving pensions to scientific and literary people as a piece of humbug he at first declined the

When his friends persuaded him to accept it he wrote

I should like to have no reason to expect that he would grant—a written apology for the words he permitted himself to use.”

After a suitable explanation was given, he accepted it.

In 1858, when he was sixty-six, the Queen, through the kindness of Prince Albert who used to attend his juvenile lectures, offered him a house on Hampton Court Green, which he lived to the end of his days.

In 1860, he was again elected an Elder of his Church and he held the office for a further period of three years and a half. He was offered again and again the Presidentship of both the Royal Society and the Royal Institution, which he refused to accept. He said :

“None can know but myself how unfit it would be. As to being on a committee and not working, it is worse still.”

Resigning his seat as the Senator of the London University, he wrote to the Registrar in 1863 :

“The position of a Senator is one that should not be held by an inactive man to the exclusion of an active one.”

His physical powers were declining day by day and his memory was failing. He calmly waited for death and desired “to have a simple funeral attended by none but my own relatives, followed by a tombstone of the most ordinary kind, in the simplest earthly place.”

In 1866, when he was seventy-four, the Society of Arts gave him the Gold Albert Medal. On August 25, 1867, in his seventy-fifth year, he died in his chair in his study.

According to his wishes, his funeral was of the simplest kind. His tombstone bears the plain inscription :

Michael Faraday
Born 22 September
1791
Died 25 August
1867

II

Faraday's scientific work—“full of genius in conception, full of finished and the most accurate work in execution in quantity so vast as to seem impossible one man should have done so much”—was done under circumstances of great penury. He had no

grant from the Royal Society. The Royal Institution gave him a fixed salary of only £100 a year at first and £200 later. In fact, the lectures he gave kept the Institution running. He once said “We were living on the parings of our own skin.”

But like many an other great scientist, he would not serve both God and Mammon. We have it on the authority of Tyndall that the commercial world were prepared to pay him fees which would have amounted to £150,000 a year. But he would not choose it and so died a poor man. To quote Tyndall, “Nearer than anybody known to the writer, he came to the fulfilment of the precept, ‘Take no thought for the morrow.’” He wrote in a letter :

“In fact, I have always loved Science more than money; and because my occupation is almost entirely personal, I cannot afford to get rich.”

He hated inequalities in the scientific world. He wrote when he was full of honours conferred by Scientific Societies all the world over :

“When Science is a republic, then it gains; and though I am no republican in other matters, I am in that.”

Curiously enough, he made a strict severance of his religion from his science and firmly believed that man could not by reasoning find out God. In his lecture on mental education he said

“High as man is placed above the creatures around him, there is a higher and far more exalted position within his view; and the ways are infinite in which he occupies his thoughts about the fears or hopes or expectations of a fuller life. I believe that the truth of that future cannot be brought to his knowledge by any exertion of his mental powers, however exalted they may be; it is made known to him by other teaching than his own, and is received through simple belief of the testimony given.”

He was devout in his faith. A friend of his writes :

“When he entered the religious meeting house, he left his Science behind and he would listen to the prayer and the exhortation of the most illiterate brother of his sect with an attention which showed how he loved the word of Truth, from whosoever it came.”

Before beginning his meal, he used to lift both hands over the dish before him and asked God's blessing on the food.

He had a fund of humour, well-marked in all his letters. He defined Love as “a nuisance to everybody but the parties

concerned a private affair which every one but those concerned wishes to make public." When Gladstone asked him with respect to one of his discoveries, "After all, what is the use of it?" he replied, "There is every possibility that you will soon be able to tax it." On another occasion, immediately after his lecture in the Royal Institution demonstrating the production of a feeble current of electricity in a coil of wire when a magnet is suddenly brought to it, a lady came up to him and asked "Professor Faraday, even if the effect you explained is obtained, what is the use of it?" he replied immediately, "Madam, will you tell me the use of a new-born child?"

As a lecturer he was perfect and suited his words to the audience. Never was he at his best than before juvenile audiences. He trained himself for the work by taking a few elocution lectures. He always prepared his lectures thoroughly and had notes, illustrations, etc. ready; the notes for his experiments were put on one side of a sheet of paper and the notes for his words on the opposite side. In early days, he always lectured with a card having the word 'Slow' written upon it in front of him. He instructed his assistant to place before him a card with the word 'Time' on it when the lecture hour was nearly expired. One of his friends regularly came to his lectures and noted down for him any faults of delivery or defective pronunciation.

The instructions he kept before him were as follows :

Never to repeat a phrase.

"Never to go back to amend.

"It is at a loss for a word, not to ch-ch-ch, or er-er, but to stop and wait for it. It soon comes and the bad habits are broken, and fluency soon acquired.

"Never doubt a correction given by another."

His notes for his last lecture (June 20, 1862) before the Royal Institution are interesting :

Personal Explanation—Years of happiness here, but time of retirement: Loss of memory and *physical endurance of the brain*.

1. Causes—hesitation and uncertainty of the conviction which the speaker has to urge.
2. *Inability to draw* upon the mind for the treasures or knowledge it has previously received.
3. *Lapses* and forgetfulness of one's former *self-standard* in respect of *right, dignity and self-respect*.
4. Strong duty of *doing justice to others*, yet inability to do so.

Retire"

There was perfect order in everything that he did. His letters, journals, etc. were all so well preserved that his biographers had not much difficulty in gathering up the threads of his life. The various stages of his researches were so carefully recorded by him for all time to see, that Prof. Reiss of Berlin wrote to him.

"If Newton, not quite without reason, has been compared to a man who ascends to the top of a building by the help of a ladder, and cuts away most of the steps after he has done with them, it must be said that you have left to the follower, with scrupulous fidelity the ladder in the same state as you have made use of it."

The Hostage Theory and its Danger in Constitution Framing

By SANAT KUMAR ROY-CHAUDHURI

THE object of the Mahomedans both of the nationalist group led by Dr. Ansari and of the communalist group led by Mr. Jinnah seems to be the establishment and perpetuation of Mahomedan domination in India. Because Mahomedans of the nationalist group have been graciously pleased to waive the demand for separate

electorates they have been taken into the bosom of the Congress and all the rest of their demands which are the same as that of the communalists have been conceded by the Working Committee of the Congress.

The much extolled liberality of the nationalist Mahomedan in accepting joint electorates springs from the same cause as

the demand for separate communal electorates by the other group, viz., securing to the Mahomedans, as a religious fraternity, powers and privileges on the ground of their religion solely. The method adopted by the communalist is direct. They say we do not trust the non-Mahomedans, specially the Hindus, and we must be given an effective voice in the legislatures, which in future will be the repositories of power, by statute. They do not wish to run any risk or face any uncertainty, as there would be, if a joint electorate is accepted.

The nationalist Mahomedan looks at the problem from a different angle. He also says, I do not trust the Hindus. But says he, we shall have better chance in the legislatures with a joint electorate and adult franchise or with a franchise which will reflect the majority of the population in the electoral rolls, in the provinces where we are in a majority. As to the provinces where we are in a minority we need not fear, for will not there be so many millions of Hindus under us as hostages in the majority provinces against ill-treatment of our co-religionists in the minority provinces?

That the above is a correct analysis of the position will be amply borne out by a few quotations from Dr. Ansari's speech at the Faridpur Conference:

Repudiating the cry that "Islam was in danger" (because of nationalist Moslem activities and stating what according to him was the basic principle of democracy, he said:

"We could, for instance, never agree to any proposal that would reduce Musalmans where they are in a majority to the position of a minority without necessary safe-guards at the mercy of a hostile majority. It would be neither fair play nor sound politics. The Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab should never be made to sacrifice their majorities and the *N. P. and Behar Muslims* must remain fortified with the conviction that the treatment meted out to them by the *Hindu majorities* shall not be worse than what the *Hindu minorities* would expect to receive in the provinces where the Muslims are in a majority."

Emphasizing the possible effect of Sir Mahammad Shafi's proposal at the Round Table Conference that the Mussalmans in Bengal should have through communal electorate, 46 per cent representation in the whole house, and should have the right to contest the special constituencies, Dr. Ansari said:

"It means you give up your constitutional right to form and carry out the government of your

province. Remember that in the future constitution of India there is not going to be any official *bloes*." (it seems that to the Mahomedan Nationalists the official *bloes* are truer friends than their neighbours the Hindus) "and if the proposal made by Sir Md. Shafi is going to form the basis of the future constitution you are to remain in perpetual minority in Bengal entirely left at the mercy of those who would be returned by communal electorates" (meaning the Hindus) "Saturated with ambivalence and communal bias against you you will have the worst type of communalists with you..."

The italics are mine. Distrust of the hated Hindu breathes in every line. Nay more—there is a distinct threat to the Hindu majority provinces to behave themselves. Otherwise the Hindu population of Bengal, the Punjab, Sind and the N-W E. Provinces will suffer.

I do not know what the Hindu has done to the Mahomedan to merit this hate or distrust. Amongst some of his crimes are that he has established educational institutions throughout the country (I speak with special reference to Bengal) but has not limited admission only to his Hindu co-religionists, he has endowed chairs and scholarships which he has thrown open to all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, he has endowed hospitals and opened dispensaries where a large proportion of the patients treated are Mahomedans, he is engaged in social services, health and welfare work even where the beneficiaries are mostly Mahomedans, he has made sacrifices, and suffered, in some cases even the extreme penalty of law, that he might earn freedom for his country, but has never refused to give his Mahomedan neighbour a share in the concessions wrested from unwilling hands. If the Hindu had merely followed the lead of the Mahomedan and ear-marked his charity for men of his own religion, if he had emulated the Mahomedan leaders and fought to secure special benefits and privileges for his co-religionists, then possibly we might have had less of hatred and distrust.

Let us now consider the implications of the threat that the Hindus in the Mahomedan majority provinces will be treated as hostages.

The important thing to note about this hostage theory is that the nationalist Mahomedan will not forget even in politics the difference in religion. It is not his desire that the Hindu and the Mahomedan should be welded into a homogeneous nation politically which I believe is the meaning of

the word, Nationalism, the ideal of the Congress, and the reason why it is fighting shy of separate communal electorates. The nationalist Mahomedan wants joint electorate with adult suffrage because he believes this will secure his co-religionists a greater majority in the legislatures and enable them to rule the particular province where they happen to be in a majority, even though the majority be due to the greater number of children among them. This majority will enable the Mahomedan to control all public institutions and public services as also the finances of the province. This is all he wants.

A matter of grave concern to all Hindus and all those who have the welfare of Hindus under the proposed constitution at heart, is the number of Hindus who would be under the political domination of these Mahomedans as compared to the number of Mahomedans under the Hindus. In the future constitution, thanks to the insistence of the Mahomedans on Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points, and to the support lent them by the Government of India of which Mian Sir Fazli Hossein is a shining light and by the Imperialistic Press in England and India in general and by the *Statesman* in particular, and last though not least to the acceptance of all points, except that of separate electorates, by the Working Committee of the Congress in a futile attempt to placate the Mahomedans (as demonstrated by the rejection of the Working Committee proposals by the All-India Muslim Conference at Allahabad), there will be five Mahomedan majority provinces, viz., Bengal, the Panjab, N.-W. F. Provinces, Sind and Baluchistan. In Bengal alone 21 millions of Hindus will be under the domination of Mahomedans. In the Panjab there will be 6½ millions of Hindus and 2½ million Sikhs, in N. W. F. Provinces 2 lacs of Hindus and Sikhs, in Sind 8½ lacs of Hindus, and in Baluchistan a few thousands about 12 per cent of the population will be under Mahomedans. I have given the figures according to the 1921 census. According to the present census the number of Hindus in the above areas will be considerably more. Thus it will be seen that about 32 million Hindus and Sikhs will be placed under Mahomedan domination, while only 19 million Mahomedans in the six Reform Hindu majority provinces or 23 millions scattered over the whole of India including Burma will be under the Hindus. If the hostage theory is believed

in by Mahomedans—and I shall presently show that all Mahomedans whatever their political creed may be and their new-found friend the Anglo Indian Imperialist Press believe in it, the arrangement proposed and accepted by the Congress is fraught with immense power of mischief to the Hindus whose exertions have made Swaraj attainable.

That all Mahomedans desire to keep the Hindus as hostages, that some of them even wish to dominate the whole of India with the aid and backing of their co-religionists beyond the borders of India was made plain by Sir Mahomed Iqbal's frank speech. He said that he wanted a block of Mahomedan territory in the North West of India which would with the other Mahomedan kingdoms of the world form one solid block. This was why he wanted Sind separated, and reforms given to the N.-W. F. Provinces and Baluchistan. In fact, the idea underlying his speech was that there would be a pan-Islamic federation and India after the new constitution would not be able to resist any demands that this federation would be pleased to make.

The *Statesman* in its issue of the 13th August 1931, asks its new protégés the Mahomedans to take heart and not to despair, basing its arguments again on the hostage theory. Says the paper :

"A community with a clear majority in six northern states, the Punjab, Bengal, Sind, Baluchistan, N. W. F. Provinces and Kashmir cannot be subjected to oppression. In a federal system the Mahomedans of India can be their own guarantors."

It is interesting to note that this paper which is supposed to be the organ of European and official opinion, which is inciting Mahomedans to stick to their fourteen points and assuring them of European help has already taken for granted that Sind would be separated and in Kashmir which is a feudatory State the Mahomedans would be the rulers. If any suggestion were made by anybody that in the Nizam's dominions the Hindus would be the rulers because they happen to be the majority there, probably this *Friend of India* along with his protégés the Mahomedans would have raised such a howl of rage as would have reverberated from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean. However, except showing to what extent the Mahomedans are being backed by the Europeans and their Press in India all this is beside the point.

to a large extent identical with the modern Devanagari." It passes one's comprehension now, after all these observations, he coolly forgets the claims of Yasovarmma Deva of Kanauj, to whom the new inscription can very naturally be ascribed and to whom he himself ascribed it to begin with, and starts twisting paleography and history out of all shape in order to justify an impossible ascription to Yasodharmadeva of Malwa,—and does not hesitate to propose even a correction in his name on the strength of this unwarranted ascription!

The whole muddle appears to have arisen from Dr Shastri's assumption that the new inscription mentions Yasovarmadeva as the *sovereign* of Baladitya. The idea somehow got into his brain and vitiated all his arguments and conclusions. The new inscription, in fact, does nothing of the kind. The second verse praises Yasovarmadeva as a resplendent and newly risen sun, a conqueror of all kings. The third verse says that Yasovarmma had an officer (a minister) called Tikina, who was a ruler of the Northern regions and a guardian of the passes. His son Malada was favoured by Yasovarmadeva.

The next three verses say that the great king Baladitya—after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth—erected a magnificent temple of Buddha at Nalanda. Some hyperbolic and laudatory description of this temple and of other temples of Nalanda follows. It is then stated that Malada made some gifts and presents to the image of Buddha and to the monks and the Buddhist fraternity there. In verse 14, a curse is invoked upon those who would nullify the gifts made to the Lord Buddha consecrated by King Baladitya.

It will be clear from the above summary that there is nothing in the new inscription to connect Yasovarmadeva with Baladitya Malada, son of Tikina, guardian of the Northern routes of Yasovarmma's empire, records in this inscription the bestowal of gifts and donations to a temple of Buddha which King Baladitya had erected at Nalanda, evidently in days long gone by. This temple was still a famous temple at the time of Yasovarmadeva, and there is nothing very unusual in a rich donor evidently of foreign descent, in coming to Nalanda and making a donation to a famous temple there. The erection of a monastery at Nalanda by Baladitya is spoken of by Hiuen Tsiang (Watters, Vol. II, p. 164). The same authority, again, speaks of a majestic temple built by the same king.—"To the north of this was a large temple, above 300 feet high, built by King Baladitya. In its size and ornamentation, and in its image of Buddha, this temple resembled the one at the Bodhi Tree." (Watters, Vol. II, p. 170) This shows that the image of Buddha in this temple of Baladitya was, like the image in the temple at Buddha Gaya, in *Tayrasana* and in *Bhimsagara Bhudra*.

The new Nalanda inscription evidently speaks of the very same image consecrated by Baladitya, in verse 14. The English rendering of this verse does little credit to Dr Shastri. The following translation will probably be found to be an improvement:

"This (image of) Sesta (i.e., the Lord Buddha) was established by King Baladitya who had trampled upon all his foes. The Lord Jina himself in the adamant pose always resides here within (the image or the temple). (So) whoever will put obstacle in the way of this gift, made to last as long as this world endures,—the five dreadful sins will be the lot of that man devoid of merit."

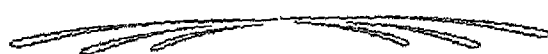
The reading of Dr Shastri also requires improvement in a few places

A bequest of Baladitya to a temple of the Sun-God, about 64 miles to the west of Nalanda, is known from the Deo-Barnark inscription of Jivita Gupta (Fleet—*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 213).

The new Nalanda stone inscription is important because it is the *first* epigraph of a king who is otherwise well known from literary sources. It also testifies to the fact that the Baladitya temple was in a flourishing condition even 200 years after its foundation. We also know from this inscription that the minister Tikina (evidently not an Indian) was in charge of the northern portion of Yasovarmma's kingdom and that the routes (Himalayan passes?) were also under his special control. This special care in guarding the passes is in perfect accord with the known facts of the history of the times. Lalitaditya Muktapada, the contemporary king of Kashmir, fought against the Tibetans and closed their five great roads, probably in alliance with Yasovarmma Deva. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1908, pp. 776-777).

It is interesting to note in the *Prataparishad* (Stan, Vol. I, pp. 143-144) that a Tukharian minister called Chankuna and like Malada, son of Tikina, minister of Yasovarmma Deva, Chankuna was also an ardent devotee of the consecrated Buddhist temple of Nalanda. Kashmir, some of which existed even in Kailasa's time. Tikina's wife had the Sanskrit name of Bandhumati and his daughter had the name of Nirmala. Chankuna's wife similarly had also the Sanskrit name of Isana Devi and his son-in-law had the name of Isana Chandra.

In conclusion, we should request the Director-General of Archaeology to see that this article by Dr Shastri is expunged from the pages of *Epigraphia Indica* and a saner edition of the new inscription substituted. We have the good fortune of having at present an able Indian scholar as the Director-General of Archaeology in India. Let it not be said by the world of scholars outside that articles like these in the *Epigraphia Indica* are the first fruits of *Suvaraj* in the Archaeological Department.



Boycott Movement and Its Effect on Trade—II*

By H. SINHA, Ph. D.

IN view of the charges and countercharges regarding the breach and observance of the Gandhi-Irwin truce, it may be of interest to inquire if the trade statistics of India during recent months show any appreciable effect of the calling off of boycott against British goods as a political weapon. In the *Modern Review* for March, 1931, some figures for India's import trade during 1930 were analysed. It is now proposed to study the figures for 1931 so far available on the same plan as followed in the previous article.

It must be pointed out at the very outset that apart from the political cause, there is an economic cause, which is no less serious, although not equally emphasized, viz., the steadily deteriorating economic condition of India. The most outstanding fact in the economic depression in India as elsewhere is the fall in prices. But the extent of this decline is much greater in the case of India than in the case of other countries as shown in the following table —

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES

Average, 1929 May, 1931 Percentage fall

India	141	97	37
U. K.	136.5	104.4	24
U. S. A.	138.3	102.1	26
Japan	166.2	116.4	30
Canada	149.4	114.1	24
S. Africa	116.0	99.1†	15

Furthermore, in India the disparity among the prices of different commodities is getting wider and wider. This must cause very serious hardship. For instance, if the price of jute falls to less than half its pre-war value, whereas the price of cotton manufactures stands at a level about a quarter higher than the pre-war figure, then approximately 2½ maunds of jute will have to be given for a bundle of *dhotis* and *saris*, which could be bought in pre-war days with the sale proceeds of only one maund of jute. This must seriously impair the buying power of Indian agriculturists, which must affect trade very adversely. The extent of the disparity in

different prices is indicated in the table below.

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES IN CALCUTTA OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF COMMODITIES

(All Prices in July, 1911=100)

	Average, 1930	May, 1931	June, 1931
Cereals	100	73	74
Pulses	119	82	81
Oil-seeds	127	78	78
Raw jute	83	47	45
Raw cotton	91	83	87
Cotton manufactures	139	126	123
Sugar	149	131	133

Thus it is clear that any improvement which might ensue as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact must be largely neutralized by the serious economic crisis through which we are passing. Moreover, there must be a necessary lag between the cessation of boycott and resumption of imports just in the same way as there was an interregnum between the declaration of boycott and diminution in imports, as shown in the previous article on the subject. In any case the course of contemporary trade is an interesting study, whatever be the forces at work. It is for that reason that a few tables are given on the next page bringing the previous tables up to date as far as possible.

It will be seen from them that the decline in the case of non-British commodities was only 2 per cent during February and in the case of British commodities 45 per cent, the corresponding figures during May being 28% and 49%. This shows that boycott is not so intensive now as before. On the other hand, it should be remembered that during February, 1930 the figures for which have been taken for comparison, there was no boycott whatsoever, whereas during May, 1930, the boycott was partially in operation as shown in the previous article. Thus the decline which is now shown is in addition to the fall recorded in the previous article.

As regards cotton manufactures, there is a boycott against all imports, which should therefore be affected equally. But as shown in the table below, non-British goods have declined proportionately less than British goods.

* The first article of this series appeared in the *Modern Review* for March, 1931.

† For April, 1931

Table I

PRICES AND IMPORTS INTO INDIA DURING 1930 AND 1931

	Index No. of prices.	Imports from United Kingdom. Rs.	Imports from other countries. Rs.	Total Imports Rs.
January 1930	131	9,82 lakhs	13,12 lakhs	22,94 lakhs
" 1931	98	4,86 "	9,64 "	14,50 "
p. c. fall	24 p.c.	51 p.c.	27 p.c.	37 p.c.
February 1930	126	7,76 lakhs	9,54 lakhs	17,30 lakhs
" 1931	"9	4,30 "	9,35 "	13,65 "
p.c. fall	21 p.c.	45 p.c.	2 p.c.	21 p.c.
March, 1930	125	9,20 lakhs	11,68 lakhs	20,88 lakhs
" 1931	100	4,51 "	8,49 "	13,03 "
p.c. fall	20 p.c.	51 p.c.	27 p.c.	38 p.c.
April, 1930	123	8,17 lakhs	9,89 lakhs	18,06 lakhs
" 1931	98	4,37 "	8,09 "	12,46 "
p.c. fall	20 p.c.	47 p.c.	18 p.c.	31 p.c.
May, 1930	121	7,02 lakhs	10,87 lakhs	17,89 lakhs
" 1931	97	3,58 "	7,81 "	11,39 "
p.c. fall	20 p.c.	49 p.c.	28 p.c.	36 p.c.
June, 1930	116	6,99 lakhs	6,87 lakhs	13,86 lakhs
" 1931	93	5,45 "	6,67 "	12,12 "
p.c. fall	20 p.c.	22 p.c.	3 p.c.	12 p.c.

Table II

IMPORTS OF COTTON MANUFACTURES INTO INDIA DURING 1930 AND 1931

	Grey piece-goods		White piece-goods		Coloured piece-goods		Twists and Yarns	
	British Rs.	Non-British Rs.	British Rs.	Non-British Rs.	British Rs.	Non-British Rs.	British Rs.	Non-British Rs.
Jan., 1930	1.45 lakhs	91 lakhs	1.05 lakhs	14 lakhs	67 lakhs	61 lakhs	22 lakhs	29 lakhs
" 1931	6.99	43	27	8	19	29	12	11
p. c. fall	95 p.c.	53 p.c.	74 p.c.	45 p.c.	71 p.c.	67 p.c.	44 p.c.	61 p.c.
Feb., 1930	95 lakhs	61 lakhs	1.02 lakhs	13 lakhs	80 lakhs	42 lakhs	19 lakhs	21 lakhs
" 1931	9	17	29	6	18	18	7	13
p. c. fall	91 p.c.	73 p.c.	72 p.c.	52 p.c.	77 p.c.	55 p.c.	64 p.c.	39 p.c.
March 1930	1.02 lakhs	69 lakhs	1.16 lakhs	18 lakhs	90 lakhs	52 lakhs	21 lakhs	17 lakhs
" 1931	4	35	39	11	27	16	11	17
p. c. fall	96 p.c.	50 p.c.	66 p.c.	42 p.c.	69 p.c.	69 p.c.	47 p.c.	30 p.c.
April, 1930	86 lakhs	61 lakhs	1.07 lakhs	15 lakhs	99 lakhs	53 lakhs	16 lakhs	17 lakhs
" 1931	14	35	38	12	25	15	13	20
p. c. fall	85 p.c.	42 p.c.	64 p.c.	15 p.c.	72 p.c.	56 p.c.	21 p.c.	14 p.c.*
May, 1930	59 lakhs	68 lakhs	85 lakhs	13 lakhs	67 lakhs	28 lakhs	18 lakhs	20 lakhs
" 1931	7	23	33	9	19	13	11	13
p. c. fall	88 p.c.	66 p.c.	61 p.c.	36 p.c.	72 p.c.	52 p.c.	9 p.c.	41 p.c.
June, 1930	24 lakhs	44 lakhs	61 lakhs	9 lakhs	47 lakhs	27 lakhs	15 lakhs	20 lakhs
" 1931	12	26	42	9	21	18	11	10
p. c. fall	49 p.c.	41 p.c.	31 p.c.	1 p.c.	54 p.c.	33 p.c.	29 p.c.	51 p.c.

* D notes an increase

Table

	Machinery and Mill work		Cigarettes		Electrical Instruments		Provisions	
	British	Non-British	British	Non-British	British	Non-British	British	Non-British
Jan., 1930	Rs. 1.11 lks.	Rs. 33 lks.	Rs. 23 lks.	Rs. 9 tns.	Rs. 21 lks.	Rs. 17 lks.	Rs. 23 lks.	Rs. 28 lks.
" 1931	Rs. 81 "	Rs. 27 "	Rs. 15 "	Rs. 81 "	Rs. 16 "	Rs. 14 "	Rs. 19 "	Rs. 21 "
p. c. fall	12 p. c.	19 p. c.	37 p. c.	800* p. c.	22 p. c.	18 p. c.	18 p. c.	25 p. c.
Feb., 1930	Rs. 1.02 lks.	Rs. 81 lks.	Rs. 19 lks.	Rs. 13 tns.	Rs. 14 lks.	Rs. 13 lks.	Rs. 16 lks.	Rs. 21 lks.
" 1931	Rs. 39 "	Rs. 36 "	Rs. 12 "	Rs. 45 "	Rs. 16 "	Rs. 12 "	Rs. 13 "	Rs. 25 "
p. c. fall	62 p. c.	63 p. c.	64 p. c.	246* p. c.	9* p. c.	2 p. c.	14 p. c.	19* p. c.
Mar., 1930	Rs. 1.31 lks.	Rs. 42 lks.	Rs. 22 lks.	Rs. 11 tns.	Rs. 24 lks.	Rs. 15 lks.	Rs. 18 lks.	Rs. 24 lks.
" 1931	Rs. 88 "	Rs. 34 "	Rs. 12 "	Rs. 73 "	Rs. 17 "	Rs. 15 "	Rs. 13 "	Rs. 21 "
p. c. fall	33 p. c.	19 p. c.	48 p. c.	564* p. c.	28 p. c.	2 p. c.	29 p. c.	15 p. c.
Apr., 1930	Rs. 1.24 lks.	Rs. 32 lks.	Rs. 15 lks.	Rs. 3 tns.	Rs. 17 lks.	Rs. 14 lks.	Rs. 16 lks.	Rs. 23 lks.
" 1931	Rs. 95 "	Rs. 16 "	Rs. 9 "	Rs. 97 "	Rs. 13 "	Rs. 11 "	Rs. 11 "	Rs. 18 "
p. c. fall	24 p. c.	19 p. c.	41 p. c.	3133* p. c.	25 p. c.	18 p. c.	30 p. c.	23 p. c.
May, 1930	Rs. 1.14 lks.	Rs. 31 lks.	Rs. 19 lks.	Rs. 15 tns.	Rs. 16 lks.	Rs. 12 lks.	Rs. 15 lks.	Rs. 24 lks.
" 1931	Rs. 51 "	Rs. 32 "	Rs. 5 "	Rs. 78 "	Rs. 11 "	Rs. 12 "	Rs. 10 "	Rs. 19 "
p. c. fall	33 p. c.	31* p. c.	56 p. c.	420* p. c.	32 p. c.	1* p. c.	31 p. c.	20 p. c.
June, 1930	Rs. 93 lks.	Rs. 32 lks.	Rs. 12 lks.	Rs. 16 tns.	Rs. 14 lks.	Rs. 12 lks.	Rs. 14 lks.	Rs. 21 lks.
" 1931	Rs. 67 "	Rs. 37 "	Rs. 8 "	Rs. 43 "	Rs. 12 "	Rs. 11 "	Rs. 11 "	Rs. 17 "
p. c. fall	27 p. c.	15* p. c.	36 p. c.	163* p. c.	14 p. c.	10 p. c.	21 p. c.	17 p. c.

* Denotes an increase.

Examinations Examined

By G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

WHEN the Emperor Antoninus Pius created the first public professorship at Athens, he unintentionally institutionalized one feature of instruction which has exacted rather a larger tribute of human energy than is its due. For, the practice came into being that the teacher who has to be paid out of the Imperial treasury should be selected from the whole number of candidates for the post by means of an examination. And the professors, having learnt how important examinations were to themselves, quickly passed them on to their students and yet education had gone on for some six hundred years or more in Greece without them, and it had been able to do its work well—as the results of the Socratic Age show

Then in medieval days an apprentice had to be tested before he was admitted into the trade guild. The first universities were nothing but guilds or unions of teachers and they adopted the guild method of technical tests and applied them to the prospective masters. They tested the ability of the teacher to *do* what he was henceforth to do. The modern examination has preserved almost every feature of the medieval save its object. It exists primarily to determine whether the student *knows* what it is conceived he *should* know. This change made it possible for the examination to take the form of written answers to written questions, the first written examinations in Europe having been given as it

seems, at Cambridge in the year 1702. Written examinations, having been invented, quickly commended themselves as an easily workable device which every teacher of no matter what subject, should apply early and often. The English educational system later became the outstanding example of an examination-ridden system. Those traditions have been carefully preserved in the British system of education in India, more especially so because of the need, as in old Athens, for selecting the best candidates available for the different posts. The institution of public examination for admission to Government service consequent on the Government of India Resolution of 1844, was followed in about 1857 by the creation of purely examining universities on the pattern of the University of London, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Now, as all educational experts, educational commissions and foreign visitors remark, there is urgent need for a reconsideration of the whole question of examinations with a view to reducing the evil results accruing therefrom.

EXAMINATIONS INDISPENSABLE AND JUSTIFIABLE

Much has been said in recent years against examinations. It is necessary to distinguish between the institution of examinations and the types of examinations now become traditional. That the present status and method of examinations need to be altered must be readily conceded, but the necessity of examinations cannot be disputed except by the unthinking, short-sighted agitator. Once it is recognized that examinations are valuable when intelligently used, time and thought will be devoted to devising acceptable types of tests, and discovering desirable ways of using them.

Valuable to Pupil and Teacher Final examinations and periodical tests, either oral or written, serve several useful and distinct purposes. Examinations are helpful in evaluating pupils' work and measuring their progress from time to time. This often motivates or stimulates pupils' learning.

Teachers need to know the results of their work; and their success or failure is often mirrored in the examination papers. Not only does the teacher thus have a means to judge the comprehension level of the pupils, but it gives the authorities a basis for estimating the efficacy of the teaching. In examining the attainment of a class under

his instruction, the teacher is often giving his own work a marking.

A skilful teacher could use examinations as a teaching device dissociated from testing and promotion. They would then reveal defective preparation, incorrect notions, misplaced emphasis, omitted content or improper presentation. Once detected, they can be corrected. Much is lost when teachers concentrate exclusively on the testing aspect of the function of examinations and ignore the diagnostic

Encourage Better Mastery. Examinations compel pupils to organize their knowledge and to carry over a considerable period the details of the subject they are pursuing. Left to themselves, or tested only at the end of each day, they would make very little permanent progress. The period of intense application preceding the examination represents the burning point of attention. The value of examinations as incentives for keeping in mind the work that has been pursued over an extended period, should be more seriously emphasized.

Much in Demand Several parties are interested in the results of examinations and therefore insist upon their necessity. The public demands this evaluation. The parents desire to know what their children are achieving. Employers demand definite standards of persons who go to them for employment. Marks, ranks, degrees and letters of recommendation are demanded by the world from teachers and school administrators. Further, the present system of promotional organization makes such measurement indispensable. Headmasters and inspectors need to estimate the work done in the school during the year. In fact, as pointed out earlier, the pupil himself is in need of examinations to register his progress, and to measure his achievement. Therefore the use of examinations cannot be abandoned in schools. They have a definite function.

In spite of adverse criticism, examinations persist probably because their values outweigh their manifest defects. Once their function is clearly understood it ought not to be difficult to improve examinations so that they might serve their purpose more effectively. In this article, however, attention is confined to determining what is worth while about examinations, and what are the defects to be overcome.

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

The conventional use of examinations and their forms are open to many criticisms. Only some of the more important are taken up for discussion here.

Uneven Distribution of Marks. There is always a wide variation in the distribution of marks in the different subjects of the same school, and among different teachers of the same subject or department. One teacher fails one-third of his students; another gives excellent marks to a third and then distributes the others almost equally among four divisions. Certain studies made showed that of two instructors in the same department, one gave none failure marks and the other gave none the mark of 'excellent.' There must have been, however, a few good and a few bad in each group.

Lacks Objectivity. There is no objectivity in the marking of the conventional examination papers. Especially so is it with the 'discussion' type. Several elements enter in rendering objectivity absolutely impossible. A test is said to be objective when practically the same scores or results are secured if the same test is given to the same group by different teachers, and if the marking is also done by them. "Awarding" marks is therefore the antipodes of true measurement. The investigations of Starch and Elliott in America show that teachers differ to a surprising degree in marking the same piece of work in terms of the ordinary percentage scale. A final examination fourth form English paper was marked by 142 teachers of English in as many schools; a final examination paper in geometry was marked by 118 teachers of mathematics; and a final examination paper in American history was marked by 70 history teachers. The marks given to the English paper varied from 50 to 94, the geometry paper from 28 to 92, and the history paper from 49 to 90. The passing mark in these cases was 75. It is interesting that the geometry paper should indicate the widest variation, for it is usually assumed that papers in mathematics can be marked with great exactness. Such variation is intrinsic to this type of examination, and is not peculiar to America. Anyone inclined to doubt this would do well to conduct an experimental study in essay-valuation such as was conducted not long ago in Mysore. Fifty teachers valued the essays of 23 pupils of form IV on a scale

of 20 points, with 10 p. c. as the pass minimum. The results were classified under the four groups (a) Failure—less than 55 p. c. (b) Just pass—between 25 and 49 p. c. and so on. It was found that 15 out of the 23 pupils had been placed in all the four classes and not a single essay had been placed in the same class by all the 50 teachers. 16 pupils had scored first class marks from some one or other of the teachers. And all the 23 had been made to fail by at least 3 of the 50 teachers. Teachers' marks are variable and inconsistent, first, because in marking pupils' work, they are not measuring the same skill or trait. Dr. Frederick Camp reports (in *School Review* XXV, p 697) that on enquiry, he found that class teachers take into consideration in marking "improvement," "ability," "purpose," "seriousness," "moral qualities," "interest in work," and "equipment." The same connotation could not be obtained from the word-statements of any two teachers as to what is measured, *i. e.*, their marks are distributed on a purely subjective basis and their standards are not uniform.

This but illustrates the present chaos resulting from the lack of standards in marking an ordinary examination paper. When this is multiplied by the variation in sets of examination questions, it becomes obvious that on the present basis of examinations it is absolutely impossible to compare one school with another, one class with another, or from month to month the same class with itself. The factors of health, fatigue, mental states, the place of the paper near the top or bottom of a bundle, all contribute to making evaluation dangerously subjective. If different persons, affected differently by all these elements, mark the papers, the personal equation appears still more prominently. Other points might be added, all indicating the need of objective standards. But it is unnecessary to dilate further on this matter.

Examinations not Thorough. The old type examinations are mere samplings. A student's familiarity with a subject is estimated by his ability to answer five or six questions. He may fail to answer this list of questions, but may fare creditably with another list. It is supposed that he should be prepared for anything which may come. Frequently questions are asked which only a minute technical interest suggests, and it is impossible for the pupil to be prepared for every thing

Again, the scenic performance by which the student's term work is valued may be taken on a day when he is much below par. Further, one man may mark neatness, handwriting, spelling, composition, memorized facts, constructive ability, all with the same care. Another may disregard everything but the substance of the thought. Very often a premium is placed upon quantity regardless of quality of thought, and the ready writer is able to conceal his ignorance under a multitude of words. Yet the school judges its pupils, and the students each other, and, worst of all themselves, by these very marks.

Consume much time Another important objection which has to be faced is that the ordinary examinations are not economical of time. The customary "discussion" tests take up an unjustifiable amount of class time, if the testing is to be frequent and extensive enough to provide a satisfactory estimate of the pupil's achievement in any single subject. And as for the teacher's side of the story—interminable and monotonous reading of papers consuming hours of precious time which could be devoted to many things more constructive and worth while.

These same results can now be secured with more exactness and through more economical means. Before describing the new types of tests, it may be worth while to indicate ways of improving the conventional examination. In doing so certain stock criticisms of written examinations are taken up for consideration.

Three Criticisms Examinations are accused of causing needless strain upon children resulting in such phenomena as cramming, cheating, and loss of sleep. As conducted in most places in India it cannot be denied that they have an unhealthy physical, moral and mental effect. There is altogether too much stress laid upon them, especially because they are too closely associated with promotions.

Conducive to Cramming. Cramming for examinations has come to be one of the characteristic features of student life. The indiscriminate memorizing of passages likely to be required in the examination is not an uncommon phenomenon. While questions in the lower classes are necessarily upon matters of fact, in the higher classes they should increasingly call for a knowledge of principles, rules, causes and effects, relations and correlations. The power to draw conclusions, state principles and to generalize

should be well developed in elementary and high school classes. No pains should be spared to discourage mental lethargy and to stimulate intellectual activity. Initiative, originality and independence, rather than a slavish, text-book mentality should be the goal of education.

Encouraging Cheating Dishonesty in examinations may be due to a sense of unfairness. The instructor must provide no grounds for reasonable objection. The blame for cheating must finally rest upon the teacher. In nearly every large group some pupils cheat unless restrained by fear, sense of honour, lack of opportunity, or remarkably high regard for the teacher. Respect for an instructor is most quickly developed when all sense the quality of fairness. It is undesirable to place children on their honour before they are able to recognize the wrong involved in this kind of stealing and the inherent beauty of independence and straightforwardness. There is no justification for tempting pupils by failure to supervise seating and other arrangements. However, it must be said that there is much need for a thorough study of the question as to whether the "honour system" as a cure for the evils of cheating in examinations, will prove ultimately and permanently successful, or whether it will in the end give rise to results worse than the initial evil.

Causes undue Strain The tension created in pupils' minds regarding examinations is largely due to the teachers. Threatening pupils with failure in examinations is cruel and unreasonable. The testing aspect need not unduly obtrude, and they should be dissociated, as far as possible, from the idea of promotion. It must be added that it is desirable to put off examinations till as late as possible, in the child's life and not increase the strain at the onset of adolescence. Further, whenever possible the tension of fixed requirements may be relieved by allowing an option, e. g., "Answer the first four questions and two or three of the others." The teacher who prefaces an examination with a good-natured, witty remark or an amusing story is often a wise practical psychologist. Nor should examinations transgress the fatigue limits set by nature. Too often at the end of the term, or of the year (when summer has begun) when pupils are not in the best physical condition a series of examina-

tions lasting for several days is given. There are stages in the development of our thinking, or in the acquiring of skill, or in our understanding of facts, which occur at irregular intervals and which call for a summing up of what has gone before in order that we may be sure of success in the work which is to follow. It is entirely possible to know of the achievements of children through examinations given at these irregular intervals throughout the year or term. One examination should not follow too closely upon another, and not more than one examination occupying two or three hours, should be given in one day. It would be ideal if only the regular class period could be made to suffice. One hour for each subject in the elementary school and two hours in the high school, may well be considered the maximum limits.

Unwholesome Influences on Class Instruction. Another criticism is that examinations exert an unwholesome influence on instruction. In one sense this is true. Matters such as ideals, attitudes and appreciations are difficult to examine, (though it must be said that they too are increasingly being tested by psychologists), whereas it is easily possible to measure knowledge, habits and skills. The consequence is that the former tend to be lost sight of in the class-room, being overwhelmed by the importance and weight of the latter. Attainment in the realm of the abstract is not less important or desirable than easily measurable factors, and yet because of their unimportance on the academic day of judgment, they tend to be badly neglected in everyday instruction. It is very much to

be hoped that with the more adequate conception of the value and function of education, teachers will be found who will work for the many fine things which cannot be recorded on the examination sheets.

The type of question asked in the examination influences class-room work. Poor questions, those which ask for useless abilities and facts and unimportant details lead to emphasis being placed upon results of the wrong kind. Usually examinations test memory for isolated facts, and consequently class instruction aims at fixing such facts. The drilling upon questions asked in different years, to the exclusion of other methods of instruction is not an unfamiliar feature of certain institutions. When the papers ask for useful knowledge and demand an adequate proportion of thinking, they are beyond criticism. If the ability to organize knowledge into coherent systems is to be encouraged, it is best to direct a few questions towards that end. If knowledge is to become applicable to the needs of life, it must be presented in a manner that will bring out its practical and social values. The only practicable method of applying this principle to the formal examination is to construct ideal situations, and ask the pupil to apply his knowledge to their solution. He would then show his mastery of the facts involved by organizing them in such a way to solve his problem. The test is then more like the demands which life makes. If the examination could thus be remodelled, instruction would necessarily be modified to meet the new demands and that would be a consummation devoutly to be wished.



The Wars of Rival Generals Continue in China

By AGNES SMEDLEY

THE new Chinese Government in Canton, which has taken the name of the "Chinese National Government—the central and the highest authority in China," was established on May 28, following the Southern revolt against Chiang Kai-shek which began on April 29. On that date the military commander in Kwangtung, supported by civilian leaders—some of them escaping from Nanking—drove out all Chiang Kai-shek supporters and established an emergency revolutionary committee. At first it was not intended to establish a government rival to that in Nanking but only to force General Chiang Kai-shek to resign. At first also, it bore a strong provincial character—Kwangtung against Chekiang, General Chiang being a man from Chekiang and his strongest civilian opponent, Hu Han-min being from Kwangtung.

This revolt was the culmination of a conflict that has gone on for years, as General Chiang has eliminated one social grouping or one Kuomintang faction after another from all power or rights in China. The final blow in this process was struck on February 28 when he personally arrested and imprisoned Hu Han-min, President of the Legislative Council, member of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang in Nanking, and the strongest civilian Kuomintang leader left in power in China. This arrest is about the same as it would be in Europe if the Commander-in-Chief arrested the President of the Reichstag or Parliament and held him prisoner. This arrest was the final blow of a military dictator in a long drawn out struggle for power over the Government, army, party, and the country's finances. It meant the temporary victory of a reactionary militarist over a reactionary civilian leader. It was an inevitable conflict of reactionary nationalists to both of whom the masses meant nothing but a source of revenue and exploitation. Personal power and private gain, and nothing higher, were the principles at stake.

The revolt was not, and still is not, so much a movement against the Nanking

Government as such: the leaders of the Southern Government maintain that it is a movement against General Chiang Kai-shek who is accused of using the former Government as a personal tool to guarantee his dictatorship. The leaders of the new Southern Government speak always not of an anti-Nanking, but of an anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement. Consequently, to the new Government have come some of the highest officials in the Nanking Government and the Nanking Kuomintang, among them being Mr. Sun Fo, son of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who has been Minister of Railways and member of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang; likewise members of the very conservative Western Hills Clique; all the followers of Hu Han-min and Sun Fo; the Left Kuomintang headed by Wang Ching-wei; and Mr. Eugene Chen—who needs no introduction—formerly Foreign Minister in the Hankow Revolutionary Government in 1926-27.

Many old Kuomintang statesmen lined up with the South, Generals Feng Yu-shiang and Yen Shih-shan of the North sent official representatives to participate in the new Government; General Tang Shen-chi, formerly military commander of Hunan and Hupeh provinces during the Hankow regime, and the Kwangsi generals headed by General Pei Chung-hsi, Li Chung-jen, and the Leftist Chang Fa-kwei, Commander of the Ironsides, all went to Canton in person.

On May 25 the assembled leaders issued an ultimatum giving General Chiang Kai-shek forty-eight hours in which to resign, and when General Chiang rattled his sabre in reply, the new Chinese National Government was founded for the purpose of starting a Northern expedition to overthrow him. Abroad, the movement had repercussions in the resignation of Dr. C. C. Wu as Chinese Minister to the United States, who refused to ship more arms and ammunition to General Chiang Kai-shek. The noted Chinese statesman, Tong Shao-yi, addressed a note to President Hoover of the United States, informing him that he, Mr. Tong, has taken active sides in Chinese civil wars but three

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EDUCATIONAL OBSESSIONS

The conventional use of examinations and their forms are open to many criticisms. Only some of the more important are taken up for discussion here.

Uneven Distribution of Marks. There is always a wide variation in the distribution of marks in the different subjects of the same school, and among different teachers of the same subject or department. One teacher fails one-third of his students, another gives excellent marks to a third and then distributes the others almost equally among four divisions. Certain studies made showed that of two instructors in the same department, one gave none failure marks and the other gave none the mark of 'excellent.' There must have been, however, a few good and a few bad in each group.

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The revolt was not, and still is not, so much a movement against the Nanking

Government as such: the leaders of the Southern Government maintain that it is a movement against General Chiang Kai-shek who is accused of using the former Government as a personal tool to guarantee his dictatorship. The leaders of the new Southern Government speak always not of an anti-Nanking, but of an anti-Chiang Kai-shek movement. Consequently, to the new Government have come some of the highest officials in the Nanking Government and the Nanking Kuomintang, among them being Mr. Sun Fo, son of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who has been Minister of Railways and member of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang, likewise members of the very conservative Western Hills Clique: all the followers of Hu Han-min and Sun Fo: the Left Kuomintang headed by Wang Chung-wei: and Mr. Eugene Chen—who needs no introduction—formerly Foreign Minister in the Hankow Revolutionary Government in 1926-27.

Many old Kuomintang statesmen lived up with the South, Generals Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Shihshan of the North sent official representatives to participate in the new Government; General Tang Shen-chi, formerly military commander of Hunan and Hupeh provinces during the Hankow regime, and the Kwangsi generals headed by General Pei Chung-hsi, Li Chung-shan, and the Leftist Chang Fa-kwei, Commander of the Ironsides, all went to Canton in person.

On May 25 the assembled leaders issued an ultimatum giving General Chiang Kai-shek forty-eight hours in which to resign, and when General Chiang rattled his sabre in reply, the new Chinese National Government was founded for the purpose of starting a Northern expedition to overthrow him. Abroad, the movement had repercussions in the resignation of Dr. C. C. Wu as Chinese Minister to the United States, who refused to ship more arms and ammunition to General Chiang Kai-shek. The noted Chinese statesman, Tong Shao-yi, addressed a note to President Hoover of the United States, informing him that he, Mr. Tong, has taken active sides in Chinese civil wars but three

times over for the overthrow of the Kuomintang. It is the force of the overthrow of the Kuomintang and for the overthrow of the Kuomintang. Mr. Eugene Chen, elected Foreign Minister of the New Government, issued a series of statements in which he said that the purpose of the new Government was to build a modern, democratic state and overthrow the mediaeval creation of Chiang Kai-shek who regards China as the private property of himself and his family. General Chiang accused Mr. Chen of having been connected with Soviet Russia, and Mr. Chen aptly replied that "had it not been for Soviet support, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek would today still be an insignificant speculator on the Shanghai Stock Exchange." A high Nanking official called Canton "a heap of garbage" and Mr. Sun Fo declared that this official was an "unprincipled ruffian." Then the Nanking Kuomintang attacked Eugene Chen on the ground of colour—accusing him of having been married to a Negro woman. Eugene Chen's first wife was a woman of colour and his child is, of course, part Chinese, part Negro. The Nanking Kuomintang even attacked his daughter on this personal issue. The same colour prejudice of imperialist Powers against all Asiatics and Africans was duplicated in a vicious manner in the Chinese Kuomintang.

As regards the organization of the new Southern Government, so far it is very simple. There is a State Council of 16 members which has a standing committee of 5 to 7 members. Under the Council is a Military Committee, a Political Committee, and two ministries—Foreign Affairs and Finance. The Political Committee acts as a civilian administrative bureau taking care of all affairs ordinarily falling under other ministries—Education, Communications, Internal Affairs. The Military Committee consist of 6 Kwangsi generals, 7 Kwangtung generals, aviation heads, and representatives of Northern and other provincial military men. There are large secretarial bodies. The provincial and city governments of the two Kwang provinces have also been completely reorganized.

The most powerful civilian group in the new governments—national, provincial, and municipal—is the Hu Han-min group, the head of which is Mr. Kuo Ying-feng, recently from Nanking Kuomintang headquarters. Mr. Sun Fo is perhaps the next most

powerful civilian leader. General Chen Chi-tung, former Commander of the 8th Route Army (Kwangtung) seems at present the most powerful military man—quantitatively. The avowed policy of the Kwangsi generals, and of their present recognized political leader—to Mr. Wang Ching-wei, the Leftist—is to demand no position in the new Government and to subordinate all political differences to the one aim of a united political and military front against General Chiang. Politically, there seems unity on this issue. Militarily, however, there is a constant underground rumble of a conflict of power and policy between powerful Kwangsi generals and the Kwangtung generals; of the latter the most powerful is General Chen Chi-tung, who makes up for his lack of size and vision by a Napoleonic ambition, as great as that of Chiang Kai-shek.

Financially, the new Government claims a monthly income of ten million Canton dollars, this sum coming from customs, land and business taxes, etc. The new Government has also floated a loan of \$10,000,000, and the poor Kwangsi province has floated a loan for \$1,000,000. Heavy taxes are being imposed on peasants and on business men, and new internal loans are to be floated. There is underground talk of a possible loan or of credit from a friendly Power—perhaps Japan, who, with France, is maintaining an attitude of distinct "friendly benevolence" to the new Government. Some Southern men state that America and England are supporting Nanking by more than "friendly benevolence", and Nanking supporters declare that Japan and France are helping the South. "Help" in China, however, depends upon the hard cash at stake, and for every word of "advice" or every other form of support given either to the Nanking or the Canton Governments by the imperialist Powers a 500 per cent return is expected or exacted in one form or other. Business men of the foreign nations are selling arms and ammunition to both sides, and while Great Britain, for one, recognizes Nanking, arms and ammunition are being sold through British Hongkong to Canton.

When asked about their foreign and domestic policies, various leaders of the new Government replied in terms which show little difference from Nanking always confining themselves to the final statement that this revolt is a Kuomintang movement.

against a one-man rule. They emphasize continued technical co-operation with the League of Nations, and do not seem to stress extra-territoriality issues, declaring that extraterritoriality will go by itself, whereas the domestic problems of China are desperate and must be settled first. It is possible that the South will soon ask the foreign Powers to withdraw recognition from Nanking and recognize the new Government. Regarding domestic policies, on the chief and fundamental problems, these differ little from Nanking, except on the one issue of the unity and reconstituted power of the Kuomintang. But even optimistic official figures show that the Kuomintang has a total membership of but a little over 130,000, concentrated chiefly in four provinces, whereas the population of China is nearly 500,000,000. On the fundamental policies of the peasants and workers, there is no difference from Nanking. The only difference in their treatment of Communists is that they shoot them in Canton whereas in Shanghai, Hankow, and Nanking, they chop off their heads or bury them alive. Mr. Eugene Chen told me that a revival of the mass movement would split the Southern Government, and Mr. Wang Ching-Wei recently wrote an article saying that there was no need of changing the labour policy pursued up to this date. Yet, in an interview with me, Mr. Sun Fo recalled the great popular movement of five years ago which, he said, had a programme that had the respect and full support of the people. Today, however, the domestic policy of the South is confined to other issues: on July 1 it passed a new local self-government law granting political rights to the people, presumably without distinction of sex, education, or property. Such things mean nothing to starving people nor can the forthcoming People's Convention on November 12 in which "all people, and not merely Kuomintang or Government's appointees or delegates shall take part." Mr. Wang Ching-wei spoke to me of new land and labour legislation, and of his plan to introduce agricultural credit banks on the Danish system, as well as co-operative societies in all territory now or later under the control of the new Government. On July 1 also the Southern Government announced the introduction of the first national budget and the first public accounting of income and expenditure. They have set October 10 as the date of the 4th Kuomintang Congress under their auspices. On the question of

the vast opium traffic, Canton accuses Nanking of drugging the people, and Nanking accuses Canton of the same. Both are right. Each accuses the other of being Reds or co-operating with the Reds. And both are wrong. The opium and the Red charges are made with the ear to the ground for uninformed foreign opinion abroad. For Chinese public opinion there are rigid conscription laws and, finally, the gun or the executioner's knife.

No forecast can be made as to the future of this desperate and miserable Chinese situation. General Chiang Kai-shek nominally commands a vast army eight to ten times the strength of that of the South, whose total military strength at present is 100,000 armed men. Canton, however, has the best air force in China and the best Chinese fliers and the sympathy of certain Northern generals. It is true that General Chiang has little moral support and that his own subordinate commanders are kept loyal through the payment of large sums of money. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang who ostensibly guards General Chiang's rear by sitting in Peking, was never anything but a military force. Often it looks as if there may be local fighting in the North between Marshal Chang and Northern generals sympathetic with Canton; and it looks as if there may be local but swift fighting in the South when the Kwangsi generals under Pei Chung-hai try to take over unified military control of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, preliminary to a united policy against General Chiang. It is important that these Kwangsi generals accept Wang Ching-Wei as their political head. Publicly, however, they deny this, and assert that the most harmonious unity prevails. A Leftist politician in Canton said to me: "If we are overthrown, we will only continue our struggle, for China will not tolerate a dictator." A Kwangsi representative also said to me, "If we are victorious, and factional fights within the Party continue, we realize that it is the end of the Kuomintang for ever. We must unite or die." And a follower of Sun Fo told me that Chiang Kai-shek is but a temporary danger to the Kuomintang, whereas the Communists are a permanent enemy.

They are all social reactionary forces, inside or outside the Kuomintang.

Canton July 4 1931

IN considering the work of the Zoological Survey of India one has to start about the beginning of the nineteenth century when the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was established on a nucleus of collections of all types of curios, antiquities and specimens of animals and plants, etc sent from different parts of India by members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal either for information or record. Curiously enough, though the archaeological material predominated in the beginning, it was not long before the Natural History section, consisting mainly of animals from different parts of India, grew so large that the museum became mainly a museum of Zoology, and it became necessary to have a trained zoologist to look after and maintain the collection. In the earlier days, Dr. McClelland, a distinguished scientist of Calcutta, acted as the curator, but later Dr. Blyth was specially recruited from London not only for the maintenance of the museum but also for working out and reporting on the collections received. It will thus be seen that from very early times the question of research on the little known Indian fauna became intimately connected with that of preservation and display of the faunistic material. Later, with the establishment of the national Indian Museum and the transference of the Asiatic Society's collections to the present building of the Indian Museum in 1875, other sections such as the Geological and the Economic came into existence, but the Zoological and Archaeological exhibits formed the main and the most interesting part of the collection of the Indian Museum.

Ever since the foundation of the Indian Museum the activities of the curators and other scientific staff of the zoological section have been directed along two distinct lines: (1) the proper preservation of the national collections and display of suitable examples in the public galleries for the education of the public, and (2) the carrying out of a systematic survey of the fauna and the publication of the results of research in the form of monographs and catalogues before

1907, and, subsequently, in the form of zoological journals, *viz.*, the *Records* and the *Memoirs of the Indian Museum*. It will be admitted that the basis of all work of economic importance in connection with natural phenomena is pure scientific research, and this has had to be the basis of all scientific departments, but it cannot be ignored that the work of the Natural History section of the Indian Museum has also been directed towards the investigation of special problems which have an economic significance in public health and other matters where animals play an important rôle in the life of a country and its inhabitants. To cite only a few examples, we will consider the work of the Indian Museum in connection with (1) plague prevention, (2) mosquito and malaria work, (3) investigation of the blood-fluke disease or schistosomiasis, (4) fishery problems and (5) agricultural entomology.

In reference to the plague prevention it may be noted that with the spread of bubonic plague in India it was soon realized that one of the important factors in the spread of this disease was the occurrence of distinct species of rats which harbour a flea, which in its turn acts as the carrier of the germ that causes plague. It was also established pretty early during the investigations that only certain species of rats act as hosts of the plague flea. The Zoological and Anthropological section of the Indian Museum, which was the predecessor of the Zoological Survey of India, immediately initiated intensive studies on a large number of species of rats and particularly on the races of rats responsible for the spread of the plague in the country. The results of these investigations were published in the *Records* and the *Memoirs of the Indian Museum* as early as 1909.

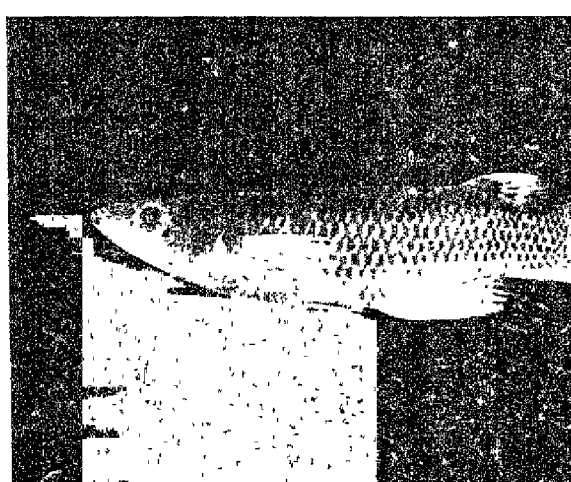
The monumental discovery of Sir Ronald Ross that the anopheline mosquito is the carrier of the malarial parasite, opened new lines of research and investigation all over the world from both the medical and the sanitary points of view. Though the

THE ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

earlier part of Sir Ronald Ross's work was carried out in his laboratory in the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta, further work on anopheline mosquitoes which act as carriers of the parasite in India was undertaken in the laboratories of the Indian Museum by Col. Adie and Col. Alcock, and investigations were immediately set on foot in the Zoological section of the Indian Museum for getting a thorough acquaintance with the mosquito fauna of India as a whole. At the same time the Zoological Department of the Indian Museum can claim to be almost the pioneer institution which started mosquito survey and malaria work such as were carried out in the city of Calcutta from 1909-1912, and the published work of the scientific staff directly connected with the Zoological section of the Indian Museum on the mosquito and other dipterous insects of economic importance forms the basis of our knowledge regarding them in this part of the world. Reference may also be made to the very careful and elaborate work on the rôle of fishes of proved utility as mosquito destroyers, which was carried out by two of the officers, Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Susell and the late Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri, of the Indian Museum. This has been recognized as the most detailed work of its kind, and measures for the control of malaria in almost all parts of the world now include the introduction of larvicidal fishes for the destruction of mosquito larvae which live in ponds, pools, ditches, etc. Further work on the same lines is being carried out by the Insect section of the Zoological Survey of India in order to ascertain the utility of other forms of life as mosquito destroyers.

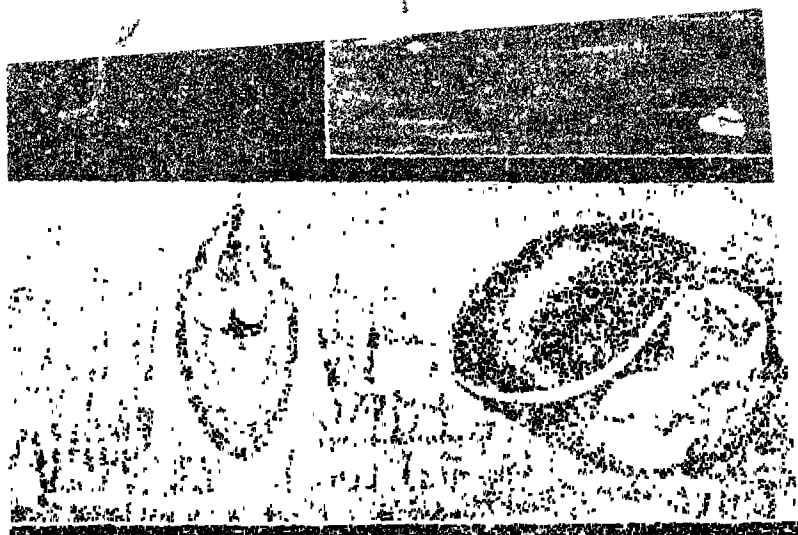
Early in 1918 it was found that large numbers of wounded and sick soldiers and others returning from the Eastern Front to India, had become infected with the blood-fluke, the causative agent of the disease called schistosomiasis, while they were on duty in Mesopotamia, Egypt, etc. The public health authorities in India naturally grew anxious that it might result in the intro-

duction of another new and fatal disease in this country, in the same way as the bubonic plague had been introduced about thirty years earlier. The health authorities, in view of the fact that certain fresh-water molluscs are intermediate hosts of the blood-fluke, proposed to adopt measures for the destruction of fresh-water snails in parts of India where British soldiers from the Eastern Front were stationed, and to establish quarantine stations for checking the spread of the



Panchax—the fresh-water fish that feeds on mosquito larvae.

initiating these preventive measures. It had, however, ignored the fact that certain species of molluscs act as intermediate hosts of the blood-fluke, and it was not until 1918 that the Zoological Survey of India offered to make a thorough survey of the Trematode fauna and their intermediate hosts in the country. Detailed systematic investigations and experiments were carried out to obtain information about the parasites of the blood-fluke by the different species of Indian molluscs and to determine which of these can possibly act as definitive hosts of the larval forms of the blood-fluke which causes Schistosomiasis. The work was very careful and extended in scope, and beyond doubt that there was no doubt of the blood-fluke taking a foothold in the country, or of any of the Indian molluscs acting as its hosts. The Zoological Survey of India, by the public health authorities, is now carrying out a mollusc survey of



Life Cycle of a Blood-fluke (*Schistosoma*)

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The Zoological Survey of India and its predecessor, the Zoological and Anthropological section of the Indian Museum, have been consulted on various occasions by provincial governments and other bodies interested in fishery problems.

A passing reference might also be made here to the investigations that have also been instituted and carried out on the various factors which control the life of fishes, and the sudden mortalities which occur in certain areas at definite seasons in the year. The results of these investigations lay stress on the complexity of factors which govern the life of fishes and their economic bearing on problems of Pisciculture.

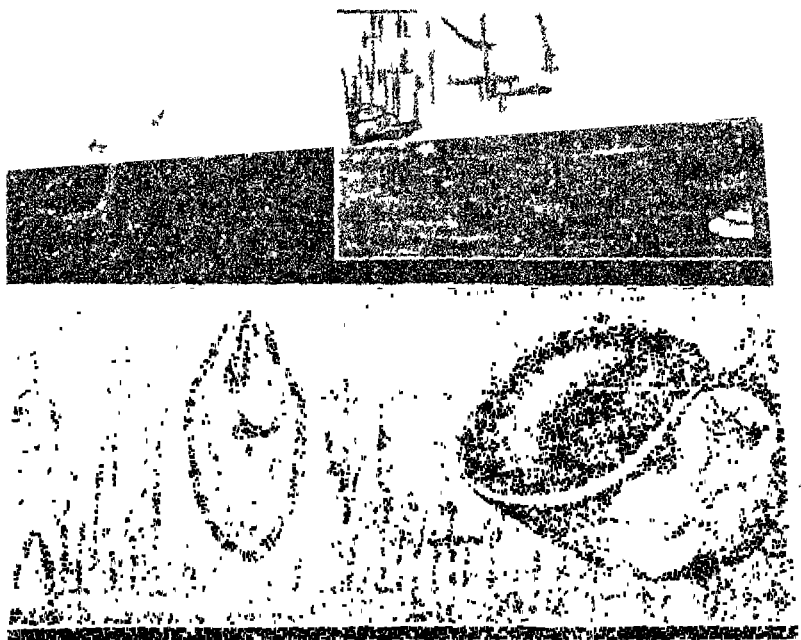
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Since the inauguration of the Zoological Survey in 1916 on the lines of its sister departments, the Geological and the Botanical Surveys, a great deal of survey work has been carried out in India and Burma, the results of which are embodied in several volumes of the *Records* and the *Memoirs of the Indian Museum*, but there is still a large proportion of the material collected in the hands of specialists in this country and abroad, waiting to be studied and reported on, as the number of specialists on the scientific staff of the Zoological Survey is too small to deal with the entire material. Apart from preliminary regional surveys of

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Next in importance to the survey work is the assistance which the department gives to all institutions, Government or private, and to individuals in getting collections of animals identified for them by specialists in this country and abroad. It is a fact that no scientific research or economic work is possible without a knowledge of the systematic position of an organism in the animal kingdom. For example when mosquitoes become pests in a certain area it is useless to spend money on their eradication without knowing to which species they belong, for every species of mosquito does not transmit malaria. The assistance, which the systematist alone can give in this matter, is always ungrudgingly given.

The very large representative and authentically named reserve collections of animals belonging to various groups present in the Zoological Survey, the value of which is to be estimated in crores of rupees, constitute the real asset of the country.



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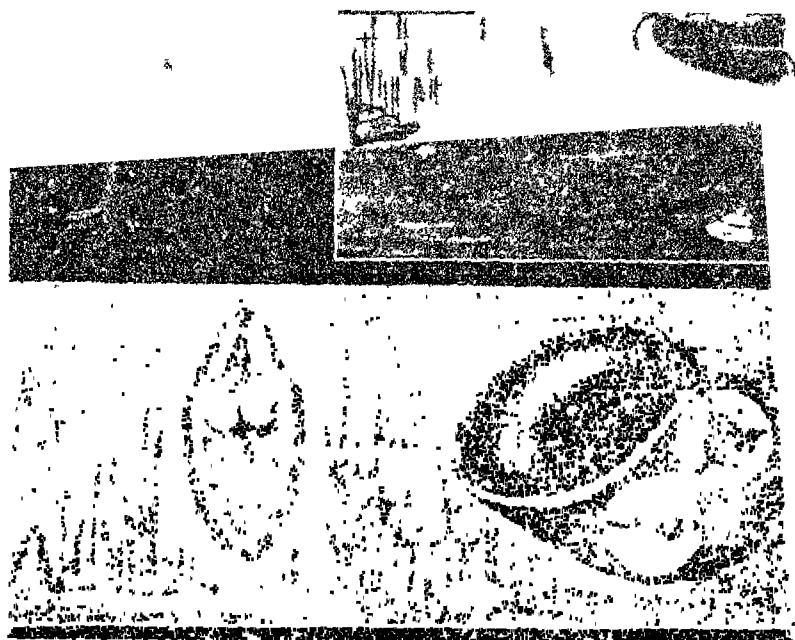
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The very large representative and authentically named reserve collections of animals belonging to various groups present in the Zoological Survey, the value of which is to be estimated in crores of rupees, constitute the real asset of the country.

the pioneer zoologists in India.

In recent years the Zoological Survey has attracted a number of post-graduate students and research workers both in this country and from abroad. Subject to the limitations of space research workers have been accommodated in the laboratories of the Zoological Survey and given every facility to consult literature and examine the reserve collections for periods varying from a few weeks to a year. Zoological research outside Calcutta had been handicapped in the past for want of a suitable library of Zoological literature, but with the liberal facilities that have been provided by the present Director and his predecessor, the late Dr N. Annandale, to recognized research workers all over India in the matter of sending out books and journals, at the risk of causing temporary inconvenience to the scientific staff of the Zoological Survey in Calcutta, there has been considerable progress in Zoological research in all parts of the country. An up-to-date growing library is the *sine qua non* of research in any subject, and in so far as Zoology is concerned the library of the Zoological Survey is the best equipped and most up-to-date in India, and is perhaps one of the largest in the East. With the cessation of research work and consequently of the *Records* and the *Memoirs* of the Indian Museum, the library is bound to diminish in size and importance as publications from other countries in exchange for the museum publications will automatically cease, and all contacts with the rest of the world, which are so essential for progress, will irretrievably be lost to the country.

The series of popular illustrated lectures given by the staff of the Museum and others on various scientific subjects served hitherto as a link between the Museum and the lay public interested in the advancement of science, but with the abolition of this series of lectures as a false measure of economy, the public have been deprived of yet another opportunity for better education and cultural contact.

The anthropological collections in the Indian Museum consisting of very important and rare objects illustrating the life and habits of the primitive tribes of India and human remains of great antiquity or ginal y

the Anthropological collections were in it but ceased to bear a special officer in charge of the collection as a result of which not only no study of the different races and of this country could be undertaken even the scientific classification and display of the ethnographical the gallery was not possible engagement of foreign experts like Meerworth of the Imperial Ethnological Museum of Petrograd in 1917 was done and the collection considerably as a consequence.

The importance of a well equipped Anthropological section for scientific as well as its great value to the public was urged upon the Government by Mr. Anderson, F. R. S., Superintendent of the Indian Museum, even as early as 1903. The special significance of Anthropological research in this country was brought to the notice of the Government by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Britain and Ireland in their letter to the Secretary of State for India dated April 1913, and in 1914 the Government recommended the appointment of an Anthropologist to take charge of the collections of the Indian Museum.



The Bayana Skull—the oldest human in India. It was unearthed by Mr. V. S. S. near Agra from 10 ft. below the level of the bed of the river.

the matter did not proceed any further till 1920 when Dr. Annandale as Secretary to the Trustees again urged the importance of the appointment of an Anthropologist. The Government gave its approval, but acute financial difficulty prevented them from giving practical effect to Dr. Annandale's proposal. The matter was taken up by Lt.-Col. Sewell in 1925 with the support of the Trustees, after his appointment as Director of the Zoological Survey, and in 1927 Dr. B. S. Guha was appointed to take charge of the collections.

The value of Anthropological researches both from the administrative and scientific points of view, though widely recognized in all Western countries and Japan, is very dimly understood here. It is a truism that for the efficiency and good government the social and religious institutions of the people have to be first understood. Anthropology which has for its aim an unbiased and scientific study of the customs and traditions of all people, is alone able to supply this knowledge. Among modern countries, therefore, where governments have to deal with diverse races and institutions, very great emphasis is laid on systematic Anthropological investigation. For example, in the United States of America, whose population is made up of the immigrants from the various countries of Europe, the descendants of the Negro slaves from West Africa and a large number of aboriginal Red Indian tribes, universities and Government throughout the country have opened up facilities for Anthropological research and this is undoubtedly helping in the slow but gradual unification of the different racial elements with their mutually clashing interests. The same has been true of Canada and Australia where racial problems are to a larger extent similar. France, which has a large colonial empire, is one of the pioneer countries in Anthropological research, and the value that is attached to it by the State can be understood from the fact that in connection with the forthcoming Colonial Exhibition in Paris, it has been announced that an extraordinary session of the Institut Internationale d'Anthropologie will be held on September 20-27 to be presided over by M. Paul Dummer, President of the Republic and Marshall Lyautey. India with her 350 million people not only contains a large number of primitive tribes and races numbering not less than ten millions who

still follow their tribal organizations, but the civilized inhabitants can also be divided into distinct ethnic and linguistic zones, who at the present state of affairs cannot be forcibly amalgamated into a homogeneous body without causing serious disruptions. "Differences of caste, of race, of religion and of culture," as has been rightly remarked, "will have to be bridged," and this can only be done by the evolution of that mentality which is based on a proper and unbiased study of the institutions of the various peoples forming the population of this country.

The work undertaken by the Anthropological section has been twofold, namely, (1) systematic investigation of the life and habits of the aboriginal tribes and (2) the racial characters of India's prehistoric inhabitants.

(1) It is an unfortunate fact that as a result of the encroachment of civilization, a large number of the primitive tribes of this country are fast disappearing, e. g. the Andamanese, the Veddahs, the Todas, the Kaders, etc. The Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress held in Calcutta in 1928 called the attention of the Government of India to this serious matter and urged that steps should be taken for the immediate appointment of a committee consisting of practical administrators and anthropologists to enquire into the causes of the rapid depopulation of Indian aborigines, on the lines of the Committee appointed in Melanesia. In view of this deplorable happening the tribes that are fast declining were first of all selected for investigation, as otherwise no record of their social institutions and somatic character would be kept before they had completely disappeared. A systematic survey of the Kaders in the extreme interior of the Cochin Hills was undertaken in 1928 and in the summer of 1929 a scientific expedition (in close co-operation with the Institution of Human Cultures of Norway) penetrated the difficult country of the Kaffirs of the Hindukush mountains. As a result of the first work the remnants of a genuine Negrito population (hitherto unsuspected) were discovered by Dr. Hahn among the Aborigines of the Cochin Hills.

The Kaffirs of the Hindukush mountains are of special interest to Indians owing to their close linguistic and cultural affinities with the Indo-Aryans of the Vedic times. Due to the gradual absorption by Islam very little is left of the Kaffir culture and religion.



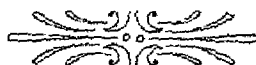
Negrito from the extreme interior of the Cochin Hills

no exaggeration to say that within of five or ten years hardly any of their institutions will be left. It is, therefore, very important that a complete record of that is left of Kafir culture and should be obtained by Dr. Guha's expedition. Similarly in different parts of India there are other tribes

either dying out or in a backward state. Unless advanced scientific and systematic investigation of their tribal customs can be undertaken immediately, a great amount of valuable data will for ever be lost to science.

(2) The entire collection of human remains unearthed by the Archaeological Survey at Aditanallur, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Taxilla and other ancient sites in India has been entrusted to the Anthropological section for their proper preservation and study. When the comparative study of these priceless documents would be completed, a great amount of accurate information will be forthcoming on the racial composition of the ancient population of India. In order to be able to compare the conclusions reached from the above study, with the somatic characters of the present population, an important anthropometrical survey is being carried out now in co-operation with the Census Department in strategic centres of India, and the probable routes of migration of people in different parts of the country are also being traced. From the point of purely scientific knowledge this would be a work of very great importance as furnishing a connected racial history of India from the very earliest times.

The section has also been active in training advanced students from different parts of India, such as, Srinagar, Jaypore, Madras, Vizagapatam and the Andamans. One of the research students has been lately appointed in the Bose Institute of Calcutta. The collections are open to special workers for study, and the students studying Anthropology in the Calcutta University utilize them regularly.





in the River Kistna where
ter Medusae occur



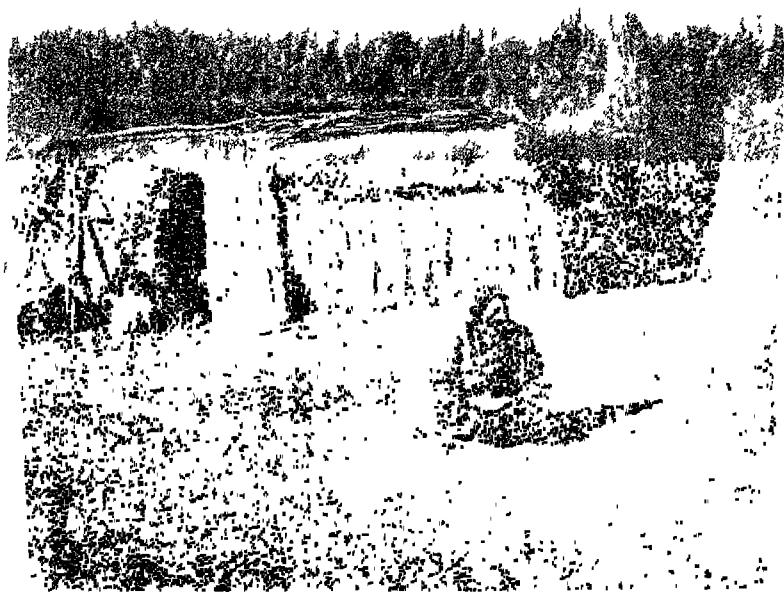
Hauling up a trawl on
R. I. M. S. "Investig"



Salone Encampment in Mergu Archipelago



Veracruzan in the Cochin Hills, showing the camp of
Dr B. S. Guha, where he studied the Nearctic



Native huts in Seistan, Persia--Area visited in 1913 in connection
Enquiry on blood-fluke disease



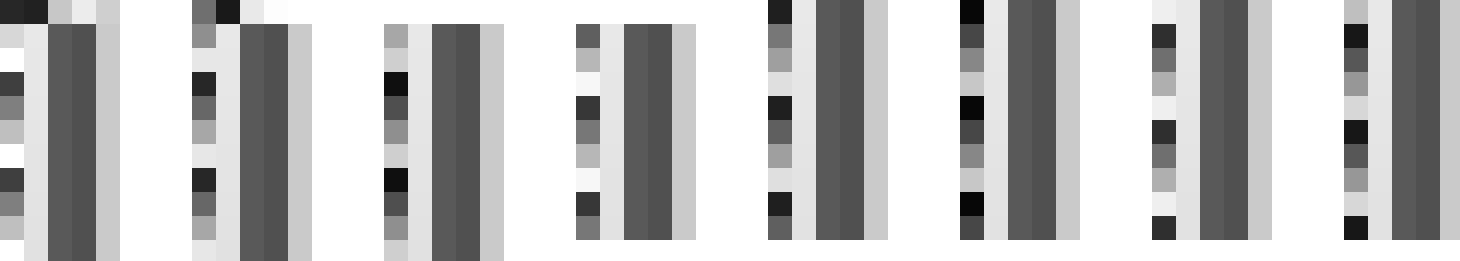
Coral Reefs on the Bay of Bengal
 Anthropological Research in Kaffiristan



A Red Kaffir Headman and Priest



A Red Kaffir Family





A Black Kaffir Group



A Red Kaffir



A Red Kaffir Dance



The Dance

Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Adler

Dr. Felix Adler recently published an article entitled "An Evaluation of Gandhi," which attracted considerable public attention in America. In this article Dr. Adler rather deprecated Mahatma Gandhi's greatness and significance. Dr. Sunderland has, therefore, given a systematic rejoinder to it in *The Republican* of Springfield (Mass.). After stating that it would probably be difficult to find among eminent living men two minds further apart in their whole structure, mode of thinking and philosophy of life than the mind of Dr. Adler and that of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Sunderland says:

Dr. Adler claims that really great men as a rule decide upon their life purpose and aim early, whereas Gandhi, in early life, was "changeable," "suggestible," did not frame for himself a philosophy of life or choose his life mission until late—until the age of about 27. But is 27 late? Is not the fact that he did not decide earlier really praiseworthy? Does it not show open-mindedness on his part, thoroughness, care, desire to see things from all sides before deciding? Jesus did not enter upon his life work until 30. Many of the greatest men of history have not found themselves" or set out upon any distinct life purpose until much later than did Gandhi.

Dr. Adler criticizes Gandhi as "inconsistent" in supporting Great Britain as long as he did in her wars. I am disposed to think that this criticism is not without justice. But was it not at least a noble inconsistency, and one for which the British, if no others should respect and honour him? It was caused by his great love for Britain, his faith in her justice, and his persistent belief that in her great struggle of 1914-1918, she was really fighting, as she professed, for the freedom of all peoples, and that if successful, she would keep her promise of giving freedom to India.

It was not until he found Britain deliberately breaking her promise to India, condoning the atrocious Amritsar massacre, and visiting upon the Indian people tyrannies among the most severe and brutal they had ever known, that with sadness unspeakable he found himself driven to the necessity of fighting her, not however, with hate or weapons of blood, but in a war the noblest (on India's part) that the world has ever seen, whose sole weapons were appeals to reason and justice, and almost unbelievably heroic self-sacrifice and suffering.

Dr. Adler thinks Gandhi is also inconsistent in "sanctioning caste." But what are the facts? They are that he does not sanction caste as it

exists today. He says he does not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and a handicap of progress. As a fact, he is the most outspoken, unflinching and powerful opponent of it to be found in all India. He has actually adopted an "untouchable" child into his family. At great political gatherings—those of the Indian National Congress and others—he actually goes and takes his seat with the "untouchables" or "outcasts."

Just what is his view of caste? It is that caste in itself ought not to be and need not be an evil, and was not originally. In its root idea it is simply an arrangement whereby different classes associate together, not to injure other classes, but for mutual benefit, somewhat like the trade guilds and socio-religious guilds of Europe in the Middle Ages, and the trades unions, Masons, etc., of today. It is only caste as thus conceived, and not as it exists at the present time, that Gandhi sanctions. He contends that while caste need not be abolished, it absolutely must be reformed and purged of the terrible evils connected with it at the present time. For this, he is fighting with all his might and with an effectiveness that is amazing.

Dr. Adler thinks Gandhi's psychology is superficial; that he does not understand India and is poorly equipped for Indian leadership. To say the least, this is a surprising judgment. If Gandhi does not understand India, who does? If he is not fitted to lead India, who is? Is it not because his psychological understanding of the Indian people is so extraordinarily keen and profound, is it not because he understands the Indian mind through and through that he is able to stir and move all classes—the unlettered masses in the villages and the intelligentsia, in the cities—as no man has ever moved them before? Could a man with a superficial understanding of American psychology, ignorant of America and unequipped for American leadership, exert such a powerful influence and accomplish such extraordinary results here, as we see in connection with Gandhi in India?

Dr. Adler regards Gandhi as religiously ignorant and narrow and therefore not worthy of respect as a religious teacher because in his devotion—and for his own personal spiritual help—he makes chief use of only two of the world's great sacred books, namely, the Hindu Bhagavad Gita and the Christian Gospels. But as a matter of fact in singing out and emphasizing these two books, does he not show a high degree of religious discrimination, intelligence, spiritual insight and real breadth of view? And, at the same time, does he not render a real service to the world? For among the vast and confusing so-called "sacred literature" of mankind, it can hardly be questioned that these two ought to be singled out as the highest mountain peaks, its best and most important books. That he has the wisdom and breadth of

the one and the other

Not only is the association of these two volumes with a man that his knowledge is limited to these. On the contrary, his autobiography shows that he is acquainted with other Hindu sacred books with much Christian literature with the Koran, and a considerable amount of Mohammedan literature, with the teachings of Zarathustra, the founder of the religion of the Parsis, and much else. How many Christian ministers or leaders, in this country or Europe, possess an equally wide knowledge of religion outside of their own, not to say sympathy with them?

Finally, Dr. Adler attributes Gandhi's great influence over the Indian people to the fact that he stands for resistance to England, seemingly regarding that as something reprehensible. But instead of being reprehensible, is it not a credit and an honour both to him and to the Indian people? We honour Washington, Jefferson and the Adamses because they stood for resistance to England when her tyranny over America was far less severe than has been the tyranny of England over India for 170 years. If Gandhi can be instrumental in liberating one-sixth of the human race from an unjust and hated bondage of more than a century and a half, and especially if he can do it without bloodshed, will not that achievement alone give him a safe place in history as one of the greatest men of all time?

Intelligent Readers

The following note on intelligent readers occurs in *The Evening Star*:

How large are the intellectual reading publics of France and Great Britain? Mr. Louis Latzarus, who started the discussion, thinks that the French market for really intellectual volumes is restricted to 10,000. Victor Gollancz, the British publisher, put the equivalent British market at half that figure. The London *Daily Telegraph* has been asking questions about it and eliciting a diversity of replies. For instance:

Mr. Bernard Shaw: "What on earth is the use of saying either 2,000,000 or two? Both are equally probable, and neither can be verified. The *Apple Cart* sold 45,000 copies on the first day of publication, but what is that proof of? In France, all over the country, in the little provincial towns, you will find bookshops in which you see books for sale, implying a high degree of intellectual culture on the part of the readers, whereas in England bookshops outside the big cities are rare. Anyway, England is an intellectually lazy nation, Scotland is not, and Ireland is not in certain classes. The English are a fat-headed lot, and ought to be ashamed of themselves."

A member of the publishing firm of Chapman and Hall: "To say that our intellectual public is half that of France is laughable. I would put 100,000 as a very low estimate for England."

A member of the publishing firm of Constable and Company: "The French are more of a book-reading nation because they don't spend nearly as much time reading magazines and newspapers as we do. In proportion to the number of the population there is no doubt that the number in England is lower

than in France. I will not say that the

Louis Saurat, Professor of French literature at King's College: "The pre-war figure for the sale of an Anatole France novel—and the figure would be about the same for today—was 300,000, and he was not a 'popular' writer. Paul Bourget was a little higher. The books of Henri Poincaré, the mathematician, sold about 15,000 copies each but they were very abstruse, and this figure represents the extreme and narrowest limit of the very intellectual public. I agree with Mr. Gollancz's estimate of Britain's truly intellectual readers as numbering about half those of France."

The Mother Cult in America

Idolization of women, particularly of mothers, is a very marked trait of the American emotional outlook. Its causes and character are analysed in a very interesting article in *The Atlantic Monthly*.

The mother cult in the United States, as part of the all-prevailing woman worship which was long ago identified as a basic American trait, needs the caustic and corrective examination to which it has been subjected by the lighter satirists. This religious code maintains that every prize fighter goes into the ring thinking only of the little woman and the kiddies. Every bacteriologist gives his eye to the telescope through the weary years for the sake only of the little woman and the kiddies. Every aviator is out to break the 12,187-foot altitude record for the sake of the wife and the kiddies. Unmarried prize fighters, bacteriologists, and aviators are spurred on to effort and victory by the thought of the old mother back there in the little white-washed cottage. If the Nobel-prize-winning bacteriologist forgets to mention his old mother, the reception committee in the old home town will remember her. If the reception committee should happen to forget, the committee's publicity agent will remember her. If the publicity agent should forget, the reporters will remind him of his mother. The hint has not been wanting in the press that Professor Einstein discovered Relativity for the sake chiefly of his women-folks.

Given these amiable lunacies in gynocentrism, there can be no quarrel with the newspaper humorist for suggesting that the cult of Mother's Day may have profited by the activities of the American florist, just as Father's Day is not altogether frowned upon by the neck-tie manufacturers; just as Apple Week is said to find some support among the apple growers of the Pacific Northwest Coast, just as Fire Prevention Week is said to encounter no undue hostility from the sprinkler and chemical manufacturers; just as Old Home Week finds no irreconcilable enemies among the railroad companies and the bus lines. The newspaper paragrapher is obviously useful as well as amusing when he makes his thrust at this particular bit of nonsense, and goes his way.

Harder to accept is the humourless satirist and sociologist who picks up the mother jest and turns it into a jeremiad, who picks up a grain of incongruity and magnifies it into a problem and a menace. With a mighty clanking of scientific

a p. a. and a enormous length, people fell to work soon after the Armistice to expose the infantilism which inheres in the Mother's Day cult, and the arrested development, and the narcissism, and other defects and aberrations peculiar to the American people. Sometimes, to be sure, the touch faltered a bit, as when the analyst seemed to find it hard to decide just which was responsible for Mother's Day, the essentially American or the Western Company and the Associated F. . . . was surmounted, of course, by declaring that Mother's Day was the result of the telegraph company and the florists bringing their full power to bear upon the adolescent instincts of the American people.

That the mother cult in America should be compared with the Frenchman's worship of his *maman* is obviously too much to ask. It is too much to ask of a social critic busy with the abnormalities of the American scene that he takes a look at other civilization.

That the mother cult in the United States should be studied in the light of the primitive matriarchal institutions of the protochukchis is too much to ask. In comparing Jones with the primitives it is the rule to cite from primitive civilization only the evidence that will count against Jones, and never for him.

But it is not too much to ask that students of Mother's Day in America, and of the broader subject of woman worship in America, should occasionally give a moment to the thought that the cult may be not altogether an aberration, or at least something more than an aberration. Merely in idle curiosity, merely to take his mind off really serious questions, merely for a change, the observer of Mother's Day might say: "I wonder if there isn't something in American history and American statistics that will explain, to some extent why Americans make so much more fuss about their mothers than other nations do."

Judge Lynch

Lynching is one of the most shameful blot on the American social picture. That its ferocity has not abated a jot with progress in other spheres of life is proved by the following extracts from an article which appears in *The New Republic*:

I saw Jim Ivy burned at the stake in Rocky Ford, Mississippi on September Sunday afternoon, and his scream, "Oh, God! Oh God damn!" was the only sound from a human voice that I thought might, by sheer strength alone reach heaven.

Jim was charged with rape. Sunday morning, officers took him to a hospital where the girl victim of an assault pointed him out as the guilty man. A mob failed to get him just then. In the afternoon it succeeded very well indeed.

Jim was staked with heavy chains and drove wood was piled knee-high around him. Gasoline tanks were tamped for fuel. Three men set the wood and Jim on fire.

I saw the flames climb high on Jim. Jim screamed, prayed and cursed, he struggled so

hard that he snapped one of the log chains that bound his ankles to the stake. I was looking into his eyes that second. They were jumping with pain and terror, but at the snapping of the one chain a flash of happiness shot into them. It soon vanished. The other chains held him to the rising fire.

Jim was still crying the curious "Oh, God! Oh, God damn!" when the flames reached up and burned his screaming voice into silence. The mob turned to go. It was about time for supper.

I saw and reported the lynching of John Hatfield in Elksville, Mississippi, but there were at least 10,000 people in the pasture, not a more than there were at Rocky Ford. The district attorney, T. Webster Wilson of Laurel, later elected to Congress, was there. I got an interview out of him about the matter after he had stood on the running board of an automobile and made a speech to the mob. In the noon edition of the State's biggest newspaper, *The Jackson Daily News*, Editor Frederick Sullivan definitely announced in an eight column front-page streamer that Hatfield would be lynched promptly at 5 p. m. He was. I had to drop from a tree behind him to escape bullets fired at his swinging body.

Every time a bullet hit an arm, out it flopped like a semaphore. The legs didn't flop so easily. My newspaper account of it said that not less than 2,000 bullets were fired into his body. One of them finally clipped the rope. John's body fell to the ground, a fire was built around it, and John was cremated.

That night something else happened. A grinning man in Laurel exhibited to a sidewalk crowd a quart jar filled with alcohol, in which a finger cut jaggedly from a Negro's hand bobbed up and down.

"I got a finger, by God," the grinning man said. "And I got some photographs, too."

He passed them around. One showed John hanging from the tree, his bullet-riddled body naked except for a pair of olive-drab army breeches. Another showed a smouldering pile of ashes beneath a dangling rope.

"These photos," the grinning man said, "are twenty cents each." He sold out quickly. I bought some myself, as many as I could, and tore them up when I got out of sight.

"Ain't nobody can buy this nigger," he announced proudly. "I cut it off n' n' n' myself. Gosh, but that nigger was . . . an the withers of a bull, by God . . . to have sawed through it with a knife, but I did. He screamed like a woman when done it, the yell—"

He said it in expressive language.

"We better kill more of 'em around here," he announced. "Teach 'em a lesson. Only way I see to stop raping is to keep on lynching. I'm gonna put this finger on exhibition in my store window tomorrow. Boys and I want you to drop around."

He grinned again.

"And don't forget to bring the ladies!"

After giving these gruesome descriptions, the writer discusses the causes of lynching.

Whatever the immediate cause assigned, it seems to me that the generating cause is overlooked. It is this: In the Negro's . . . h . . . n . . .

toll is heaviest, there is a noticeable lack of crowd-drawing amusements and a type of employment that permits abandonment on sudden notice and a return at convenience without incurring the loss of a job.

Lynchings are rare in industrial sections and in cities. The Northerner will say that Northern residents are more law-abiding than the so-called "hot-blooded" Southern breads. The real reason, it strikes me, is that in the sections where lynchings are rare there is something more than law-abiding citizenship and law-enforcing officers--there is a type of employment that does not permit employees to rush out at a moment's notice to join a lynching bee, and since mobs gather courage in proportion to number the lack of available men sharply curtails the field of operations of Judge Lynch.

In the sections where lynching records are heaviest there is a dominance of the type of work that permits sudden abandonment, like work in the fields. Few Southern cities of any size are now reporting lynchings within their corporate limits. Judge Lynch flourishes principally in the smaller towns or isolated communities, where the matter of raising a mob is a quick and simple process, unhandicapped by working conditions that make it necessary for a man to punch a clock, get a leave of absence or throw up his job to get away for an afternoon of amusement at a lynching.

In sections where there are few or no mob attractions for the restless element, the crowd that gathers on the street corners or at the forks of the road is highly available material for a lynching party. Perhaps a few more picture shows, or even pool rooms and dance halls, would distribute the restless element sufficiently to keep it well occupied and amused until time for bed.

Increase of Stature in Japan

The Japanese are a short race. But it appears from a note in *The Japan Magazine* that, as a result of scientific physical training and improved diet, the stature of the younger generation is going up.

One of the most impressive results of scientific physical training in Japan is the marked improvement in the stature and physique of the rising generation. These improvements are seen especially in the school children of the past thirty years. The changes are ascribed mainly to athletics, use of seats in classrooms, the wearing of western clothes and a better standard of living. The average increase of height in school children in the last thirty years is about one inch after five years' attendance at school as compared with the same children of thirty years ago. It is obvious that the young Japanese grow more rapidly under the regime of modern universal education. In weight, too, the same rate of increase is observable. The increase in weight and stature both for boys and girls has been more marked than the development of breast measurement and girth. But the outstanding fact is that the stature and general physique of the nation are undergoing a steady development beyond anything experienced in the old days. The former habits of sitting on the floor, and the wearing of dress that greatly

restricted activity of movement, are giving way to occidental dress and devotion to all sorts of outdoor games with the above favourable effect on Japanese figure and physique. Old time foreign residents of Japan are now greatly struck by the number of tall lads and girls that are to be seen in streets and public conveyances, the modern fashions in women's dress being especially adapted to setting off the graceful build of the modern Japanese girl.

Burmese Literature

Not much is known in India about Burmese literature. A writer deals with this interesting subject in *The International Review of Missions*:

Burmese has a rich and extended literature. The literature of the past is of three types: religious writings, which alone constitute a large library; annals and chronicles, hardly to be dignified with the name of history; and poetry, much of which is religious or at least didactic and moral, and is extensive. Much of the contemporary literature is religious, for the priests of Burma are perhaps more than ever zealous in defending and expounding their religious tenets, in view of the great encroachment of Christian thought. More of it, however, is along other lines. There is a vast turn-out of fiction, either directly or indirectly imitative of western fiction. Much of this is actually base, more of it is poor and trifling, with false ideals of life and standards of conduct.

The literature of Burma has had a far greater influence upon the life and thought of the people than is usually realized. Probably no other Asiatic people, except the Hebrews, have been more directly and powerfully affected by their literature. One reason for this is the prevalent literacy. The census for 1921 gives the percentage of literacy for men at 51 per cent and for women 112 per cent. These figures are high for an oriental country, but they still are not nearly as high as they would be if the Burmese race alone had been considered.

We therefore find a nation--speaking of the pure Burmese alone--which is literate, and has been for centuries, so far as the adult male population is concerned; for elementary education for boys goes back for centuries. This is, perhaps, the one real benefit that the Buddhist priesthood, so numerous, so honoured, so privileged, has in its long history conferred upon the people. It has for centuries been the established custom that the boys of the village would gather regularly morning by morning in the *pongyi-kyang* (monastery) to learn their ABC, and also something of Buddhist ethics and moral teaching. The monastery school has lost much of its ancient prestige in face of competition from schools carried on by the Government and missionary societies, but this, to say the least, does not make for illiteracy. If the boys are not now going to a *pongyi-kyang* school, they are attending an Anglo-vernacular institution, or at least a vernacular school, probably more or less on western lines.

The B man is able to read, has been reading—what? Until recently, we may say that his reading has been almost entirely confined to religious works. The *Mahayazawindaw*, or court chronicles, while no doubt of great importance, have not, it may readily be imagined, circulated very widely in the villages. There are, indeed, books of moral maxims, homilies and so forth, something like *Poor Richard's Almanac*, or the Hebrew Book of Proverbs which have been widely read and have exerted great influence on the people. But far and away beyond all these, in the actual shaping of the people's thought, has been the influence of the Buddhist scriptures, especially those parts which are in narrative or story form.

If we were asked to name the one man who or all those that have lived and worked in Burma, has most influenced the people, and made the race what it is to-day, we should name not a king or general, not an administrator, either Burmese or foreign, not, alas! a missionary; we should name an obscure monk, absolutely unknown to fame, whose name is not found in any history or encyclopædia, but whose life-work probably has had more lasting influence in Burma than even the achievements of Alaungpa himself. We should name U Awhatha, the man who, in the quiet retirement of his monastery, translated into Burmese from the Pali the narratives known as the ten great *Jāts*, or narratives of Gautama in previous incarnations before he attained enlightenment.

Part of U Awhatha's success in influencing the Burmese by his translations is due to his remarkable ability as a writer of his own language. He was no mere dry-as-dust translator. He wrote in the purest Burmese, in so much that his style has become the model which every schoolboy and girl must study. More important than this, U Awhatha wrote interestingly and beautifully. There are many passages which are difficult even for the Burmese. They can, however, be skipped for the sake of the story, and little, if any, of the narrative is lost. From the beauty and accuracy of U Awhatha's diction we may receive a strong impression as to our duty in producing a Christian literature for such a people. Our cheeks blush and our ears burn as we think of the 'missionary' Burmese, the 'translation' Burmese, which has often been foisted upon the people, with their elegant taste and sound judgment in such matters.

The New Cancer Discovery

This year has witnessed a very important discovery in cancer research, which is described in *The Spectator*:

In the light of the amazing result of the severe test applied by the investigation committee of the British Empire Cancer Campaign to the claims of Dr. Bendien, of Zeist, it should be no longer to treat his spectroscopic 'sing cancer' with the silent indifference with which hitherto his professional colleagues have regarded his work.

One needs to be indeed proof against novelty not to be impressed by the 100 per cent accuracy with which the Dutch investigator selected the five sealed tubes containing blood from cancer patients out of the thirty-eight similarly sealed tubes taken to

him by Dr. Piney from London. Every conceivable precaution seems to have been taken to prevent the possibility of leakage of information; and it was not until Dr. Bendien had handed over his written and signed reports on the anonymous blood specimens, and Dr. Piney thereupon opened the sealed envelop containing the key to the test-tubes, that even he knew from what patients the several specimens were taken. The potential value of so presumably reliable a diagnostic method when applied to a disease often obscure in its early manifestations, yet only at that early stage amenable to treatment, is obviously very great. But it is to be hoped that there will be no attempt to persuade the public—and specially the unfortunate victims of this disease—that the goal of cancer research is in sight; or that a new and effective curative method is about to be introduced or discovered. At the same time, we can safely say that that goal has been brought appreciably nearer, and the discovery of a new weapon against cancer made more likely.

Cancer accounts for well over half a million deaths a year, and is apparently increasing in its hold on the civilized world, yet both its cause and its pathology remain obscure. It would probably be impossible to state a theory of cancer which would be generally accepted by students of the subject. Naturally, there have been numerous speculations, both with and without reasonable foundations, but few of these guesses have survived criticism or even the crude repartee of statistics. We have had the theory of interrupted intercellular warfare, Cohnheim's embryonic theory—implying the sudden waking up of embryonic cells which had become detached in the process of development, and lain dormant for years; the germ theory—lately revived by the work of Barnard and Eve; the reduced chromosome theory, and many others. Certain facts, however, seem to be established. Most students would agree with Billroth that, without previous chronic inflammation, cancer does not exist; but, on the other hand, there is clear evidence, as in the rarity with which carcinoma of the breast follows interstitial myelitis and gastric carcinoma follows ulceration or chronic dyspepsia, that persistent irritation and recurrent inflammation alone are insufficient to cause malignant degeneration.

We need to curb any tendency to over-confidence in the practical efficacy of reputed cancer cures even when these are proclaimed from respectable eminences. The list of "remedies," many introduced under distinguished auspices, is long and lamentable. Doyen's serum, Coley's fluid, thyroid extract, trypsin, and vaccines of many kinds are but a selection from hundreds. But, whilst retaining our critical judgement, we should not take it for granted that the battle must always go against us. If, as appears likely, Dr. Bendien's researches lead to the discovery of analysable differences between the blood of cancer patients and that of the rest of us, they may well be the starting point of fresh lines of investigation leading to results more fruitful than any yet attained.

The Place of the Dog in Married Life

The same paper publishes an extremely entertaining discussion about the place of the dog in married life and some disturbing

spect about the future of it at an in society. The case on which I have based a divorce case in Chicago in which a dog figured prominently.

The other day, in Chicago, a woman was granted a divorce and given the custody of the dog. She is reported as having told the Court that when her husband confessed that he had fallen in love with another woman, she did not mind. Nor did she attempt to interfere or to make a scene when he left her alone in the evenings, to go to her rival. In fact, the trouble only started when the husband began to take the dog with him to the other woman's house, so that she and the dog might get to know each other, and become good friends. That, apparently, was more than the wife could stand.

This curious case, which I have not embellished at all, draws attention to a question too little discussed to-day: the position of the dog in married life, and particularly in an unhappy married life. We all hear and read a vast amount about the misunderstood wife, or the neglected husband, or the stranger who causes the break-up of the home. Too rarely do we remember the dog. I cannot recall a single novel in which the dog's point of view was given, or a single problem play in which the dog's problem was impartially set before the audience.

One school of thought, on approaching the affair described above, would no doubt defend the man's conduct. If his own home, they would say, was not fit for him, then it was not fit for his dog. But another school of thought would just as surely condemn the man's action, and point out that the wife, as mistress of the house, was responsible for the moral training of the dog, and had a clear duty to prevent the creature being contaminated by modern ideas. Every time the man took the dog to see his wife's rival, there would be a suggestion that life's most sacred ties are a mere frivolity; and nobody could hereafter blame the animal if trifling canine infidelities led to moral chaos in end. One must live up to one's dog's ideals to-day.

I for my part will not attempt to hold the balance for these opposing schools of thought. But it does seem obvious that a man and woman who treat the institution of marriage so lightly and carelessly do not deserve to have a dog. For dogs, like sane human beings, require the security of a fixed home. They should be protected from evil influences and brought up with an idea of the sanctity of marriage. It may be retorted upon me that the wife herself was an evil influence, since she did not mind how often her husband left her for the other woman. But I shall reply that this only proves her love for the dog. She preferred to lose her husband rather than have ideas put into her dog's head. And had it not been for the dog there would have been no divorce.

So much for the actual case. But the vista of possibilities that this case opens up is more disquieting still:

The report of the Chicago case omits to mention one important point. Will the husband be allowed to see his dog occasionally; perhaps even to take take it out for a walk or a motor-car drive? It might be dangerous. The wife's rival may one

lay as to the husband. You've not been yourself any. It's that dog turning you against me. Whenever you see it, you are changed towards me. You must choose between us." All this, you may see, is fantastic, and is making a dog too important. But pause for a moment and consider how important dogs are in modern life. They are taken to weddings; they wear little coats and boots; the richer among them are even seen in hats, while children are left in charge of a young and inexperienced nursemaid, dogs are entrusted to an old and trusted family servant or a middle-aged chauffeur; they have their names and addresses on their collars, which is more than can be said for you and me; the police hold up the traffic for them, which is also more than can be said for you and me; they do no work, and can lie in bed all day if they like; they are not expected to be polite to people they detest, and there is a Society to protect them from neglect. They may well be a little vain, and acquire an exaggerated idea of their own importance. And I should not be surprised to hear that the Chicago dog is already ails, and boasting, as dogs will, of having broken up the home. One day he may effect a reconciliation, by standing between the old couple and wagging his tail knowingly.

If it is to become a common procedure in the Courts to award the custody of the dog, it will not be long before dogs are called as witnesses, since they will betray by their conduct, during the hearing, their feelings towards the different parties concerned. I am told by students that there are a million fine shades of feeling expressed in the various kinds of barking, and that a dog, speaking by way of a bark, never lies. In any case, here is a new character for the playwrights. We are all, I fancy, a little tired of the problem plays in which human beings have it all to themselves. Is there a manager courageous enough to produce a play in which, as in the Chicago story, the whole action turns upon a dog? From what I know of my compatriots, if they will sniff and snuffle when you put upon the stage a deserted wife or a misunderstood husband, they will cry their eyes out over an ill-used dog. And instead of paying somebody £500 a week to act, the manager will simply throw the dog a bone.

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The Young Plan which was hailed at the time of its formulation as a very able solution of the difficult inter-allied debts problem has given rise to consequences which are not very hopeful. It comes in for some severe criticism in a leading article in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*:

What must be the effect in Germany of the Conference? There was no serious disagreement among the delegates, and their conclusions gave the general impression of a united front. But at the same time a scale of payments remains in force which, time has shown, it is impossible to pay. Every instalment weakens the power left for paying those that follow. The Committee of Experts delivered their report on June 7th, 1929

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The Whites and the Natives in Africa

A white South Africa is the dream of Boers and the British in that country. But the presence of coloured people there, who almost four times outnumber the Whites has

converted that dream into a nightmare. With the Indian aspect of the racial problem in South Africa most of us are familiar. But how deplorable the position of the Blacks is, will become clear from the following account given in *The World Tomorrow*:

Behind these problems looms another and even more ominous factor. One word describes it *fear*. Jan. H. Hofmeyr, the young South African statesman, graphically describes it in these words: "A generation ago men gave little thought to the problem of the relations between white man and black. The military power of the Bantu had been broken, he had been forced into subjection, he was giving his labour with docility and submission, consequently the Europeans could devote all their attention to disputes among themselves. But in our day the man in the street or on the farm has become alive to the existence of a native problem...As he considers the advance of the black man, his thoughts are thoughts of fear—fear not of being overwhelmed physically but fear lest his position should be undermined in far more subtle ways. He fears the penetration of the low-paid native into his economic sphere. He fears the growth of native political rights and the possibility that in time numbers will tell in the government of South Africa. He fears, above all, that native development will lead to social equality, to race-mixture, to the drowning of the white man in a black ocean."

The chief cause of this fear is that the native population of South Africa has in less than two generations been lifted out of primitive conditions and geared up to the maelstrom of our modern civilization. Stunned by the suddenness of the transition as well as by many startling aspects of their new environment, the natives today are a conquered and economically dependent mass, very nearly a proletariat.

In South Africa where 1,500,000 permanently domiciled Whites (of British and Dutch ancestry) live in close contact with 5,000,000 Blacks, the fundamental issue is whether the policy of the European in regard to the natives is to be one of repression or one of co-operation. Are the Bantu people to be exploited for the economic advantage of the white race or will the latter recognize its responsibility to guide and assist them to the highest development of which they are capable?

Let us examine briefly the conditions under which the natives live. The material civilization has been built up almost entirely by unskilled labour working at a bare subsistence wage. A white miner works for \$5.00 a day, while the average native miner earns about \$5.00 a week. Native labour builds the roads and railroads, digs the mines, cultivates the farms, unloads the ships and trains, runs errands, performs domestic service, excavates sewers, and erects modern buildings in the cities. The cost of living has gone up about ninety per cent since 1914, while native wages have risen only five per cent. These wages are in most cases insufficient for food and the barest necessities of life. Under these circumstances the unrest and bitterness which the natives manifest toward the governing class are not at all surprising.

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Poverty is due not only to low wages but even more to frightful congestion. Conditions on the land have become so unbearable that the natives are forced into the urban centres, where they find themselves in competition with the poor whites. The latter demand protection, and repressive legislation is the result. The Colour Bar Act, under which any field of industry may be declared a white preserve, the Transvaal Motor Ordinance which makes it illegal for any native to drive a motor car in which a European is riding; the civilized Labour Policy which bans various enterprises to blacks and also removes natives to make room for whites are examples of this type of legislation. Railways, which formerly employed natives as porters, now employ only whites. The postal Service is likewise displacing natives with whites.

The social difficulties are for the native as serious as the economic. Vast numbers of men are separated from their families for the greater part of each year. Social contacts between natives and whites are of such a nature as to breed only bitterness. Everywhere there is segregation of the black man. In the post office, bank, railway station, and in all public buildings he must seek separate service and interior accommodation. Even highly educated natives are subjected to injustice and indignity.

As for education—in spite of the co-operation of missionary societies, which are bearing a considerable part of the burden that rightly belongs to the government, existing facilities are inadequate. Less than fifty per cent of the native population of school age is in school. Only twenty per cent of the Union's entire revenue from direct taxation is devoted to native welfare including education.

Political difficulties are due largely to the fact that the native is always the victim under class legislation. Native land, for example, has been protected by special laws, the native has been protected against himself and against the liquor trade; he has been restricted in the possession of firearms. Especially serious is the native's resentment against the pass laws which limit his movements, subject him to annoyance at the hands of the police, compel him to be off the streets after nine o'clock, and cause his imprisonment for appearing without a pass.

Some Aspects of the Russian Experiment

The truth about Russia is notoriously difficult to get at. *The Christian Register* publishes an account of Russia by a careful and judicious observer and describes this account "as something to believe about Russia."

First of all, they recognized that the new social order demanded a new kind of people and that this necessitated both education and culture. Following the plans formulated by John Dewey and an educational commission, the educational system was thoroughly reorganized. It not only extends from the nursery schools and kindergartens in the factories and on the farms to the technical schools and universities, but also reaches out to the remote villages and hamlets where it is

teaching the adult peasants to read and write. Under the Czars scarcely one-third of the population were literate. To-day less than one-third are illiterate. Progress might have been even more rapid had it not been for the shortage of both money and teachers.

A second problem was health. No one in Russia is supposed to "enjoy" ill-health. Disease is regarded as a social menace. In other lands the very rich and the very poor have the best medical and hospital service. The suffering comes among those who are not rich enough to pay for the best and too proud to resort to the free clinics. In Russia it was determined that all should share alike. Hospitals and doctors are both alike nationalized and their services are free for all peasants and workers. The same is true of the law. Lawyers are paid by the State and their services are also free. With the abolition of private property, many of the old laws became inoperative. Disputes between citizens are for the most part family or neighbourhood quarrels. The chief qualification for lawyer or judge is not a knowledge of the intricacies of the law but a sympathetic understanding of human nature.

It is in its treatment of social crime that the Russian experiment is conspicuous. Toward the political offender it is ruthless. His offence is interpreted as treason and to him is meted out the punishment of the traitor in times of war. A midnight arrest, a drum-head trial, and the firing squad are the customary procedure. But toward the social offender, the Russian system is most lenient. In case of mental defectives, the prisoner is sent not to jail but to a hospital. All other crimes are attributed to defects of education or environment. The demand is not for punishment but re-education. The prisoners are sent to colonies of rehabilitation, where they are given wholesome surroundings and food, made to work, paid for their labour, with the hope and expectation that when released they will become once more useful members of society. At the juvenile colony near Moscow, with more than one thousand boys and girls between eighteen and twenty-four years of age, there was not a guard on the place, or a gun, or a fence around it. The inmates appeared happy and contented. As one said, "We come here huns, and we go out men."

The five-day week.—four days work and one day of rest,—with the rest-days staggered so that one-fifth of the population are idle every day, might have been demoralizing had not the Soviet leaders taken immediate steps to provide for the wise use of these leisure hours. In the "Park of Recreation, Culture and Rest," near Moscow is furnished a variety of educational, cultural and recreational opportunities at a modest cost and it is patronized by from seventy-five to one hundred thousand men and women every day. There are workmen's rest homes, usually former palaces, where the workers can spend their vacation without cost to themselves.

Such is the challenge of Russia to America. Through a political system which is a denial of liberty, it presents a challenge to a nation which prates of liberty only to place it under all sorts of restrictions. In its planned production, by which it has found a remedy for unemployment a source of increasing wealth it pr

challenge to the absence of planning which has resulted in periods of overproduction and prosperity, followed by periods of under-consumption and depression. And in its courageous grappling with the most baffling social problems, it presents a challenge to the complacency and indifference which has so often characterized our American attitude.

No one assumes that the Russian people have more liberty than we. They are simply freer than they even were before. No one imagines that they are as well off as our American workmen. They are simply better off than they ever were under the Czars. They have caught the vision of a new and better social order and they are bending every energy toward its achievement.

One can only conjecture as to the possibilities of a country where the profit motive and the desire for personal gain have been replaced by service of the common good, and sacrifice for a worthy cause. In the words of the president of the Leningrad Soviet when asked if he had any special message for America:—"Tell them that in judging Russia they must not compare it with the United States but with the Russia of yesterday, and remember that we have only been at it 'fourteen years.'"

Gorki Goes Back to Russia

The news that Gorki was coming back to his country roused a mighty wave of response from the Russian masses. *The Soviet Culture Bulletin* has taken advantage of this occasion to tell its readers how close Gorki has always stood to the work of the Revolution.

Maxim Gorki is inseparably bound up in the consciousness of the masses with the revolutionary struggle, with fight for socialism, and in congratulating him, they tell with pride of their own achievements in the fields of labour. The following is an extract from one of many such letters:

"We, the working men and women, office workers, and technical personnel of the Stalin Electro-Mechanical Factory in Kharkov, send you our greetings on your sixty-third birthday as brothers in arms. Our socialist construction work is proceeding at a rate unprecedented in the history of mankind. The working class of the USSR, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin, has laid the foundation for a mighty development of productive forces and of culture, for an unequalled burst of creative activity on the part of the workmen and the labouring masses."

"Our factory," the workmen assure Gorki, "will complete the programme of the Five-Year Plan this year!"

In honour of Gorki's visit, workmen are entering the shock brigades and creating shock brigade shops named after him. It would be hard to find a better way to greet Maxim Gorki, who has exalted the mighty conscious creative powers of labour all his life long. Now he is both seeing and taking part in the construction work of the USSR, which is being carried forward by a wave of labour enthusiasm such as the world has never before witnessed.

The underlying idea of Gorki's novels is now being brought to life in the Land of the Soviets. The shock brigade movement, the socialist competition, the utter devotion of the workers to the common cause of socialist construction—all this is but a realization of the finest hopes of the great writer.

The masses of the USSR are quite aware that every step of theirs on the path of socialist labour serves to bind them still closer to Maxim Gorki. They know, moreover, what mighty blows Gorki is dealing at the enemies of the Soviet Union. They know, too, what a passion of rage is roused in these enemies by Gorki's devotion to socialism and its realization in the Land of the Soviets. The causes of this rage against Gorki are quite evident to the workers of the USSR.

"You have always protested boldly against capitalist exploitation, against the imperialists who are making ready for a war of intervention against the USSR," we read in a letter to Gorki from the members of the "Red Specialists' collective farm."

"The labouring masses of the USSR will not let anyone offend Gorki—their own Gorki! Hands off Gorki! This is the answer of millions of people in the Soviet Union to the campaign against Gorki started by anti-Soviet groups abroad."

Gorki really "belongs" to the workers, to whom he is bound by a thousand ties. At a time when he is engaged in summing up the results of his great experience in a long novel, he still finds leisure not only to respond to all the most important events of the day in his published letters, but also to carry on personal correspondence with a tremendous number of people. Letters and answers fly back and forth like a flock of birds. He keeps up constant communication with his friends among the workmen, collective farmers, and young people of the most remote corners of the huge Soviet territory. Gold-miners from Aldan, students of the Workers' Faculty in Serpukhov, shock brigade writers, Young Pioneers all write to Gorki, telling him about their work, sharing their successes and their difficulties with him. And not one of these letters ever remains unanswered.

Gorki knows that the USSR really has great achievements to its credit—"amazing achievements," as he likes to say. He wants these achievements to be known to all those who are, or should be, friends of the land in which a new society and a new culture are being created. All the splendid energy and depth of Gorki's work is devoted to the cause of this new society, to the future of mankind. It is in the service of this ideal that he mercilessly attacks the camp of the enemies of the USSR, the imperialist, the obscurantist, the philistine in all his forms. In this cause Gorki reveals to millions in the words of a great artist a picture of the birth of the new world in the Land of the Soviets.

The Birth of a Genius

Genius, its nature and its cause have always been a fascinating problem for psychologists. In accounting for the appearance of a genius there has always been a difference of opinion between those who

ascribe an overwhelming importance to environment and those who believe in nothing but heredity. Dr. Kretschmer belongs to the second group. He thinks that environmental psychology, such as that of Adler and of Freud, is concerned with too superficial a layer of personality; these psychologies may be useful clinically, but they can never deal with the fundamental problems of character, which are problems of biology and heredity. Holding such opinions, Dr. Kretschmer looks to heredity for an explanation of the appearance of a genius. His views on this question are summarized in a review of his newest book in *The New Statesman and Nation*.

That inherited dispositions, writes Professor Kretschmer, "and not environmental factors, are the essential causes of highly talented performances can be regarded as proven, according to the present position of research." It is remarkable how writers in this field seem impelled toward unbalanced partisanship either for heredity or for environment. That the two factors might be treated with equal respect seems more than most psychologists can bear to admit. However, if Professor Kretschmer's book be taken for what it is, a necessarily one-sided investigation of human psychology, his conclusions are interesting. Briefly, they are as follows: (1). "The most that a thoroughly sound heredity can produce is a capable, vigorous, industrious person, a person with a high degree of talent and one who is likely to command worldly success, (2), a "pure race," in so far as such a thing can exist, will resemble the talented man; it will be capable but uninspired, (3), to produce a genius, there must be some taint of biological degeneracy in the heredity. There must be a large element of the biologically sound and able, but this must be crossed in such a way as to throw the whole psychic organism somewhat out of balance, (4), the group that is most likely to produce geniuses is therefore the group with mixed blood, where two or more talented races have come together and have interbred long enough for the traitful taint of degeneracy to have appeared.

In support of his thesis, Professor Kretschmer investigates the psychic history of a number of geniuses, some of whom are obviously of the mad type, while others have been supposed to be notably sound and normal: Dismack, Robert Meyer, Nietzsche, Robespierre, and—most interesting of all—Goethe. Many people would feel that Goethe might be a stumbling-block to a theory that relates genius and psychosis. But as Professor Kretschmer pictures him, Goethe is the most useful example of all—with a family that is biologically unsound and with his own life subject to a regular periodicity of exaltation and depression (in seven-year cycles) that suggests the manic depressive. The section on Goethe ends with these sentences, a good summary of the book's main thesis:

"People are so fond of holding Goethe up as the prototype of powerful intellectual health and balanced harmony of spirit. Goethe's family circle teaches us something quite different. When we see how his brother and sister withered away in their

tenderest youth and how the only remaining sister was spared merely to pass away in bitterness, feebleness and gloom, when we see how nearly the poet himself is touched by the same force that ruined his sister, then we can trace the working of real human fate. We can recognize the same family destiny as poisoned the lives of Beethoven or Michel Angelo. We perceive genius at last as the shade of Iphigenia, as the last bright blossom among the distorted products of a degenerating species. There stands by Goethe a sister, as there stood by Iphigenia a dark melancholy brother."

Is War Worth While

The Literary Digest brings together a remarkable consensus of adverse opinion with regard to war.

"War hurts everybody and helps nobody—except the profiteers—and settles nothing."

That crisp and eloquent characterization of war was uttered, strangely enough, by a military man, Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, the only man who ever rose from private to field-marshal in the British Army. He is declared by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood to be England's greatest living soldier.

It was the keynote of a great public meeting in London at which, as we are told by the *New York Times*, "Great herself to continue her efforts for that disarmament which Mr. Hoover declares to be a vital factor in the whole question of international debts and the world's economic ills."

But other great leaders struck the same note, and it is all the more significant that they are men of diverse political views—Premier Ramsay MacDonald, his predecessor, Stanley Baldwin, and the war-time Premier, David Lloyd George. Expressing the common view, Mr. MacDonald said:

"Unless we reduce men, unless we reduce guns, unless we reduce ships, unless we reduce the means of destruction from the air, and all other destruction, unless we can produce programmes with armament figures less than the figures the various nations have now, we shall not have done our duty at Geneva. Geneva must give result."

Thus, the correspondent adds, "was the launching of England's campaign to put an aroused public opinion back of the Government's determination to make a success of the general disarmament conference at Geneva, next February."

From Italy, too, comes quick assurance that that country is anxious to stand with President Hoover in his contention that arms reduction should follow upon his debt moratorium. After a talk with Secretary of State Sumson, Premier Mussolini said, as quoted in the press, that "Italy is disposed to accept the lowest figure of armament, even a limit of 10,000 rifles for Italy—provided no other nation has more."

These developments, with our acceptance of the League of Nations to attend the arms conference, stir a great deal of comment in the American press, and our editors appear hopeful, if not exactly confident, that Mr. Hoover's moratorium leadership will find expression in reduced armaments. Many are the obstacles in the way, it is agreed—and the chief of these is said to be what attitude France will take.




The Modern Man

D C G Jung contributes to *Prabuddha Bharata* a very stimulating article on "the spiritual problem of modern man." In this article he defines what he means by the term modern man. According to him,

The confession of modernity means the voluntary choice of bankruptcy, the oath of poverty, and abstinence in a new sense, and the still more painful renunciation of the halo of sanctity, for which the sanction of history is always necessary. To be unhistorical is the Promethean sin. In the sense the modern man is sinful. Higher consciousness is therefore guilt. But a man cannot attain the maximum degree of present-day consciousness unless he has passed through the various levels of consciousness belonging to the past, unless in other words, he has satisfactorily fulfilled the tasks set for him by his world. Thus he must be a virtuous and upright man in the best sense one who can do just as much as anyone else, and still more besides by virtue of which, he is able to climb to the next higher levels of consciousness.

I realize that the concept of "uprightness" is one especially hated by the pseudo-modern man since it reminds him in unpleasant fashion of its betrayal. But that cannot prevent us from selecting uprightness as an essential criterion of a modern man. This criterion is indispensable, for without it the modern is nothing but a conscienceless adventurer. He must be upright in the highest degree, for being unhistorical is merely faithlessness to the past, if it is not supplanted by creative capacity on the other side. To be conscious of the present only by giving the lie to the past, would be a pure swindle. The present has meaning only when it stands between yesterday and to-morrow. It is a process, a transition, that parts from yesterday and goes toward to-morrow. Whoever is conscious of the present in this sense may call himself modern.

Many people call themselves "modern," especially the pseudo-moderns. By the same token, we often find the really modern people among those who call themselves old-fashioned. They do this on the one hand in order to compensate in one way or another for that sinful vanquishing of the historical by a heightened emphasis of the past and on the other hand they call themselves old-fashioned in order to avoid being confused with the pseudo-moderns. Check by jowl with every good thing is to be found its corresponding evil, and nothing good can come into the world without bringing forth at the same time its correlated evil. It is this sad fact that makes illusory the feeling of elation that comes with a full consciousness of the present, the feeling that



one's he fulfilment and result of uncounted thousands of years. At best it is the confession of a proud poverty because one is also the disappointment of thousands-of-years-old hopes and illusions. Nearly two thousand years of Christian history, and instead of Paradise and life everlasting, we have the World War of Christian nations with barbed wire entanglements and poisonous gases—what a *debacle* in heaven and on earth!


The Calcutta University and Sanskrit

In the same paper, the editor discusses what he terms Calcutta University's apathy for Sanskrit.

The proposal of Sanskrit as an optional subject in the Matriculation appears to be a very unsound view expressed by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. It is a pity that Sanskrit, the ancient classical language of India in which are embedded the noblest achievements of the Hindu genius in various branches of human knowledge, should be treated as an optional subject for Hindu boys and girls. We do not find sufficient reason for the proposal. It is imperatively necessary for the Hindu boys and girls to acquire some workable knowledge of Sanskrit, so that they may, to some extent, be acquainted with the richest gems of human thought as expressed in the immortal treatises like the Gita, the Upanishads, etc. If Sanskrit be made optional, at least a section of Hindu boys and girls will remain in the dark about them, unless and until they study Sanskrit independently some time in their life. Not to speak of the proud legacy that the Hindus have inherited through Sanskrit in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, literature, and so on, a little knowledge of Sanskrit is so essential even in the daily life of the Hindus.

Indian culture speaks mainly through Sanskrit. Its spirit can hardly be understood with no knowledge of Sanskrit. In these days when the revival of Indian culture is so much talked of, it is deplorable that our boys and girls should be given an opportunity for neglecting the medium of the same.

Sanskrit words and their intonation have a sacred and wonderful effect on the Hindu mind. Our boys and girls are born and bred in and through the Sanskrit culture. Dreams and ideals of the Hindu society and religion are mostly represented in Sanskrit. Hindu rites and rituals are all done in the same language. However ignorant of Sanskrit our youths may remain, they have to do some solemn affairs of their life in Sanskrit. Under these circumstances, Sanskrit should by no means be made an optional subject for our young boys and girls. The argument that the language is difficult is no plea for making it



hinge. Moreover, the plea is unpardonable on the part of the Hindus.

The question of scientific studies in favour of the proposal is also groundless. Because training in science has nothing to do with the point at issue. Rather, it is desirable that scientific study and a knowledge of Sanskrit culture should go side by side, so that our boys and girls may develop a synthetic outlook and vision.

The Old and New in Nepal

Mr. Johan Van Manen contributes a very interesting article on Nepal to the *Martin-Burn House Magazine*. In course of this article he sums up the present cultural situation in that country.

One of the dominating impressions made by the valley of Nepal is the struggle between past and present, between the dying Newari culture of the past and the progressive Gurkha culture of the present and the future. The old Buddhist Newari community lived and thrived in this small valley a self-contained little saucer cut off from every roadway of communication, and so from the parent Hindu civilization to the South. During this time it developed a most typical and artistic culture which has left traces of its efflorescence during 800 years in the three larger towns, Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Patan.

These towns are full of ancient buildings, all in the distinctive old Nepalese style. One finds these magnificent old houses encased in refined wood-carving of hundreds of years ago, but nothing has been renovated or created for centuries. The delicately carved heades are still there, full of colour and full of form. In the market-places there are fine stone carvings. Everywhere there is a riot of colour and form showing that universal need of beautification which can only be the result of an equal sense of beauty felt by all the inhabitants of the street.

One sees the same thing in Sicily, in Italy, in Germany. You will find nooks and corners not touched by modern hand, the crystallized output of an artistic feeling of a people no longer creative but still capable of passive admiration and appreciation of perfection. It is a most interesting experience to come to such things after three days' hard trekking through the jungle. To descend along a cyclopean staircase of rocks and boulders fit for cavemen; then to be transferred to a twentieth-century motor car; and then suddenly to find yourself in a market-place which is the middle ages come to life. But the little town, mediaeval in its trappings and mediaeval in its beauty, is inhabited by a people no longer vitally connected with the artistic shell in which they live. One feels that within a few hundred years all of it will fade away.

Side by side you find the erections of the new aristocracy, the stumpy, the practical Gurkha. His utilitarian temperament, which rules the day, has replaced the old Newari artistic one. He builds his big houses in a matter-of-fact manner and his houses are useful though not beautiful, just as the old houses are beautiful but not useful. These Gurkhas who have penetrated into these

been invigorated by the mountain air and have then brought new blood and a new attitude to the country. The new-comer is not so artistic as the representative of the old civilization, nor such a lover of the beautiful, but more active, more energetic, more practical, a dynamic power.

The old civilization — and attractive but is no longer — battles of modern life, and its way is at present creatively far less strong than the other. The older civilization is living in a past which it still worships but neither understands, nor revivifies, nor maintains, nor re-creates. The newer civilization is a better administrator, more instinct with vitality and more adapted to the needs and possibilities of the future.

I think that the foremost impression of our visit to Nepal is that poignant, inescapable drama in a nation, as it is the drama in the individual of the contest between a love for the past which is no longer productive, and the necessity for the exercise of creative power which will build a new future.

Can You Stay in Nepal?

In the same article Mr. Van Manen tells how difficult it is for foreigners to get into and stay in Nepal.

Nepal as a whole is one of the very few countries which are still closed to outside visitors. No European in India can come into Nepal without permission from the Maharaja of the country. In the case of Hindu pilgrims there are certain guarantees and certain administrative arrangements to make it certain that the visitor, even though he be a Hindu shall not remain in the country without authorization. To show the extraordinary extent of this exclusiveness we may relate a story, which was told us locally, but which we have not verified in detail, regarding a custom in connection with the annual pilgrimage of thousands upon thousands of Hindus who come to visit famous shrines, bathing places or religious festivals in the country. Thousands upon thousands of such pilgrims cross the frontier let us say at Razaul, to tramp a long and weary way. Having performed their ceremonies they return again. Each such party of pilgrims is in charge of a leader who is responsible for it. When it comes to the first toll house or barrier, the whole party is assembled and counted, and for every man, woman or child in the party the Nepalese officer drops one single grain into a little basket. Having deposited as many single grains as there are individuals forming that band, he seals it under the name of the band under such and such a party leader and the pilgrimage goes on its way. When the pilgrims return the leader has to assemble his pilgrims again, the basket is brought from the shelf, the grains are counted and there must be as many individuals passing out of the frontier as there are grains in that basket. If one man is missing the edict goes forth and he must be found. We were told that in cases in which a man has died on the way, he is always traced, and accounted for but if he has attempted to remain in the country he is disarmed and escorted back. A

pimitive arrangement, but one that seems to work extremely well.

For Europeans it is more difficult to enter, and then invariably from Raxaul, along one definite road, to the capital, and back again. There have only been very few and minor exceptions to this rule.

Social Legislation in Madras

Some time ago the Madras Government passed an act for the suppression of immorality in the province, but its execution has not been very prompt. *Stridharma*, particularly interested in this as in every issue involving the welfare of women, deals with this question in an editorial note:

The enforcement of the Act seems to be still under the consideration of the Madras Government even though the Act has been passed as an urgent measure in the previous Legislative Council nearly a year and a half before. Again we are pained to learn that the Government is thinking of amending the Act so as to make it applicable only to the city of Madras. The Standing Committee that was appointed to consider the Bill after hearing expert evidence on the subject and after full discussion amended the original Vigilance Bill so as to extend its application to the whole Presidency. Now, according to a rough police estimate, the number of brothels in the city is over 700 and in case the application of the Act is restricted only to the city it will not be difficult for these brothels to shift themselves from the city to the mofussil towns such as Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai and to the near suburbs of Madras. Soon after the passing of the Act, the other provinces congratulated Madras that it has gone a step further than themselves in this particular legislation and now we are sorely disappointed at the reactionary proposals of the Government. As the W. I. A.'s deputation has rightly pointed out in its memorandum of April 13th, demanding the immediate enforcement of the Act, the girls rescued under the Madras Children's Act, namely, the permanent inmates of the society number only 60 even though the Act has been in force for the last six or seven years. Now under the Act for the Suppression of Immoral Traffic, as only minor girls will be rescued from the houses of ill-fame, we do not expect the number of such girls to go up even beyond 50 at a time. If the reason for the proposed restricted application of the Act be the fear on the part of Government of large number of minor girls requiring accommodation at a time, we strongly feel that such a calculation on the part of the Government is based on no statistics and hence the fear on that score is totally unfounded.

Therefore we strongly urge for the immediate application of the Act throughout the whole Presidency.

Then coming to the most important question, that is, the successful working of the Act itself we hold the view that a just enforcement of the Act will be possible only with the help of certain number of trained women social workers. It is dangerous to entrust this kind of work to men officers alone. We are strengthened

in our opinion by the revelations of the police acts during the past one year. Cases of police misbehaviour and assaults on women not only during the Civil Disobedience movement but also on other occasions when women have been taken into police custody have been brought to our notice. It is a matter of daily sight that especially the poor and the illiterate women when accused of even trivial offence are insulted, abused, and at times assaulted by the subordinate police. Of course such things are not uncommon even in advanced countries like England and America but the redeeming features in those countries is that a remedy has been already found in the employment of women police to deal with all cases of women and children offenders.

Therefore, we should also resort to some such means to protect our women and children and to safeguard the interest of the poor and the destitute. We have in our midst unemployed nurses, medical graduates and trained experienced teachers whose services may be utilized for that purpose. In the work of entry and investigation into brothels, in the taking of evidence from women, in removing the minor girls from houses of ill-fame to places of safe custody and accompanying them to the court women's presence and escort is indispensable. There is an Anglo-Indian nurse in the Madras Children Aid Society who has proved to be an excellent probation officer and care-taker of girls in that society and it will not be difficult for the Government to secure more such women for the post of women probation officers and women escorts.

Also an experienced women Medical Officer is indispensable on the police staff and under her should work other women workers. Otherwise it is almost certain that the operation of the Act will give rise to police abuses and blackmailing of the innocent.

The Work of the Whitley Commission

Mr. S. Satyamurthi reviews the work of the Labour Commission in *The Indian Review*:

The recommendations are summarized in appendix I. The full text of the recommendations however, is found scattered throughout the text of the report. The recommendations are so numerous that it is impossible to refer to them, even briefly, in a review of this kind. But the most important of them may be mentioned to show their general nature. The Commission is right in insisting that the aim, for the present at least, should be to maintain the factory workers' link with the village and, as far as possible, to regularize it. They recommend that the weekly limit of hours for perennial factories should be reduced to 54, and the daily limit to 10. Nobody can complain that it is too generous. They deal with the requirements of women workers, and suggest *inter alia*, that *nannies* should be provided for children up to the age of six years, where considerable numbers of women are employed. They suggest useful amendments of the Factories Act. They make special and elaborate recommendations with regard to mines,

and recommend that no child under the age of 14 years should be permitted to work in or about the mines. They, of course, approve of the prohibition of the employment of women in mines.

With regard to Railways, the most important recommendation is that, in regard to *racial discrimination*, definite steps should now be taken which will lead in a specified term of years to the progressive elimination of any form of discrimination as regards both appointments and promotions to all grades and classes.

In view of the present agitation about retrenchment on Railways, and the belated appointment of a Committee to go into the whole question by the Government of India, the recommendation of the Commission on this matter is instructive. They say "where any comprehensive scheme for reducing staff is contemplated in an industry, the introduction of a joint scheme of unemployment insurance should Government should examine the making preparations to deal with unemployment, when it arises and of taking action where it is now required, on the lines of the system devised to deal with famine in rural areas."

How important prohibition of alcohol is for the industrial worker is brought out by the recommendation of the Commission that, in all large cities and industrial areas, a general policy should be adopted of restricting the facilities for the sale of liquor. The Commission also makes useful recommendations to deal with the indebtedness of labour.

Local and Municipal authorities may well take advantage of the recommendations of the Commission that Local authorities should construct sanitary markets in all urban and industrial areas, and that the Adulteration of Foods Act should be enforced, and that they should co-operate in the development of child-welfare centres, and women's clinics. They also recommend that maternity benefit legislation should be enacted throughout India, on the lines of the schemes operating in Bombay and the Central Provinces.

The Commission deal comprehensively with the problem of housing of the industrial workers, and if those recommendations are carried out, the conditions of the housing of these labourers will considerably improve. They recommend that the Workmen's Compensation Act should now be extended to cover as completely as possible the workers in organized industry, whether their occupations are hazardous or not; and there should be a gradual extension to workers in less organized employment, beginning with those who are subject to most risk.

On the vexed question of Trade Unions, the Commission makes far-reaching recommendations. They include the following: "Recognition" should mean that a Union has the right to negotiate with the employer in respect of matters affecting either the common or individual interests of its members. The fact that a Union consists only of a minority of employees, or the existence of rival unions, are not sufficient grounds for refusing recognition. Government should take the lead, in the case of their industrial employees, in making recognition of Unions easy, and in encouraging them to secure registration. They also recommend that the question of providing means for the impartial examination of disputes in public utility services should be examined.

The Problem of Race

The Young Builder has an interesting discussion of the problem of race by Mr. C. F. Andrews. Mr. Andrews says:

There are two things which seem to me to be fairly well established: That race is one of those things which lead from a dull uniformity to a beautiful unity. It is that marvellous purpose about it which we see in the looking forward from the undifferentiated to the differentiated. That, I feel certain, is the function of Race; it is to give us diversity in unity.

The second point that I think we may regard as fairly established (but I speak here with some trepidation, for we have not yet studied this subject thoroughly) is that environment itself has the effect of making this differentiation to a very great extent, and that it is due to groups of human beings who themselves belong to one humanity, living in particular environments, in which they grow up from immemorial generations, and gradually shaping themselves to their environment, through the impact of that environment on human life, and—I would almost dare to say—human life on environment, that the races become formed or shaped or moulded. This is so at any rate with the sub-races. You have only to notice, for instance, how remarkably such a people as those who have come from the British Isles develop new racial characteristics when they live for more than a few generations in the tropics, say of North Queensland. Their skin becomes darker in colour, their very temperament begins to change, they get moulded by their environment, and in turn the environment inevitably has its effect. Through the isolation of these groups, to a great extent, in the past, in different geographical areas, which were separated by mountains and seas and impassable borders, we have got today very distinct differences, very distinct racial characteristics, and while many races have gone into India India—as I have seen and witnessed—has moulded them all and they all become one race in the bosom of Mother India.

I have come recently from South America. It is an amazing thing to go from North America to the South, the difference is tremendous. I know that there are differences of stock and that the Latin races have more tended towards the south of the new world, and the Anglo-Saxons towards the north of the new world, but it would seem to me—I do not know whether this is really only an impression, though it was a very deep impression—that we have in South America, in that beautiful and wonderful environment, the beginning of the moulding of another race in human history.

The two points I have made are these. The first we clearly acknowledge the value of racial variety. It is one of the most wonderful and beautiful things in human life, not a thing to be obliterated, but a thing to be treasured, to be gloried in, a thing that will beautifully exist, because it leads from dead uniformity to living unity, from the undifferentiated to the beautifully differentiated.

The second point is that geography, environment, climate, all these things that are around and about us, which form the natural surroundings of man, gradually mould and shape human life in

different areas, and where the isolation has been very great owing to barriers of sea and mountain and desert, there you get these races or sub-races formed.

Food-Essentials

The science of nutrition is the result of very recent investigations. But it has an important bearing on the physical development of a nation. This subject has been seriously neglected in India. It is therefore with great interest that we read an article on the science of nutrition in *The Scientific Indian*, in course of which the writer deals with question of food-essentials :

The food must provide all the substances needed by the living cells for the proper exercise of their chemical processes, there must be none that are in deficiency and none, if the cells are not to be burdened with a maximum of labour, that are in excess. For if there be some that are deficient or lacking in the food, then the chemical changes with which these substances are concerned become impaired or fail, with resultant impairment or failure in function of some corresponding organ or tissue of the body. While if there be some that are continually in excess certain cells will ultimately fail from exhaustion brought about by overwork, and disease of the corresponding organ or tissue will result. There are thus two directions in which nutritional disorders may arise: the one by deficiency of essential elements in the food; the other by excess of certain ingredients of the food; and these two by their combination may provide a third. The ideal food is therefore a palatable mixture of essential food-stuffs arranged in such proportions as to satisfy every need of the body without overburdening it with work.

The essential food-stuffs are nitrogenous substances called proteins, starches and sugars called carbohydrates, fats, mineral salts, and water. The amounts of these required for each sex, from infancy to old age and under varying conditions of rest, work, climate and temperature are now fairly well-known though there is still much to be learned especially in regard to the quantities of them that are needed in tropical countries for various classes of labour. All these food-stuffs exist, some in greater proportion than others in the food-materials which Nature provides for our use: the proteins principally in animal foods, such as meat, fish, fowl, egg and milk but also in vegetable foods, such as pulses and cereal grains though in less suitable form and less proportion than in animal foods. The carbohydrates exist principally in vegetable and fruit; the fats in the flesh of animals, milk, egg and certain fish, as well as in various nuts and seeds: while the mineral salts—of whom there are some 20 essential kinds—are derived both from animal and from vegetable sources. The essence of successful nutrition is so to combine these natural foods as to provide a sufficiency of all essentials without excess of any.

The Causes of the Communal Riots

Dr. N. B. Parulekar contributes a very penetrating article on the causes of the communal differences to *The Khalsa Review*. He finds the root causes of this sore of our political life in the competition among the educated upper classes for jobs and economic advantages.

'Is there any religious issue at the back of Hindu-Moslem riots?' I asked, and the uniform answer was, "Not at all." Among those who shared this view was a Maulana of Ajmere, proprietor in part of the Holy Shrine, which to Indian Moslems is sacred next only to Mecca, a leader of the Ahmadiyah movement, a president of a Moslem University, the Moslem Home Member of a provincial government, and a leading advocate, who is a descendant of the priests of the Mogul Empire. On the other hand they uniformly told me that those who are instigating the riots are not all religious. They mostly come from the educated class, nurtured in nonsectarian schools, good mixers in "Y" programmes, and turned out of universities certified as having received a liberal education. On the other hand the humble village folk still continue to call respected neighbours of other communities as uncle, grandfather, brother, and so on, i. e., in terms of family relationship. Hindu and Moslem ask each other's counsel, share each other's sorrows, attend marriage festivals as well as funeral processions. But to the educated exploiter all are simply voters in a political machine where power and profits can be had for those who know how to divide and dominate. Naturally he does not care if his co-religionists continue to live in squalor, ignorance, and starvation.

"The M. A.s are fighting and the poor are following," exclaimed the seventy-year old Moslem Home Member of the United Provinces, where riots are more frequent than in other parts of India. Analysed into its elements, much of the communal strife, i. e., the most frightful part of it, dissolves itself into rivalry among small groups of the educated for bread and butter or a standard of living as much above it as possible. Owing to centuries of foreign rule mixed with indigenous autocracies India has had the misfortune of government posts carrying with them all the public prestige. During the British administration in particular the few higher offices open to the Indians are coupled with extravagant salaries in excess of those in the U. S. A. or England. These are looked upon as an anchorage by the educated ambitious. Moreover, with the advent of Swaraj or self-rule, many of these posts hitherto occupied by Europeans will be thrown open to the native candidates. A scramble for these is in progress from now on and a class of people are anxious to whip up communal feelings to get as many posts as possible reserved under communal auspices, but in reality for themselves and their relatives. On the other hand, the sons of farmers and far off villagers who make up almost 90 per cent of the country's population, Hindu or Moslem, have as remote a chance of approximating any one of these as to the White House in Washington.

The sun true profession and adoration of Hindu deities. Hindu deities for going to Mele in ya ar) ent) on the ground of on the in his heart of hearts he desires business more than religion. Merchant would like to insure trade, contractors to secure deals and office holders to patronize their own relations in the name of their community. Even under such circumstances men do not buy or sell on the basis of religion but on purely economic considerations. However, to a losing man any excuse is good enough. The greatest among them is the money lender, who though he himself remains casteless, colourless, and creedless like the capital he deals with, yet nevertheless accounts for more trouble between the Hindus and Moslems than all the so-called religious issues of processions before the mosques and temples put together.

The East and the West

Madame B. P. Wadia analyses the difficult problem of the relations of Orientals and Westerners and of their respective cultures, in *The Viscu-Dharati Quarterly*.

But what of that hatred of which we spoke? Will it not precipitate a war between the many coloured races of Asia on the one hand and the many proud peoples of Europe and America? We hope not. But hopes are hollow, and if they are to be realized in a tangible fashion, we have to work for them.

As it seems easy to look at the faults of others than our own, let us glance at our Asiatic neighbours. It is difficult to find out in whom distrust for the West is absent. Dislike for us is everywhere, and not silent either. Perhaps if we ask in what classes of the Eastern peoples is there least resentment, we might be able to get some basis for consideration. Those who are thorough-going materialists in the East are most vehement against the West. Asiatic students of European and American Universities distrust and dislike us the most. They do not hate our ways and our institutions in themselves; most of them adopt European costume and ideas; their outlook is mainly western. But they certainly are all wrath and contempt for us. The way in which they are received in Western countries, the treatment meted out to them, etc., etc., all go to build up their attitude towards us. We do not altogether blame them; we must be prepared to take the consequences of our sneering, snobbish, and superior attitude. On their return home these students beat us at our own games, lash us with the whips bought in Paris or London or Washington, shoot us with the guns of Sorbonne, of Oxford, of Yale. They quote our Holy Bible to prove how unchristian we are; they apply the lessons of our histories, the rebellions of our masses against our tyrants, and compose and sing their own Marseillaise; they imitate our orators, recite our poets, and kindle the fire in their countrymen and make them shout—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They

are assisted by the propaganda of Western colonies and peoples in every Asiatic country. The fact is well recognized, but not to the extent it ought to.

At the opposite pole is to be found another class which hates Westerners profoundly. If the student drunk with the wine of the West is voracious, the priest full of his creedal hashish wars against us in silence. He does not fail to see that our western education has ruined his profession, and has . . . and even contempt on his goods . . . very much if even the western officers of state really are aware of the subtle influence of the priest on the hearts of the masses? Our missionaries could know better, if they were really Christian in their brotherly contact with their own converts, but they are busy otherwise!

Thus two giant forces are working on millions of men and women of ancient and honourable Asia, and both are working up a frenzy of anti-western description. For many years this has been going on and now the results are visible.

Who are the friends of peace and universal good-will? Who are there who are likely to free themselves from the devil of hatred? What will cast out that devil? The western salesman and shop-keepers are suspect as economic exploiters and they cannot work the miracle of peace. Our missionaries are the "enemies" of the religious natives— . . . and their flock alike. They have . . . like straightforwardness, nor tactful diplomacy to work with. The officials, military and civil, are precluded by their position their heavy work during their temporary stay in "heathendom" to become real friends of the people. They are not regarded as co-citizens, and there are important and vast tracts like Japan, China, Tibet, Persia where this official even does not exist.

Who then? The spiritually minded in the West have a splendid chance to fraternize with the spiritually minded masses of Asia. Not Church-tied Christians, but those who have freed themselves from that narrow influence and who are not in Asia either for making money or to rule superciliously—such individuals are in demand. They can do world's work as harbingers of peace and good-will. But where are such men to be found?

We say, let them prepare themselves. Surely, the enthusiasm and endurance which under religious influence produced missionaries, catholic . . . who navigated oceans and . . . are not incapable of begetting the hearts of their brothers in Eastern countries. Nature supplies demand. It seems to us if we in the West and our colleagues in Asia plan to exchange ambassadors of Wisdom and Love, who will teach while they learn, and are willing to give and receive advice and instruction, a great forward step will be taken. The Poet Tagore has already done this in a measure and all homage to him, but a more universal planning seems necessary. Who is there in this beautiful Paris, in this land of France, who is prepared to join hands with us? We shall be glad to hear from them.

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

A Suggestion to Colonial Indians

The other day I was reading a pamphlet written by Mr. Lionel Curtis, in which he has briefly described the history of the Round Table groups and the *Round Table Quarterly*. Mr. Curtis was working as an official under the Transvaal Government after the Boer War that ended in 1902. In 1906 when the British Government announced their intention of granting responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Mr. Curtis left the Government service to bring about a closer union between the Dutch and the English people. He collected groups in various parts of South Africa, which were known as Closer Union Societies. These societies included members of both races and of all parties.

Mr. Curtis then along with his friends worked out in detail the case for South African Union and the materials for a new constitution. These documents were printed and submitted to the Closer Union Societies for criticism and finally published.

This work of Mr. Curtis and his friends was of considerable help in bringing about the establishment of the Union of South Africa.

In 1909 Mr. Curtis went to Canada along with Mr. Ker and Mr. Marris and spent four months making a number of friends there. In 1910 Mr. Curtis sailed for New Zealand and there he discussed imperial problems with important people connected with the universities. It was decided that student groups should be formed at University centres. Five such groups were established in New Zealand and five more at University centres in Australia. In accordance with the expressed wish of these groups Mr. Curtis proceeded to Canada and there formed several groups in University towns. Thence he returned to England, where groups were subsequently formed at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Birmingham and London. A quarterly journal, called the *Round Table*, was started to publish articles on imperial problems and Mr. Ker was put in charge of it.

We have nothing to do here with the political views of Mr. Curtis and his friends but there can be no doubt that the method that has been followed by them is the right one for a serious study of problems of vast importance.

The example of Mr. Curtis and his friends has a lesson for those of us who are interested in the problems of Greater India. I would suggest that colonial Indians should invite some people from India to visit their colonies and study their problems. For example, I would give the names of Mr. S. G. Vaze, Editor of the *Servant of India* and Swami Bhawani Dayal Saanyasi of South Africa. These gentlemen will make a happy combination and will be able to establish some circles in different colonies to study problems of Greater India. Our colonial friends contribute large amounts of money to help the educational and other institutions in India. Can't they spare a few thousands for this purpose?

At present we have got very few correspondents in the colonies who can send us regular and reliable information about these problems. On the other hand, there are a number of able young men in this country anxious to study colonial problems and ready to proceed there, if necessary, and they have not got the means to do so. They cannot even get reference books and reports. The other day I received a letter from a graduate of Gurukula Kangri, who wants to write a thesis on modern Greater India. Now is it really difficult for colonial merchant princes to contribute some money to open small Greater India libraries in such educational institutions as the Gurukula or the Hindu University? They have only to take a little care in regulating their charities and this can be done.

There is one more point to be taken into consideration. No work can be done satisfactorily in India for Indians abroad with the meagre information supplied by careless correspondents. There are not less than twenty-five lakhs of Indians outside India and their number is increasing every

year. At a no distant date they will number five millions. They have vested interests worth crores of rupees in these places and a considerable percentage of them does not know of any other country except their colony. As things stand at present their fate is bound with that of India. In future too their problems will occupy a good deal of our time and energies. It is therefore extremely necessary to organize groups to study the problems of Greater India here at home and abroad.

May I invite the attention of my colonial friends to this question? I shall be glad to have their considered opinion on this subject

The Overseas League

A copy of an old report of the Overseas League of the British People has been sent to me by a correspondent in Kenya. Here is an extract from this report:

THE OVERSEAS LEAGUE

(Incorporated by Royal Charter)
Patron: His Majesty the King.

The Overseas League is a non-party society of British subjects residing in all parts of the world. Its underlying motive is to promote the unity of British subjects. Its four chief objects are—

1. To draw together in the bond of comradeship British people the world over.
2. To render individual service to our Empire.
3. To maintain the power of the Empire and to hold to its best traditions.
4. To help one another.

MEMBERS' CREED

Believing the British Empire to stand for justice, freedom, order, and good government, we pledge ourselves, as citizens of the British Commonwealth of nations, to maintain the heritage handed down to us by our fathers.

HEADQUARTERS

Vernon House, Park Place, St. James's Street, London, S.W. 1, was purchased by the Central Council in October, 1921, for £15,000 freehold as the world headquarters of the Overseas League.

In addition to the Headquarters, Offices, the premises consist of Reading, Writing and Smoking Rooms, Coffee Room, Billiard Room, Card Room, Ladies' Boudoir, Ladies' Rest Room, Information Bureau, and the usual amenities of a first-class club.

The League issues a monthly magazine known as the *Overseas* and it has thousands of subscribers among British people all over the world. Here are further extracts from the report:

Visitors from overseas—During the first year of occupancy of Vernon House a large number of Members from overseas visited the new head-

quarters, and it is especially gratifying to be able to record that without exception they have given unstinted praise of Vernon House and of the amenities afforded therein.

The Council is specially glad to report an increasing number of visitors from overseas as, while it is only too pleased to welcome residents in the British Isles as Members, their first object in purchasing Vernon House was to provide a meeting-place for their membership team across the seas.

Overseas Trade Bureau.—At a moment when export trade is of such great importance to the welfare of the British Empire the work of the Overseas Trade Bureau deserves special commendation. By its means Members in all parts of the world are provided with reliable information concerning trade openings, conditions, prices, etc. During the past twelve months a large number of trade enquiries of all kinds have been dealt with.

The sole aim of the Overseas Trade Bureau is to promote British Empire trade, not only by introducing the British manufacturer to purchasers overseas, but by assisting the resident overseas to find a market for his products.

Overseas Travel Bureau.—Under the auspices of the Overseas League is conducted a Travel and Information Bureau, by means of which members in the far parts of the world desiring information concerning accommodation, hotels, houses to let, amusements and boarding-houses, steamship and railway routes, prices, schools and every kind of travel, can receive free advice. This department of the Society's activities is much appreciated by those returning to the Old Country after a long absence.

The report contains a list of honorary corresponding secretaries of the Overseas Leagues in several countries and we can easily imagine the great usefulness of such a list for the British people in getting into touch with their compatriots in different parts of the world.

How one wishes for an Overseas League like that in India, where Indians abroad could feel at home on their visits to the motherland!

Non-Payment of Taxes in Kenya?

An esteemed correspondent sends me the following important communication about the situation in Kenya:

"Messrs. Phadke and Patel, the two Indian delegates appointed by the East African Indian National Congress to give evidence on behalf of Kenya Indians before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa returned to Kenya during the last week. The impressions they gave from their personal knowledge of the ways in which the questions affecting Indians in Kenya are being dealt with in London are most disappointing.

On their arrival at Nairobi both Messrs. Phadke and Patel were entertained to a dinner by the E. A. I. N. Congress. In their dinner

In conclusion of his speech Mr. Phadke said,

In view of present circumstances and the

a toppling down to remain. I think it seems to me that the question whether something cannot be done to give their products favourable terms in the Indian market might well be taken up. At the present moment it is not so much a question of production here as of finding a market for products. We still have to import from India considerable quantities of rice and cotton goods and it would be of great advantage to the Indian population here if return could be established."

This proposal regarding trade between India and Fiji deserves serious consideration at the hands of the Indian public and the Government. There are about seventy thousands of our countrymen in Fiji and it is our duty to do everything that we can to help them in this economic crisis. The real difficulty in our way is this that no effort of a constructive nature has been made in this direction. The Indian public knows of Fiji as a tiny island with a large population of Indians, who have many grievances to be redressed. Neither the Government nor the people of Fiji have ever thought of creating better understanding between India and Fiji. Our leaders here have been too busy with home politics to be able to devote any time to the problems of our people abroad. But if the authorities of Fiji want a contented Indian population in their midst and if we in India are anxious to help our brethren in those parts we shall have to put our heads together and think out some means to that end. When things get settled in India I would suggest the sending of a deputation from Fiji to India to discuss these trade problems.

Mahatma Gandhi on Repatriation from South Africa

Here is an extract from the editorial note of Gandhiji on Swami Bhawanji Dayal's report about repatriated Indians :

The condition of our people, who find themselves strangers in their own land, is a disgrace alike to us and to the Government, but more to us than to the Government. No Government in the world can cope fully with such cases. Governments can only support to a limited extent voluntary public

effort in such cases. It is really up to the merchant princes and other employers of labour in Calcutta to take a real interest in the welfare of such people, and find suitable employment for them.

But the condition of these people is a small consideration, compared with the cause that has reduced these repatriates to the condition in which they find themselves. There should have been no agreed repatriation at all, and if there was to be any, there should have been ample provision previously made to ensure proper occupation for them, and in any case there should never have been any consent to the repatriation of colonial-born Indians, of whom there are fully thirty-three per cent in the Calcutta depot. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. The labours of the framers of the report will not have been vain, if at the time of the revision of the Cape Agreement, the rights of the poor labouring Indian population are not bartered away for doubtful concessions to the other Indian settlers. The position taken up by the latter is unassailable, and should depend on its own merits. The settlers themselves should therefore refuse to be party to any bargain, which would compromise the rights of their less favourably situated brethren. South Africa can easily absorb and accommodate the existing Indian population.

Degrading Journalism

For some months past we have been deeply pained to read the mutual recriminations published in the *Fiji Sun* and the *Pacific Press* of Fiji. Things have surely been carried too far and we wonder that the patience of the readers of these papers has not been exhausted. If these papers continue their present policy it would be with reluctance that we shall be compelled to advise our countrymen in that colony to have nothing to do with them. Can not our people in Fiji do anything better than quarrelling among themselves—Arya-Samajists and Sanatanists, Hindus and Muslims?

The Indian of Singapore

We heartily congratulate the Indian Association of Singapore for reviving the *Indian*—their monthly journal and hope that it will receive the support of our people in the F. M. S. and S. S.

NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi Goes to Attend R. T. C

We are glad Mahatma Gandhi has sailed to take part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. Let us explain why we are glad.

Our satisfaction is not due to the fact that we expect, though we would fain hope, that the freedom claimed by India would be acceded to by the representatives of the British political parties in the Round Table Conference and later by the Members of Parliament belonging to the three political parties. We have no such expectation. In fact, we apprehend that the British representatives will refuse to allow India to have the substance of freedom, agreeing to give her the shadow. Ultimately, of course, Britain must and will yield, if there be a sufficiently strong sanction behind our demand. Such sanction is bound to come into existence in time. But it has not yet become manifest and cannot become manifest during the lifetime of the coming second Round Table Conference.

Our satisfaction is due to the fact that we are convinced: that Mahatma Gandhi will voice the national demand—Mahatma Gandhi who has at his back a far larger number of his countrymen than any other leader; that Mahatma Gandhi in his demand will not sacrifice anything that is essentially necessary for the exercise of freemen's rights or for the maintenance of national honour: and that, while he will do this, he will not adopt any unreasonable or uncompromising attitude as regards non-essentials. We are convinced, therefore, that so far as his demand is concerned, lovers of liberty in all countries will agree that he could not have claimed less; on the contrary, some of them might say that his claim ought to have been pitched in a higher key. Hence, if the British party representatives in the R. T. C. refuse to accede to his moderate demand, India will be entitled to claim the support of world public opinion. And whether she has that support or not, the failure of Mahatma's mission will give her the right to renew

the struggle for liberty. Not that we are eager for such renewal. Such eagerness would be both wrong and unseemly on our part, as we did not take part in the last struggle. What we want is that, if unfortunately such renewal be a painful necessity, the need and justice of a fresh struggle should be clearly established, so that Indians might engage in it with a clear conscience, which always generates greater confidence and hope of success.

India's case as presented by Mahatma Gandhi in London will attract the attention of the whole world. That will be no small gain.

Our Fears

While we are convinced that Mahatma's demand will be all right, we are not so sure that any compromise that he may be persuaded to agree to will be quite satisfactory. We speak of compromise, because winning freedom by negotiation, as distinguished from winning freedom by *force majeure* (which does not necessarily involve violence), may have an element of compromise in it.

In India Gandhi had the advantage of acting in concert with his co-workers. That went to strengthen his resolve. He has in India agreed to unsatisfactory compromises only when the intermediaries were not Congressmen or *satyagrahis*. He is a strong man, no doubt. But he is a man after all, and may need strengthening occasionally. In London, at the Round Table Conference, there will not be a single person, except perhaps Mrs. Naidu, to back him who is an out and out supporter of the independence demand. On the other hand, almost every other Indian "delegate" may be for such compromises as would not completely safeguard the political and economic interests of India. We are, therefore, of the opinion that it would have been better, if the Congress delegation had included some of the other strong men of the Congress Working Committee.

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Final Terms to Breaches Inquiry

As the full *communiqué* relating to the final terms of settlement with Mr. Gandhi relating to inquiry into alleged breaches of the truce, has been published in the dailies, the reproduction of the following Associated Press summary will suffice for our purpose :

The Government of India have published the terms of yesterday's settlement with Mr. Gandhi.

It is emphasized that the Delhi Pact remains operative and that the Congress should be represented at the Round Table Conference by Mr. Gandhi.

The Government of India are in full agreement with the Bombay Government and have ordered an enquiry into the allegations that the "Khatodars" in eleven villages in Bardoli Taluka were compelled by coercion to pay revenue in excess of what would have been demanded if the standard adopted in other villages were effected. Mr. R. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Collector of Nasik, will hold the enquiry.

The Government are not prepared to allow an enquiry in any other area. Any complaints of a general nature will be dealt with in accordance with the ordinary administrative procedure and an enquiry may be held if the local Government agree.

It should be added that the Government *communiqué* contains the following sentence, in which no inquiry is promised :

The Government of India and the local Governments will secure the observance of the specific provisions of the settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established and will give them careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this respect.

A breach, if any, is to be established to the satisfaction of the Government, of course! In fairness to the Government people will no doubt wait, not quite hopefully, to see how its assurance is acted up to.

As the Indian National Congress is the largest, strongest and most representative organization in India and as Mahatma Gandhi is its accredited leader and spokesman, whatever settlement is made with him with his consent, should be accepted and adhered to in spirit and to the letter. But that does not mean that there should not be any criticism of the terms of the settlement. Hence, we must say that this settlement is unsatisfactory. When, months ago, the terms of the truce were settled, we did not conceal our opinion that they were not quite satisfactory, though at the same time we said that as Mr. Gandhi represented the nation, the nation must abide by the settlement.

When some time ago Mahatma Gandhi refused to go to England to attend

the E. F. C. because Government would not agree to any enquiry into alleged breaches of truce by a third party, we considered that he was right, though the matters in dispute might not have been so important. For, it is a self-evident principle that no party to a settlement can claim to be also the judge if accused of having violated some term of the settlement. Therefore, Gandhi was right in insisting upon some impartial arbitration or inquiry.

The final terms of settlement are unsatisfactory in more than one respect. One is that in agreeing that Mr. Collector Gordon should make the inquiry, the whole principle of inquiry by a third party or by arbitrators appointed by both parties, has been sacrificed. By saying this we do not mean any reflection on Mr. Gordon. He may do his work in a thoroughly conscientious manner. But it cannot be denied or disguised that, after all this bother of visits to Simla and protracted correspondence and oral negotiations with this officer and that, Government *has* really become the judge in the person of one of its servants in a matter in which Government was the accused party.

Another unsatisfactory feature of the settlement is that only a comparatively small matter in a comparatively small area of the vast sub-continent of India is to be inquired into. We are quite sure Gandhi does not *mean* any slight to the rest of India in accepting a settlement in which it is laid down almost with an air of triumphant arrogance that "In regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress, the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry." But we must not conceal our feeling that the settlement practically says, either that the alleged breaches of the truce in the whole of British India outside the Bardoli *taluka* are so obviously false as to be unworthy of investigation even by a Government servant, or that the grievances of the Bardoli villagers far outweigh the aggregate of grievances of the inhabitants of the rest of British India, so far as the truce is concerned.

If, as we thought and still think, the truce was a diplomatic defeat for the Congress and a diplomatic victory for Lord Irwin, the breaches inquiry settlement is a still greater defeat for the Congress and a still greater victory for the bureaucracy. However, as the present settlement saves the face of the

Congress and enables Mahatmaji to join the R. T. C. let us hope against hope for the best result

To be fair to peace-loving Mahatmaji, it should be added that he has accepted the settlement subject to the following remarks, though these do not improve the settlement itself :

In paragraph 4 it is not possible for me on behalf of the Congress to subscribe to the position taken up by the Government, for we feel that where in the opinion of the Congress, a grievance arising out of the working of the settlement is not redressed an enquiry is a necessity. In case of the fact that civil disobedience remains under suspension during the pendency of the Delhi Pact. But if the Government of India and the Local Governments are not prepared to grant an enquiry my colleagues and I have no objection to the clause remaining. The result will be that, whilst the Congress will not press for an enquiry in regard to "the other matters hitherto raised" on its behalf, if unfortunately any grievance is so acutely felt that it becomes a paramount duty of the Congress to seek some method of relief in the absence of an enquiry in the shape of defensive direct action, the Congress should be held free to adopt such remedy notwithstanding the suspension of civil disobedience. I need hardly assure the Government that it would be the constant endeavour of the Congress to avoid direct action and to gain relief by discussion, persuasion and the like. The statement of the Congress position given here has been made in order to avoid any possible future charge of breach of faith on the part of the Congress.

The Congress "Charge Sheet"

Considering that there has been a settlement and considering its character, it is not of much importance to consider the items, whether trivial or serious in character, contained in the Congress "charge sheet" and the Government's reply thereto. It goes without showing that, in matters within the personal knowledge of Mahatma Gandhi, we would believe him in spite of what Government might say. In matters personally investigated by him, our attitude would be the same. There are many other Congressmen of lesser eminence and many unknown to fame who are thoroughly honest and reliable.

As regards the Government's defence, it will suffice to say that it is, for the most part, unconvincing. A simple denial of the charge, or evading it, or pleading ignorance of it, or stating that no complaint was made, proves nothing—particularly as this kind of defence is often made by Government relying on the words of the very subordinates who are accused.

Bengal and Breaches of Truce Terms

As born in and residing in Bengal, which is the most populous province in India, one thing has struck us in the Congress "charge sheet," and that is that, according to it, Bengal has very little to complain of as regards violation of the terms of the truce. Our impression, however, is that Bengal has much to complain of in this respect. But as we do not belong to either the Bengal or the All-India Congress hierarchy, we do not know how it has come about that in the Congress "charge sheet" Bengal officialdom has so few black marks, if any, against it. Have the Bengal Congress authorities been remiss in supplying the authors of the charge sheet with adequate material, or have the latter treated Bengal's grievances lightly?

Victimized Students and the Congress Charge Sheet

When the terms of the truce were published, we pointed out that one of them should have been that those students who had been expelled or rusticated for taking part in *Satyagraha* in some form or other, should be unconditionally re-admitted into School or College. We anticipated that owing to this omission students would be victimized. The Congress "charge sheet" refers to cases of such victimization. But Government have had no difficulty in pointing out that such cases were not included in the truce terms.

This shows that the anticipations of cynical non-enthusiasts may not be entirely valueless in all cases.

Congress Resolution on Bhagat Singh

On account of the recent recrudescence of non-official violence the official faith in force has never weakened. Mahatma Gandhi has had to publicly regret that the Karachi Congress resolution re Bhagat Singh and his comrades was passed. He has written in a recent issue of *Young India* :

"The Bhagat Singh worship has done and is doing incalculable harm to the country. Bhagat Singh's character, about which I had heard so much from reliable sources, and the intimate connection I had with the attempts that were made to secure non-violence after his death, have been entirely destroyed. We have and denuded me with him but us and has an ed resolution passed at Karachi."

I regret to observe that the caution has been thrown to the winds. The deed itself is being worshipped as if it was worthy of emulation. The result is *goondaism* and degradation wherever this mad worship is being performed. I hope students and teachers throughout India will seriously beseech themselves and put the educational house in order."

Four months ago, we wrote in our May issue :

"... the public at large have overdone the belauding of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, with the resulting evil effect. Mahatmaji has deftly dissuaded young men from following Bhagat Singh's bad example. But it is not clear whether the praise or the dispraise of Bhagat Singh has made the greater impression on the public mind."

This affair also shows that cynical non-enthusiasts may be sometimes right.

"Ditcher's" Threat re Terrorism

Referring to recent acts of terrorism, "Ditcher" writes in *Capital* :

"Terrorism without limit on the one side can only result in terrorism without limit on the other."

This is obviously meant as a threat of reprisals. But it is not clear whom "Ditcher" has threatened. It does not matter, however, whom he threatens. Those who, like the vast majority of Indians, do not want to terrorize anybody, need not mind what he says. Those who do want to terrorize, do not seem to be particularly nervous to fear—they either kill themselves or get killed. So, some means other than frightfulness must be adopted to wean them from methods of violence.

As for "Ditcher's" dictum, there has never been, there can never be, "terrorism without limit" on the part of either party—brown or white. It is also a question, which party's supreme faith in force has infected or will infect the other party. All parties must give up their faith in violence, if the principle is to triumph that "violence is no remedy," and if thereby the highest form of civilization is to evolve. It is not logical to hold that brown violence alone is terrorism. The will to rule by fear also springs from faith in terrorism. "Ditcher's" threat of reprisals, too, is born of faith in terrorism.

British Edition of "India in Bondage"

We understand that a revised edition of Rev. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* is soon to be published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London. It will have an introduction by Mr. C. F. Andrews. The

book is to be out in time for the next sessions of the Round Table Conference.

Numerous readers in India would like to have copies of this edition, but it may be presumed that their desire will not be fulfilled.

Wanted a New English Dictionary

In the course of his reply to the address recently presented to him by the Cawnpore Municipality, Lord Willingdon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, used the following language in speaking of the work of the local police :

"The responsibility thrown on the police during the past few months has been very heavy, and I gratefully express my appreciation of the way in which they have discharged their duties with a singleness of purpose and unselfish devotion to duty which is beyond all praise."

What is the "purpose" of their own or of the Government which the police have to serve? Lawyers say that intention and purpose have to be inferred from actions. Was it the purpose of the Cawnpore police and their employers to do that which they (the police) did at Cawnpore during the riots? Was it also their purpose not to do that which they omitted to do? If the answers to these questions be in the affirmative, and if the duties of the police can be summed up in their acts of commission and omission during the Cawnpore riots, then certainly they did their duties with singleness of purpose and devotion to duty. But even then it cannot be said that their devotion was unselfish, as they worked for hire, promotion, rewards, praise, etc. Neither can the words "beyond all praise" come under the category of responsible and measured language.

But if the replies to our questions be in the negative and if the duties of the police be not what we have provisionally assumed them to be in the foregoing paragraph, then a new English dictionary ought to be published giving the bureaucratic meanings of "duty," "purpose," "singleness," "unselfish," and "beyond all praise."

The Tribune of Lahore comments as follows on the Viceroy's words :

This is high praise, and coming as it does from the head of the Government in this country the police force at Cawnpore may well be proud of it. But the general public is entitled to know what His Excellency thinks of the serious note which occurred at Cawnpore only a few months

and Lord Willingdon was no Indian the me at ne anno he who y anorant of the tragic appen age were ds used not on y n the Indian L g s a ve As em . but also in Pa anent The Government of the United Provinces appointed a Committee to inquire into the incidents connected with the disorder, and that Committee submitted its report after Lord Willingdon had taken over charge of his high office. If there was any fact on which there was general agreement among the witnesses who appeared before the Committee, it was the grave dereliction of duty on the part of the Police to which the appalling magnitude of the loss of life and property was attributed. The Committee of Inquiry, therefore, held on the basis of overwhelming evidence, that the police had been guilty of a grave dereliction of duty, and the Government had to appoint another departmental committee to inquire into the conduct of the officials concerned. This latter inquiry was held in secret and its findings have not yet seen the light of day. The conduct of the police was so extremely blame-worthy that even Lord Reading was constrained to condemn it in scathing terms in the House of Lords. It is impossible to believe that Lord Willingdon is ignorant of these facts and of the highly condemnable conduct of the police during the riots, and yet he has bestowed such high encomium on the Cawnpur police. It has become a fashion for the heads of the Local Governments to praise the police in season and out of season, but at least the head of the Government of India should be more discriminating in such matters. The prestige of the police will not suffer if the bureaucratic dictum that the police can do no wrong is held to be subject to occasional exceptions.

"An Indecent Selection" to R. T. C.

In the opinion of the *Daily Herald* of Lahore the appointment of Sir Padamji Ginzala as a delegate to the Round Table Conference is the most scandalous of all such appointments. Its reasons for coming to this conclusion are as follows :

Sir Padamji Ginzala was for some years Chairman, and a very able Chairman, of the Tariff Board, and we shall no doubt be told that his presence at the Conference will be of great value in discussing the thorny question of discrimination in favour of or against European traders in India. And if Sir Padamji Ginzala were still the Chairman of the Tariff Board, or if he were anything but what he happens to be at the moment, there might be no criticism to offer against the appointment, except that the questions—*or really there is only one question in this respect*—involve not a discussion of details regarding the merits of tariffs of one kind or another and preferences, but the settlement of a principle, namely, whether Indians are to enjoy the right, which inherently belongs to every nation, of fiscal autonomy and to discriminate against foreign trade whenever they think it is in their own interests to do so.

But the fact is that Sir Padamji Ginzala is at

the present moment the servant of a foreign master, and his services are a sordid effort to make one of the nascent industries of the country, not for the benefit of the consumer but for the benefit of foreign capitalists. We shall no doubt be told that Sir Padamji's unrivalled knowledge of the subject of Indian tariffs and the needs of Indian industry in this respect is a sufficient justification for his selection as a delegate. We know all about his unrivalled knowledge. We admit it. We know that it is so valuable that the Swedish Company are paying him £7,000 per annum and allowances for the privilege of having it at their disposal—the biggest bribe in the history of Indian officialdom. Whether bribe or not, the fact that the ex-Chairman of the Tariff Board can be bought up by a foreign concern, which has its own sinister ends to serve, shows that there is some grave lacuna in the machinery of Government which ought to include some provision for preventing this easy acquisition by capitalist concerns of confidential information acquired in an official capacity.

In order to make the scandal still more obvious the *Daily Herald* adds :

As Chairman of the Tariff Board Sir Padamji Ginzala closely investigated the affairs of the Indian Match Factories. The owners, who were reluctant at first to submit their confidential secrets and books of account to the Board, were persuaded to do so by Sir Padamji on the assurance that the information submitted would be treated with strictest confidence. And then they wake up one morning to find that the gentleman who is in possession of all their secrets has become a fresh limb of the octopus combine that is engaged in the pleasant task of trying to squeeze them out of existence, while an inert Government responds to their cries for help by a leisurely consideration of the interesting phenomenon their condition provides and calls upon the octopus which still keeps on squeezing, to submit a report in justification of its murderous activities.

Hence the Lahore paper feels justified in observing :

We do not know how, in such circumstances, Sir Padamji's presence at the Conference will be of the least service to Indian industry. On the contrary, it will be a positive danger. It is absurd to suppose that he can possibly bring an impartial mind to bear on the question in regard to which he has expert knowledge, and the only reasonable assumption is, that he has been dumped into the Conference to serve interests which are inimical to Indian trade and industry, the very interests for which he is paid his stupendous salary by the Swedish vindicate. The invitation accorded to Sir Padamji Ginzala is so clearly unjustifiable and improper that we trust that, even at this late hour, Whitehall will recognize that, as a matter of mere decency, it must be cancelled.

We have no such hope.

Indian Cloth and Indian Coal

The *Servant of India* writes :

How people who are the first to profit by the ruin of their fellow-countrymen are

sometimes the last to give evidence of a similar feeling in their dealings with others is shown by the correspondence that recently took place between the Indian Mining Federation and the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association. The former pleaded with the latter for preferential treatment in the matter of coal mined in Indian-owned and Indian-managed collieries. The Association's reply in effect told the Federation that unless the products of these collieries were cheaper than the coal already in use in Ahmedabad mills, they could not go in for it. There is no doubt the reply proceeds from hard-headed business men who place profits before patriotism. We might have understood the Ahmedabad millowners turning down a request for the use of Indian coal if it involved too heavy a sacrifice and if that was the sole ground on which the present request was refused, the Ahmedabad millowners would have probably escaped blame. But their reply does not give any indication that they are in the least inclined to go out of their way in order to encourage an Indian industry. This from a body of men who have immensely profited by the present swadeshi spirit in India is, to say the least, amazing. Apparently the only tests the mill-owners are willing to apply in the matter of their purchases of coal are absolute efficiency and economy. One wonders if the Ahmedabad mill-owners would like their goods to be judged by these criteria alone by the Indian public. In this case the result is sure to be a loss of much of the market which their products enjoy in India at present. Indeed, the Federation does not fail to draw the attention of the Association to this aspect of the question. It points out to the mill-owners that, if economy and efficiency were alone to be considered by the Indian public, "a large market which the Ahmedabad mill industry enjoys for their output in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa at present might not have been theirs." Whether this will serve as an eye-opener to the mill-owners and whether they will eventually concede to the Federation's request we do not know. But this correspondence clearly establishes the necessity of the Congress organization insisting, when recognizing certain mills as Indian mills whose goods are not to be subjected to picketing, that they must bind themselves to prefer even if a sacrifice swadeshi goods which are required in turning out the finished product. If such a condition had formed part of the Congress agreement with the Ahmedabad mills it is doubtful if they would have dared to treat the Federation's request with such scant courtesy. It may be noted that there is nothing unreasonable in laying down such a condition. For, was not the Congress asking the British Government to make it a condition of their ordering the requirements of the Indian Government from British firms that they should provide to Indian students suitable facilities for technical training in their own factories?

What makes the attitude of the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association galling to India's self-respect is that the artificially cheapened coal of South Africa is preferred to Indian coal. South Africa's insulting and cruel persecution of Indians is well

Talk of Retrenchment in Scientific Departments

In the last Note in our last issue we stated that, except under Lord Curzon, the scientific and cultural departments of the Government have all along been starved for funds, though these departments have contributed to the potential and sometimes actual cultural and economic advancement of India. An article published in the present issue will give the reader some idea of the work done in some scientific departments. Though laymen, we can speak on this subject from a little personal knowledge. We urged, therefore, that these departments should be substantially strengthened by money grants and the appointment of additional highly trained Indian officers. We added "There is some wild talk about total suspension of work in these departments for a number of years. This would be nothing short of a calamity and the Government will be execrated throughout the civilized world if they thoughtlessly carry out this mad project."

Professor Raman on the Scientific Departments

Such being our opinion, it is a pleasure to find that a scientist of the eminence of Sir C. V. Raman has, in a recent speech of his at Bombay, given expression to views showing that his position is substantially the same as ours. Said he in the course of his address at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall on the 17th August

We meet here to-day under the shadow of a cloud which threatens the future of science in India. During the past decade, there has been a steady increase in the number of young Indians actively interested in research in various branches of science bearing on the economic welfare of our country, namely, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Meteorology, Physics, and Chemistry. Some of these young Indians have found an opportunity of following their scientific inclinations and at the same time serving their country in the so-called minor scientific services of Government and in research institutes till now supported by Government, which not only brought credit to India, but promise to be of real national importance. India to-day needs the services of these young men, and India to-morrow will regard the training and experience they are acquiring as a priceless national asset. A Damocles' sword now hangs over the head of these devotees of science, threatening to extinguish at one stroke their lives of usefulness. Whatever may be the necessity to-day for the curtailment of public expenditure there can be no excuse or justification for the present now

I am old and serious, and I have seen the young men notice to the old and send them home, last night there and care under the sea of trenchmen. It is an easy thing a fatal, easy thing to do to destroy the career of a young man of science by administrative action. But to create a man of science, possessing sufficient knowledge and experience useful to his country, needs long years of preparation and cannot be done at short notice by a stroke of the administrative pen. It is a great misfortune for India to-day that in her higher administrative circles there seems to exist an insufficient appreciation of the close relation between scientific research and national welfare.

Whether Government will pay any heed to Professor Raman's words of warning is more than we can say. But he will in any case have the satisfaction to feel that this timely service to the cause of science in India rendered by him will be appreciated by the thinking section of his countrymen. It is much to be regretted that older Indian scientists have not raised their voice of protest against what Government is rumoured to be intending to do.

The Professor concluded his observations on this topic with the words:

May I venture to express the hope that such of our publicists as have an opportunity of influencing governmental decisions will throw the whole weight of their opinion against the proposals I mention, which, if carried out, will put back the clock of scientific progress in India by untold years. Retrenchment of superfluous administrative staff and curtailment of salaries so as to bring them more into line with existing economic conditions may be necessary, and in the long run may even prove beneficial. But to take the line of least resistance and curtail scientific research activities because of insufficient appreciation of their importance, will prejudice the future of science in India and be disastrous to the best interests of the country.

Dr. Raman will find that at least one publicist, who has no hope of "influencing governmental decisions," tapped his ideas by a process of thought-reading seventeen days before the delivery of his lecture, when the said publicist wrote, among other things, that "retrenchment is impossible in these departments, as the grants made at present are hopelessly inadequate as it is. All that the Government can do is to try to eliminate duplication of work and to bring about increase of efficiency in these departments."

Gain from Scientific Grants

There may be plenty of sundried bureaucrats in India who think that Britain's chief work in India consists in the collection

and appropriation of revenue and profits and the maintenance of law and order, though in the methods adopted in the latter purpose there is but little evidence of either law or order. These men do not perhaps dream that thinking foreigners in civilized countries at the present day and future historians would not give so much credit to Britain for the number of men shot down or otherwise killed, the number of skulls and limbs broken with bludgeons and the number imprisoned after or without trial in order to maintain law and order, as they would for India's scientific and cultural progress under British rule though such progress might be only a by-product of that rule.

As for revenue and mercantile profits, it does not require any profound research to find out that the geological and other "economic" departments have enabled (mainly) Britishers to exploit the resources of India and also contributed some revenue to the public treasury.

For these and other selfish reasons, Government should spend more money on the scientific departments—insisting of course on getting good value for their grants. For we are not unaware that there may be some duffers in these departments who may require to be prodded in order to be made active and efficient.

Change of Government in Britain

The change of Government in Britain is not without interest to Indians.

Indians are told that they cannot get full self-rule, because they would be apt to blunder seriously. When Britishers want to keep us in subjection by using arguments like the above, they claim by implication that they and their statesmen are infallible—they never make mistakes. But the ever-recurring bye-elections and general elections and the reconstitution of cabinets, after or without general elections, show that Britishers are like other men; they go wrong, and often seriously, too. No doubt, they themselves try to correct their own mistakes and often succeed in doing so. And that is because they are as free to correct as to make mistakes. But the power of correcting mistakes is not peculiar to Britishers. Other peoples possess this power, as the history of the world shows. Being human,

ve to claim to be possessed of this power.

Foreign and Indian journalists have been busy speculating as to whether the reconstruction of the British Cabinet would make any difference to India. We shall not venture a definite prophecy, because we do not know. Perhaps, so far as the ultimate result is concerned, the change may not much matter. But the debates relating to Indian affairs in the House of Commons will probably be more interesting. More Labour Members would now probably give a bit of their mind than when the Government was a purely Labour Government. They would now be in opposition, whereas hitherto they had felt somewhat muzzled owing to party discipline and loyalty to the party in power, at least nominally.

Discussions in the sub-Committees and in the plenary sessions of the Round Table Conference may also be of a somewhat different character. Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Labour Secretary of State for India, was reported to have said that the Round Table Conference was not primarily intended to help British trade. But Sir Samuel Hoare, who now succeeds him as the Great Moghul, is quoted by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to have said:

"The Conservatives were realists and were prepared to face the facts. They did not like the promises which they were not sure of fulfilling. The obligation for the defence of India still rested on Britain. Foreign affairs and international obligations must still be controlled by the Crown. Internal security and financial stability must be safe-guarded and the protection of the minorities must still be our solemn obligation. Unfair discrimination against British traders must be prevented and the rights of the services preserved. These are our fundamental interests in India. We should be false to our whole history and national character if we abandoned them. Satisfy our legitimate demands in these respects, show us that the constitution can be framed with effective safe-guards and the system of Government will have a reasonable chance of working and succeeding and we shall not split hairs about the words or oppose the proposals because of the details that do not matter.

But all these probable minor differences need not lead anybody to expect that the outcome of the Round Table Conference would be different from what it would have been if the Cabinet had continued to consist of only Labour members and if such a cabinet had to perform the task of getting Parliament to pass a new Government of India Act in accordance with the decisions

of the Round Table Conference. For assuming without necessarily admitting that the Labour Government really wanted to give self-rule to India, it never asserted itself, it never showed any inclination to risk its existence by insisting on justice being done to India (and now that inglorious existence has come to an end all the same!). If the Labour Government had remained (nominally) in power it would have been obliged to truckle to the Tories and the Liberals. And the same Tories and Liberals have now contributed their quota to the personnel of the Cabinet.

Even in the matter of the choice of the so-called Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference, the Labour Government did not show that it had any will of its own or any power of discrimination of its own. It allowed the Government of India, that is, the British members of the Indian Civil Service, to overload the Conference with separatist Moslem puppets of the bureaucracy and to entirely ignore the existence of the people of the Indian States.

The So-called Round Table Conference

In past issues of this *Review* we have repeatedly used the expression, "the so-called Round Table Conference." As Mahatma Gandhi has now sailed to attend the Round Table Conference, the reader may now ask whether we still consider the use of that expression justifiable.

So far as the Indian National Congress is concerned, the words "so-called" can no longer be used. So far as the people of the Indian States are concerned, the expression still remains completely applicable. As regards the Hindu Mahasabha, the expression remains applicable to the extent that it was before. As regards the Nationalist Muslims, its applicability has diminished only slightly. That is somewhat the case with the Federation of Indian Chambers also.

Prominent Hindus and the Hindu Mahasabha

Seeing that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been invited to attend the coming second Round Table Conference and considering that he is a great and orthodox Hindu leader who has been a president of the Hindu Mahasabha, the reader may ask whether the Mahasabha has not now got more representation than before. We think it has not. For Mr. Malaviya supported the

Congress Working Committee's solution of the communal problem, which has been subsequently criticized adversely by the Bengal Provincial Hindu conference at Bardwan and by the Akola session of the Hindu Mahasabha. It is also well known that Mr. Malviya's public activities have increasingly indicated a preference for the wider field of the Congress or the narrower field of the Mahasabha. He may or may not be right in his preference. But the roles of a Hindu leader and a Congress leader are not necessarily incompatible. If Dr. Ansari can be both a communal and a Congress leader, we do not see why Hindu leaders cannot consistently work both for their community and for the nation at large.

The reason why we draw attention to this aspect of the public activities of prominent Hindus is that the more they fight shy of the Hindu Mahasabha, the less powerful it becomes even for purely social work. The very fact that we devote so much time to politics shows that we do not underrate the importance of politics. But politics alone cannot make for the strengthening and salvation of any community or people. Moreover, present-day Congress politics, in our opinion, does not pay sufficient attention to the capabilities of the Hindus for national service. We do not here refer to any narrow, special or communal needs and interests, but only to what may enable the Hindus to render to India in full measure the service that they are capable of. But assuming that Congress does pay such attention, much social work requires to be done for the Hindu community which lies outside the Congress political programme. This cannot be done by any Hindu organization like the Hindu Mahasabha if some of the most influential and able Hindus have practically little to do with it.

Lady Professor in Morris College

The C. P. Government have done the right thing by appointing Mrs. Kusumavati Deshpande a professor of English in the Morris College, Nagpur. This and some other colleges in the Central Provinces are attended by some lady students as well as by male students. It is but right that all such colleges where there is co-education should have some lady professors.

The post-graduate classes in the Calcutta

University have some lady students. Years ago the late Miss Regina Guha was appointed a lecturer in English for these classes. But at present the Calcutta University has no Indian lady professor. Many men's colleges in Calcutta and some country towns in Bengal now admit lady students. Tagore's Visvabharati at Santiniketan has been co-educational all along in the school and college departments, and for some time a lady professor used to teach Sanskrit in the college classes there. In Calcutta, we believe Vidyasagar College has a lady vice-principal for the lady students, who are taught separately from the men students. So far as we know, no other men's college in Bengal has a lady among its staff.

Hyderabad State's People's Political Conference

The Hyderabad State's people's political conference was held last month at Akola, because permission was not given by the Hyderabad authorities to hold it within Hyderabad territory.

In spite of the prevailing bad rainy season, about one hundred delegates from several parts of Hyderabad attended the Conference.

Sayyad Saajid Hassan Tirmazi, High Court pleader of Hyderabad, who is the chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an Urdu speech. Messages of congratulation were received from Messrs. Brelvi of the "Bombay Chronicle," Ramaswanda Chatterjee, President, All-India States' People's Conference, and others. The election of the President was proposed by Advocate Gopalnar Dongaonkar and was seconded by Mr. Bapuji Anney of Yeotmal. The President, Mr. Ramaswandrao Nark, Barrister of Hyderabad delivered his important presidential address. He pointed out the people's grievances in matters of education, legislature and holding of public meetings. In conclusion, he appealed to the Ruler of Hyderabad to establish a Legislative Council vested with control over state finances. He also desired the establishment of an Executive Council made responsible to the legislature.

The afternoon session commenced with a resolution of loyalty to the Ruler of Hyderabad. Many important resolutions about the introduction and establishment of full responsible government in the Hyderabad State and the removal of laws against the holding of public meetings, the press and other laws were unanimously passed. The Conference session was a great success.

It is to be noted that both Hindu and Musalman subjects of the Nizam co-operated to ventilate their grievances and make known their aspirations. This was quite the proper thing to do. For, the subjects of the Indian States labour under many common disabilities irrespective of creed.

race and caste. This does not mean that some particular communities may not have special grievances in some states. But when such communities do not make common cause with their fellow-subjects to remove common grievances, but only harp on their own real or fancied special grievances, that shows an unhealthy mentality or wire-pulling and investigation from outside

M. N. Roy

Mr. Manavendra Nath Roy has at length been arrested and is to undergo trial at Cawnpore on what charges it is not yet definitely known. The trial bids fair to be historical, like the Meerut "Conspiracy" trial. But it is to be hoped that it will not be as excruciatingly long-drawn as the latter.

According to the *Sanjibani*, a well-known Liberal Bengali weekly of Calcutta, "Mr. Manavendra Nath Roy was born in the village of Changripota, eight miles south of Calcutta, in a famous Brahmin family. His real name is Narendranath Bhattacharya. In 1906, at the time of the anti-Partition and Swadeshi agitation, he was arrested in connection with a dacoity case, but was held not guilty and acquitted. In 1908, he was one of the accused in the Howrah dacoity and conspiracy case. Subsequently Government withdrew the case against him. From this time forward the police began to harass him in various ways. Again in 1914 he was arrested in connection with the Garden Reach dacoity case, and was released on bail for Rs. 1,000. Under these circumstances, he travelled extensively *incognito* and reached Singapore after passing through many dangers. With the help of some persons he reached Hongkong and there assumed the name of Manavendra Nath Roy. He then went to America and married an American lady.

"Leaving America and going to Europe, he made special efforts in Germany, France and other countries to make India free. He urged many friends and acquaintances by letter to accept his ideals. When he was in France, the British Government asked the French Government to hand him over to them. The French Government did not arrest him, but he had to leave France. He took refuge in Switzerland. Up till now Manavendranath had been making efforts for

the liberation of India by preaching his ideals in many countries. He is a far-seeing politician and patriot."

"He is six feet tall. His complexion is dark. He is clean shaven. He is about 40. For the last seven months he had been touring in various parts of the country, including Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras, Lahore, Delhi, Nagpur, etc. The object of these travels was to do propaganda work in order to form an Association to carry out the objects of a manifesto which he had issued in 1929." (*Translation*.)

Mr. Chintamani's Presidential Address

The presidential address delivered by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani at the thirteenth annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India, held at Bombay, was a masterly production, quite worthy of that able journalist. As it is rather long, we shall not attempt to summarize it. It contains a searching criticism of the first Round Table Conference. In Mr. Chintamani's opinion,

It was not a success because it stood adjourned before it could record a decision on a solitary question. Disbelieve and discard every statement to the contrary. The Conference in its last plenary session had but one resolution laid before it, and it definitely affirmed only this, that the work on which it had been engaged should be continued without interruption. It acknowledged the value of the reports of sub-committees but recorded no decision on the merits on a single subject of which those reports treated.* This is an incontrovertible fact and not an opinion which can be discussed. But the Conference was not a failure either.

"The text of the resolution is as follows:—'The Conference sitting in Plenary Session has received and noted the Reports of the nine sub-Committees submitted by the Committee of the whole Conference with comments thereon. These Reports, provisional though they are, together with the recorded notes attached to them, afford, in the opinion of the Conference, material of the highest value for use in the framing of a Constitution for India, embodying as they do a substantial measure of agreement on the main ground-plan, and many helpful indications of the points of detail to be further pursued. And the Conference feels that arrangements should be made to pursue without interruption the work upon which it has been engaged, including the provision in the Constitution of adequate safeguards for the Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs, and all other important minorities.'

His ideal of the future government of India, *as outlined in the Address*, does not appear to be far removed from the "substance of independence" claimed by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Hindu Mahasabha Presidential Address

Not having been favoured with a copy of the presidential address of Mr. C. Vijayaraghavacharya at the Akola session of the Hindu Mahasabha, we have not been in a position to read it through. We tried to get the whole of it by piecing together portions published in different issues of the same daily paper, but failed, perhaps because we missed some issue or issues.

What, however, we have read appears to contain an able discussion of the federal idea as applied to India, of the Congress "solution" of the communal problem, and other similar political topics. Probably the honoured veteran who presided over the deliberations of the Mahasabha this year devoted all his attention only to political topics, because for the time being they engross public attention. But other and, in our opinion, more permanent and important aspects of the work of the Mahasabha also require to be attended to.

We hope to be excused if these comments be unjustifiable because of our not having seen portions of the Address which may contain observations on non-political subjects

Some Hindu Mahasabha Resolutions

As we were not lucky enough to get hold of the whole of the addresses of the chairman of the reception committee and of the president of the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha, so we have been equally unlucky in regards its resolutions. Some we have been able to see, but not all. A few of what we have seen in newspapers are reproduced below.

The Mahasabha's resolution on the Congress scheme of communal compromise runs as follows.

This Conference, while acknowledging that the scheme of communal compromise as proposed by the Working Committee of the Congress marks an advance towards the settlement on National lines, considers it unsatisfactory and unacceptable on the following grounds:—

(a) That it discriminates between Hindu and Muslim Minorities and fixes, in respect thereof, in its scheme of protection, an artificial and arbitrary limit of 25 per cent evidently to exclude the important Hindu Minorities of Bengal and the Panjab from the advantages of protection provided in the Scheme.

(b) That it provides for the protection of the Muslim Minority of 20 per cent of Assam by reserving seats for them on the population basis with power to contest additional seats, while similar protection is denied to the Hindu Minority of the

Panjab, which is said to have been now reduced from 30 per cent to 25 per cent.

(c) That it has practically treated the essentially constitutional question of residuary powers as a communal question and has, against the almost unanimous Hindu opinion, decided that they shall vest in the Provinces instead of in the Central Government, even supposing that the proposed Federalism becomes an accomplished fact.

(d) That it has treated the Muslim demand for the separation of Sindh apart from the general question of adjustment of boundaries of Provinces which can only be settled through expert examination by Boundaries Commission, and that it has conceded the Moslem demand for separation in utter disregard of the determined and reasoned opposition of the Hindus of Sindh, who will thus be forced to bear a larger proportion of the inevitable increase of taxation, in relation to their population, as compared with the Moslems of Sindh and be called on to pay for a thing which they naturally hate and have to forgo the advantages accruing from the well-developed system of Government of an advanced province like Bombay and to submit to a backward government deriving its inception from purely communal interests.

(e) That it has introduced the novel and startling principle of minimum qualification for public services, which is bound to affect the essential need of maintaining the administration at a high standard of efficiency. Irrespective of considerations of caste or creed, besides, it is uneconomical to recruit inferior talent at high price involving injustice to superior talent by placing it at a discount merely to placate this or that community.

(f) The Hindu Mahasabha has no objection to the further widening of the franchise and even to adult franchise, but if adult franchise be proved impracticable for any reason at the present stage, then the Mahasabha emphatically insists that the franchise should be uniform, irrespective of the fact whether it reflects or does not reflect in the electoral role the proportion of population of every community.

This resolution is substantially that which had been adopted at the Bengal Provincial Hindu Conference held at Burdwan.

The resolution on the Census runs as follows.

This Conference emphatically deprecates the policy of the Government in arranging census statistics in such a way as to lessen seemingly the number of the Hindu population of India by enumerating various Hindu sections and communities as non-Hindus. This Mahasabha, in discharge of its duty, will continue to treat all such peoples and classes as continuing within the fold of Hinduism, and would respectfully protest against Government excluding these people from the Hindu community for any purpose, political or administrative.

Disturbances in Kashmir

On the recent disturbances in Kashmir and the Muhammadan agitation in British India against the ruler of that State the Mahasabha passed the following resolution

The Indian Commission. The riots, f. an arson coupled with the cutting of telegraphic and telephone wires and destruction of bridges led the Mahasabha to fear that there is some conspiracy behind it, backed by influential persons. The Mahasabha heartily congratulates the Maharaja on his taking prompt and necessary action to bring the situation under control. Under the circumstances the Mahasabha warns the Government of India of the serious misunderstanding that is likely to arise if it does not use all its influence to prevent interference with the domestic affairs of Kashmir state.

The evidence given by witness after witness before the Kashmir riots enquiry committee goes to support the conjecture of the Mahasabha. The riots and the agitation appear to be got-up affairs. There is a Princes' Protection Act, which we have never supported. But as it exists, we should like to know why it has not been brought into force against the instigators of the violent agitation against the Maharaja of Kashmir in the Press and on the platform. All sections of the people of the Indian States want some change for the better in the system of government prevailing there. Some particular communities may also have special grievances of their own. But for bringing about these changes and the redress of these grievances the approved method is certainly not to induce the minds of the people and get up riots. In Kashmir the Musalmans are more ill-treat than the Hindus. Yet they are often appointed to public offices in supersession of the claims of better qualified Hindus. In other directions also the Maharaja has been liberal in his attitude towards his Moslem subjects.

Proposal Relating to N.W. F. P.

On the proposal to make the N.W. Frontier province a Governor's province, the Mahasabha passed the following resolution:

(1) Resolved that this Conference is of opinion that in view of the peculiar conditions obtaining in the N.W. F. Province the proposed constitutional changes in this miniature deficit province will not be conducive to good government and peaceful progress unless accompanied with the following safeguards and measures:—

(a) Law and order to be retained as a Central Subject.

(b) Effective protection against Trans-Border raids and invasions, especially by strengthening the defences in the Tirah and Khyber, as in Waziristan.

(c) Adequate and effective representation to the Minority communities in the Provincial Council, Central Legislature and Services.

a Re the Hindus in the Cabinet

(g) Appointments in Provincial Services shall be made up by open competition under the authority of a public Services Commission.

(d) Right of appeal to the Central Government against oppressive Acts of the Local Legislature. (e) Subvention payable to the Central Government for any specific purpose to be spent for that purpose alone.

(h) Resolved further that the Judiciary of this Province be placed under the Lahore High Court with a Bench of two Judges at each Peshawar or enroute duty.

We do not consider this resolution satisfactory in every respect. It is admitted that conditions in this province are in some respects peculiar. But the constitution of Cabinets by including representatives of communities as such is wrong in principle. They alone ought to be ministers who enjoy the confidence of the legislature by virtue of their ability and public spirit, no matter whether they belong to any minority or majority community. For the good of the nation as a whole all communities should be prepared to have sometimes no Minister of their community at all.

As regards right of appeal to the Central Government against oppressive Acts of the local legislature, we would not advise it if it were given to communities in all provinces. But as it would diminish provincial autonomy, it ought not to be insisted upon as a general right without serious consideration.

In our opinion, which we have expressed in previous issues, the settled districts of the N.W. F. P. may be given an advanced type of administration simply by amalgamation with the Punjab. They were formerly parts of that province. Amalgamation would do away with the necessity of a permanent subsidy to the N.W. F. Province. It is a wrong principle, and an injustice to the solvent provinces, to have permanent deficit provinces. If any areas are to be newly constituted into Governor's provinces, there should be a distinct understanding either that they should not be given any subvention from the Central Government or that it would be given only for a definitely fixed short period.

The constitution of new deficit Governor's provinces would hit hard Bengal in particular, as this province has never had an equitable share of the revenues raised here, and the giving of subventions to deficit provinces would destroy, or in any case deter

If he es f i f no ho na a i tce
 Ber al M i s a l i e f ev
 Musl i j ty d e l i c t i n n o e t ev
 s a d u n d e r t a n d t h a t i f B e n g a l d o e s n o t i n
 c o n s e q u e n c e g e t f i n a n c i a l j u s t i c e , t h e y a s t h e
 m a j o r i t y c o m m u n i t y h e r e s t a n d t o l o s e m o s t .
 T h e M u s l i m m a j o r i t i e s i n t h e P a n j a b ,
 N - W . F . P . , B a l u c h i s t a n a n d S i n d h h a v e
 n e v e r d o n e a n y t h i n g f o r t h e e c o n o m i c a n d
 e d u c a t i o n a l a d v a n c e m e n t o f B e n g a l M o s l e m s ,
 n o r a r e t h e y l i k e l y t o d o s o i n f u t u r e .

We know, the defence of India requires much expenditure on the North-West frontier. This expenditure should be Central, not Provincial. And defence and the tribal areas should be directly under the charge of the Central Government. In addition, India's army should be nationalized by recruitment from all provinces, so that from the expenditure incurred for defence from all-India revenues all provinces may derive economic advantage, the advantage of military experience and the accession of self-respect from the consciousness that all provinces are taking part in the defence of the country instead of depending mostly on the people of some small areas.

Proscription of *India in World Politics*

When the fourth edition (second Indian edition) of Dr. Taraknath Das's *India in World Politics* was rumoured to be nearly ready for publication, we heard another rumour to the effect that it had been said by some one in authority that, unless certain passages or portions of the book were omitted, it would be proscribed. And proscribed it has been—on the alleged ground that it excites or attempts to excite or has a tendency to excite, etc., hatred and contempt against the Government, etc. We had an opportunity some time ago to turn over the pages of the book. We found it well-documented, such statesmen and authors, among others, having been drawn upon as Gladstone, John Morley, Curzon, Churchill, etc. We did not find the book to be inflammatory. Of course unless British deeds and policy be claimed to be morally flawless in every detail, even the bare narration of facts relating to those deeds and that policy in a book may not tend to make its readers love and respect the Government. Numerous British authors have written many such books, none of which have been proscribed.

As the present edition of the book which is now proceeding is the second Indian edition, evidently it was before the public for years during which it was not proscribed; and there is nothing to show that the character of the book has substantially changed in the second edition. If that is so, one would be driven to the conclusion that the nearer we are drawing to Dominion Status the stricter the bureaucracy are becoming in preventing the free expression of opinion and the full publication of facts. Or perhaps this is an illustration of Dominion Status in action which was so eloquently expounded by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, then Secretary of State for India, more than a year ago. Or probably we had been enjoying Dominion Status some time ago without our being aware of it, and we have now lost that status.

The temper of the bureaucracy in India does not augur well for the success of the Round Table Conference from the Indian point of view.

The proscription of Dr. Taraknath Das's book in India is likely to increase its sale abroad, as has been strikingly the case with the Rev. J. T. Sundealand's *India in Bondage*. That is certainly not a result desired by the Government of India.

Flood and Famine Relief in Bengal

We beg to draw the attention of our readers to an appeal published in the advertisement sheets for help for people in distress owing to flood and famine in North and East Bengal. We hope our readers will respond to the appeal and make remittances to the treasurer.

Indianization at the Tata's

Jamshedpur, Aug. 20.
 Due to the present trade depression the management of the Steel Works at Jamshedpur have found it necessary to hasten Indianization wherever possible and, as a result twenty-four European men are being sent home. An Indian, Mr. Prem Mathur, for the past four years Assistant Superintendent of the Durgam plant, has been appointed Superintendent of the open hearth plant. Mr. Mathur has a number of years' experience at the Ford plant in Detroit. Six out of the seven furnaces in the open hearth will be operated entirely by Indians. This step was made possible by utilizing the men trained in the Steel Company's Technical Institute.—*Associated Press*.

We welcome Indianization, to whatever circumstances it may be due. It may, however, be noted that the Tatas' rule would

en t be When there s prosperity th
 tat alares shoud g to fore.gneis, and when
 there is depression the Indians may be
 allowed to do the work of foreigners on the
 lower salaries which they are paid."

Restrictions Imposed on Indian Traders in U. S. A.

An Indian correspondent of the *Mohammadi* writing from Panama (U. S. A.) draws attention to the gradual withdrawal of all facilities hitherto enjoyed by the Indians in America. Says he:

"Gradually, it appears, the doors are being closed against Indians in America. We have been trading here for the last 20 years, during which period we had paid occasional visits to our Motherland. But only recently the Local Government have enforced a new legislation which is calculated to prevent egress and ingress of any foreigner from and to their territory except on cancellation of their personal rights and privileges under the Local Law. As a matter of fact already about a dozen outsiders have been sent back this year in accordance with this new regulation." —*Free Press*.

The Self-respect Movement in the South

The Self-respect Movement in the Madras Presidency is a sort of offshoot of the Non-Brahman Movement. The people of India as a whole are seeking to regain their self-respect by spiritual, moral, intellectual, social, cultural, political, economic and every other kind of achievement. If any section of the people want to recover self-respect, their efforts deserve appreciation and fraternal sympathy and encouragement.

If we are wrong, we hope to be excused and corrected, but those connected with the movement do not always appear to be quite accurate as regards their facts and conclusions. At the recent session of the Self-respect Conference, held at Virudunagar, Mr. R. K. Shunmugam Chettiar, the President, is reported to have said that "it was unfortunate that in India the organized forces of religion had always been against social reforms." The Conference itself passed a resolution expressing its opinion

that customs and practices that had come into vogue in the name of religion had stunted their growth to full manhood and that all such religions must disappear; that without the disappearance of religion there could not exist any sense of brotherhood and that if religious differences should cease, all Indians should lay aside all feelings of religion."

In our comments it would not be necessary to follow closely the words used by the president and in the conference resolution. It is the attitude towards religion manifested

therein that requires some words of comment. As Mr. Chettiar referred to India, let us mention some facts in India's ancient, mediæval and modern religious history.

The *Rishis* who composed the scriptures, or to whom the Sastras are popularly believed to have been revealed, are all popularly known as Brahmins. But they were not all Brahmins by birth, though they were Brahmins in the sense of seers and worshippers of Brahma, the Supreme Self. Neither he who uttered the *Bhagavad Gita* nor he to whom it was addressed in the battle-field of Kurukshetra, was a Brahmin. The *Rishis* who composed the Upanishads or to whom they were revealed were not all Brahmins. Many of them were Kshatriyas. Some *Rishis* were men of unknown lineage and some, if living in these days, would be considered to be of disreputable birth. It may be presumed that the Hindu religion of those days did not stunt their growth.

The Buddha himself was not a Brahmin. Many of his principal followers were not Brahmins. Many Bhikshus and Bhikshunis belonged to the Sudra and even lower castes. Among the Bhikshunis were some who had been courtesans. Buddhism dealt a great blow to the caste system. It may be presumed that it did not stunt the growth of its followers—not at least in most cases or in every case.

In mediæval times, it is well-known how Navak and the Sikh *gurus*, particularly Guru Govinda Singh, raised the lowly and made them all *Bhais* (brethren). The result of the teachings of Kabir and other saints was also elevating. In Bengal the Vaishnav prophet Chaitanya admitted all and sundry to discipleship, irrespective of race, creed and caste. Muhammadans not being excluded. Vaishnavism gave a rude shock to caste.

Coming to modern times, Ram Mohun Roy the founder of the Brahma Samaj, was a religious man, and he was a reformer. Keshub Chunder Sen widened the activities of the Brahma Samaj as a reform movement. The giving up of caste in the Brahma Samaj began under his leadership. The Brahma Samaj has discouraged child marriage, promoted adult marriage and inter-caste, inter-provincial and inter-racial marriage, as also widow marriage. It has given equal religious rights to women. The Arya Samaj has been a zealous reform movement.

The Hindu pandit, Iswar Chandra Vidya-sagar, re-introduced widow-marriage in Hindu

society worked hard for the abolition of polygamy, promoted female education and discouraged child marriage. Some of his most zealous supporters in the widow-marriage movement were Brahmos. In the South Veeresalingam Pantulu and some other reformers were deeply religious.

Swami Vivekananda, whose teachings and example have inspired so many of his followers, was not a Brahman. Among his followers and disciples some are Brahmans, some not. And they are all in the orthodox Hindu fold.

Mahatma Gandhi is a deeply religious man. He is a Hindu. He is not a Brahman. But he is nevertheless a spiritual teacher of Brahman and non-Brahman alike, and a practical social reformer to boot. He is *par excellence* the friend and brother of the "untouchables."

Rabindranath Tagore is a deeply religious man. His great fame as a poet has thrown into the background his rôle of practical social reformer and uplifter of the lowly.

The Depressed Classes Mission in the country, and the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes in Bengal and Assam and the Bengal Social Service League were founded and are worked by religious men.

We have not attempted to make an exhaustive enumeration of all reformers who were also religious men and who have tried to establish brotherhood in some direction or other and succeeded more or less in their efforts. The little that we have said may help the protagonists and followers of the Self-respect Movement to reconsider their views, if they are so inclined.

The *tu quoque* style of argument is not conclusive. Nevertheless, the non-religious Self-respecters may consider the comparative achievement of non-religious persons in India in the spheres of social reform and promotion of growth of manhood.

Perhaps Indian Self-respecters are straining their eyes towards Russia. But many people have an exaggerated idea of the spread of atheism in that country. Professing atheists are a minority there. And even many of them we would not call irreligious. Whoever believes in some enduring and inspiring truth is religious in the sense in which we understand religion.

Gopal Krishna Devadhar

We congratulate Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar, President of the Servants of

India Society, on his completing the 60th year of his life of active service. May he remain active for many many years to come and complete his 100th year, which is the Hindu standard of long life. The ladies and gentlemen who are intimately associated with him in the work of the Poona Seva Sadan have given a list of the many activities which have made his name a household word among social workers in many parts of the country. Years ago when he did famine relief work in the U. P. he kindly contributed an illustrated article to our pages describing the work. *The Indian Social Reformer* writes:

His work in Malabar to repair the ravages of the Mopla outbreak while yet its echoes had not died out, involved much endurance, discomfort and even some danger. But when the call came Devadhar responded to it in his usual matter-of-fact way, and the success which his efforts is commemorated in "the I. . . . Reconstruction Trust," created out of the balance of the Relief Fund raised at the time. In the Co-operative movement, Mr. Devadhar shares with the veteran Sir Lalubhai Sanaldas the distinction of being recognized throughout India as a great authority whose advice and assistance are as valuable as they are readily available to any province or state which may ask for it. The Baby and Health week movement in this Presidency owes much to the solid work of Mr. Devadhar at its early stages. Village reconstruction is a subject which is now on everybody's lips. But Mr. Devadhar has not been content to talk about it. He has planned and has actually in operation a scheme in a group of villages near Poona under the auspices of the Deccan Agricultural Association. He is one of the Foundation members of the Servants of India Society and is now its President.

In the opinion of his co-workers in the Poona Seva Sadan,

If Mr. Devadhar's name goes down to posterity it will be, in our opinion, mainly through the Poona Seva Sadan which has firmly established his reputation as a social worker of a very high rank. The services that he has rendered to the cause of the uplift of Indian womanhood indisputably top the services, mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. Soon after he decided to devote his life to the service of Mother India, and while distributing famine relief in Northern India, he recognized the absolute and imperative necessity of securing a band of capable women social workers, who would work shoulder to shoulder with men in any philanthropic and humanitarian undertaking. He found that there was a great paucity of such workers among the female population of the country due no doubt to the lack of proper and adequate educational facilities for women. He, therefore, conceived the noble idea of starting the Poona Seva Sadan, where women would be trained for social work of varied kinds by affording them the necessary facilities. Fortunately for the cause and the country, Mr. Devadhar was able to secure active and ready co-operation of a band of adre

Mr. Natarajan's own mandate. A society interested in the uplift of their white and sisters. Thus the Seva Sadai came to be started in 1909, and from the small, very small beginning made in that year with about a dozen women students, receiving only elementary education, the Institution has to-day expanded into a huge organization covering for the educational needs of over 1000 women and girls scattered over a wide area of the Presidency and even outside it. The work carried out by the Society is of a cosmopolitan nature; and hundreds of women have been turned out by the society's institutions as qualified lady doctors, nurses, midwives, trained teachers, etc. etc., who have been doing responsible work in the spread of medical relief and literacy both in urban as well as rural areas.

As we have in a previous note indicated that religion has been the mainspring of the social work of very many reformers, we are glad to be able to reproduce here Mr. K. Natarajan's appreciation of the religious side of Mr. G. K. Deradhar's nature.

Being a poor man himself, Mr. Deradhar knows, and feels intensely for the conditions of the poor and much of his work is directly concerned with their amelioration. A deeply religious man, imbued with the *Gita* spirit of disinterested service, he is often talked of as religion and may easily be mistaken for one who is indifferent to it.

Mahatma Gandhi's Parting Words

The scenes of enthusiasm which Bombay prescoted during the few hours before Gandhi boarded the steamer, baffle description.

The words which he addressed to his vast audience at Azad Maidan on the morning of the 29th August, were full of pathos and of goodwill to men of all races and creeds. In the course of his speech he said:

"I must say I am aware of all my weakness. Looking to the country whereto I am going and its environments and the enormous responsibilities imposed on me, I know I should not have accepted the invitation to go. But your implicit faith in me is like the Mighty Himalayas and it will shelter me from all blasts. That is my belief.

"Crosses of people in India do not get enough food to eat. The Congress is trying to better their lot and to help the hapless people. In fact, we are a crippled nation and I am also a cripple. There is nothing strange in the deplorable of a crippled nation being also a cripple: for only by being such can he fully understand and realize the difficulties and miseries that are their lot in life. I know fully well my weakness and I repeat I am not blind to my shortcomings.

The words which followed showed where his strength and confidence lay.

I am going to London as the delegate of Truth

and Non-violence and I am confident in the hope that Truth and Non-violence will ultimately triumph in all the fulness of their glory.

I have great faith in God and I believe that in his sacred hand are all these developments. Any one who has faith in God can be sure of his success. One who is weak and unprotected and goes unprotected will I am certain, be protected by God. Success lies in weakness and humility. Non-violence is a mighty power and that is the only power that will work effectively against tremendous odds there.

He went on to observe how we ought to behave whether success or failure be our lot.

I am going there with that trust but if I return perchance empty-handed, you should not be disappointed. If I return, as we hope, after achieving success, you should not become proud and haughty. Success and failure lie in the hands of God. That is certain.

Referring to the Congress mandate he observed:

I have got to abide by the Congress mandate and it is up to you to see that I fulfill it. I promise that I will not disappoint you in your trust in me. If I do not keep faith with you and do not act in obedience to your mandate, you will not only drive me out of the Congress but may very rightly take more drastic steps. Even if you were to kill me for it, I will only consider it an act of non-violence and not violence. But I do not wish to break faith with you or to deceive you in any way.

How can I deceive the hapless and crippled people of India?

Then he spoke of his friendliness to all.

I have no enmity towards Englishmen, Muslims, Christians or Sikhs. I am bound to do everything possible for all of them, but even a Sikh or a Muslim may say that I am not his representative; but the Congress has given me a mandate. I am bound to protect the rights of all, for the Congress stands for all communities and peoples of India.

He did not refer to the Hindus for the obvious reason that he is a Hindu. Moreover, Hindus are proud of him, love him and respect him, and no Hindu can possibly look upon him as an enemy.

Referring to the attitude of the Zamindars and the Princes, Mahatma Gandhi said:

"I cannot do any wrong to these also. So long as they protect the rights of the poor peasants and treat them well, we cannot do any wrong to them. I persuade them to do the right thing for the agriculturists and peasants.

"I have explained to you my *dharma* and I wish you always to obey the Congress mandate. Now I ask for your blessings for the success of my endeavours, and I am sure your good wishes, coupled with the blessings of God, will carry us to success. May God bless us."

Just before sailing, Mahatma Gandhi gave the following message to the *Associated*

Press representative who interviewed him in his cabin

"Though I see nothing on the horizon to warrant a hope, being a born optimist I am hoping against hope. My faith is in God and He seems to have made my way clear for me to go to London. Therefore, I expect He will use me as His instrument for the service of humanity, for to me the service of India is identical with the service of humanity. Though the Congress may be revivified by a section of people in India, it aims at representing the whole of India and, therefore, to deserve the trust that has been reposed in me and imposed upon me, I shall endeavour to represent every interest that does not conflict with the interests of the dumb millions for whom the Congress pre-eminently exists. I hope that the Provincial Governments, the Civil Service and the English mercantile houses will help the Congress to realize the mission it has set before itself. Representing as the Congress does the message of non-violence and truth, it can only succeed by the goodwill of all the component parts of the nation and I am, therefore, hoping that that goodwill will be extended to the humble representative who is going upon his errand."

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi goes to London carrying with him the hopes and prayers of an expectant nation. May he succeed in his high and holy mission!

Floods in China

There have been floods in North and East Bengal, with the destructive effects of which we find it difficult to cope, so devastating they have been. But the Bengal floods pale into insignificance before the cataclysmic inundations in China, where the loss of life and property has been appalling. We can but extend our deep sympathy to the afflicted people of that sorely tried country.

"Helpless Hindus in Junagad State"

We have received copies of a pamphlet, named *Helpless Hindus in Junagad State*. Its title-page bears the following paragraph:

Veraval, Prabhas, Girnar, Gupta Prayag—these famous Hindu pilgrimages are situated within the boundaries of the Moslem State of Junagad. Fanatic communalism is stalking stark in the land. Hindu leaders are murdered. State administration dominated by Moslem officers actively encourages and deliberately connives at these outrages. Riots, loot, assaults and the knife are the every day lot of the Hindus. Hindus are vacating the State in thousands. The following pages give in brief the story of the sufferings of helpless Hindus in Junagad State.

We call the attention of the Government

of Bombay and the Government of India to these allegations. They should institute inquiries into them, if they have not done so already. As

'On Saturday the 18th July the Hindus of the whole of Kathiawar were shocked to hear of the murders of five leading citizens of Veraval in Junagad State. The whole Kathiawar went into mourning. The entire Hindu population of Junagad State observed *hartal*. Condemnation of the outrage against the Hindu community was expressed from the ... and the Hindus as a whole are greatly exasperated over the incident.'

these Governments cannot be unaware of these allegations.

Burma

The rebellion in Burma remains still unquelled. We wonder why the mighty British Empire cannot or does not put an end to it quickly.

It is said, there is going to be a separate Round Table Conference for Burma. Is it then a settled fact that Burma is to be separated from India? And that against the opinion of the majority of articulate Burmans? This is a fresh illustration of the British Government's strict adherence to the principle of self-determination, for the establishment of which the world war was said to have been fought.

Iraq "Capable of Self-Government"

It is stated in the *League of Nations News for Overseas* for July-August, 1931, that "a report on the progress made by Iraq since 1920 was examined by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations at the request of the British Government."

Information supplementary to this report was made available by Lt.-Col. Sir Francis H. Humphrys, High Commissioner for Iraq, who came to Geneva especially for this purpose. Lt.-Col. Humphrys assured the Commission that, after ten years of development under tutelage, the Iraqi State, "given the support and inspiration of membership of the League, is now fit to stand alone and is capable of self-government..." that, indeed "for all practical purposes it is already governing itself."

It is a unique and welcome piece of news that any part of the earth which has been practically under British rule has been declared capable of self-government.

There is not a single province of British India which has not been "under tutelage" of Britain for a very much longer period

to an Iraq And India has enjoyed the support and inspiration of membership of the League as long as Iraq Why then is not India declared fit to stand alone and capable of self-government? Why is not India "for all practical purposes already governing itself?"

Men who are not against Cruelty to Female Children

It is said that as a result of a ballot held on August 24 last, "no less than six Members have drawn up a Bill to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, for introduction in the Assembly on September 8. Three Members have drawn up a Bill to repeal that Act. The former Members are Messrs. N. R. Gunjal, Bhupat Singh, Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar, Maswood Ahmed, B. N. Misra, Iswar Singh. Those who have drawn up a Bill to repeal the Sarda Act are Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, Raja Bahadur Krishnamachariar and Haji Wajiduddin." These persons have deserved to be pilloried

Boycott and British Cloth

It appears from figures published in some papers that the quantities of British cloth imported into the port of Calcutta during the weeks ending 18th and 25th July and some subsequent weeks have decreased as compared with the corresponding weeks of last year, and that a similar comparison shows that Bombay had imported more British cloth during those weeks this year than during the corresponding weeks last year. As the boycott in Bombay is believed to have been more stringent than in Bengal and the other provinces served by Calcutta, the increased import of British cloth by Bombay requires explanation.

An Ex-Dewan on Indian States

Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerji, I. C. S. (retired), C. S. I., C. I. E., served as Dewan to H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin and as Member of the Executive Council of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, officiated as Dewan of Mysore, was made *pucca* Dewan of Mysore, and lastly served as Foreign Minister of Kashmir. So he has some experience of Indian States. For some time past he has been editing the quarterly *Indian Affairs*, established by himself and published from

London. In the July issue of this quarterly an editorial paragraph begins with the sentence, "At the same time comes the news of extremist agitation among the States' subjects," showing that Sir Albion is not disposed to encourage or sympathize with the agitators. Such being the case, it is very fair and good of him that he has allowed his sense of justice to lead him to write in the same paragraph :

"Everything points to a general awakening amongst the eighty million subjects of the Indian States. The fact that some who profess to speak in their name take extreme views does not mean that the claims of the States' subjects should be ignored. The unavoidable must happen. They have certain legitimate grievances, and they, as much as any other minorities, deserve protection. With due respect for the authority of the Princes, and whilst having sympathy for their troubles arising from the undue clamour of some of their subjects and attempted encroachment on their rights, one cannot help feeling that the new constitution would be wanting in good sense if the point of view of the subjects was entirely ignored."

Paper Tariff

The Memorandum of the Indian Journalists' Association, as sent to the tariff board at present considering the question of giving a further extension of the period of Protection, contains the following salient facts regarding the existing Protective Tariff on Paper and the use the Paper Manufacturers of this country have made of it.

That the general Book publication business is in a very bad way since the imposition of the protective Tariff is apparent from the dearth of work in the private Presses all over the country but specially in Calcutta. During the four pre-protection years the number of printing-presses increased by 1536, whereas during the four years after Protection the increase is by 1010 only. The publication of periodicals during the former period increased by 736, whereas during the latter period by 66 only. Books in English language 218 as against 95 and Books in vernacular and classical language 4640 as against 1013. The whole business has now come to such a pass that unless the price of paper is cheapened, it is sure to be ruined.

Of the school books the price has become so high that the poor students are feeling great difficulty in procuring their books.

The magazines and periodicals, which are possibly the best source from which the general body of literates get inspiration for extending the field of their knowledge could not reduce their prices since 1920 or reduce their rates of advertisement owing to the high cost they have to incur for their paper supply, although the price index of every other commodity has considerably gone down.

Since the war the interest of the literate people for all sorts of general literary and scientific information has enormously increased and this cannot be satisfied owing to the high price of magazines due to high cost of paper. The protection on paper has virtually become a tax on knowledge without any countervailing good to the country.

The protection of paper has besides become a severe tax on such traders who have to secure their trade through printed literature and catalogues. Analysis of the heads of Post Office receipts will also show how the reduction of trade through Post Office has affected the revenue of the Post Office and put the Postal authorities in such an unprecedented difficulty.

These facts demonstrate clearly that the Protective Tariff on Paper, during the six years it has been in operation since its introduction in 1925, has caused serious loss to the country in money, in education and in revenue. The Bookselling and Publishing trades, on which the indigenous Printing industry is entirely dependent, are faced with total extinction in Bengal and are undergoing an almost equally grave crisis in most other parts of the country. This fact has not been sufficiently emphasized in the Journalists' Association's Memorandum. The total capital and labour investment of these *genuine* Indian concerns far exceed that of the Paper Industry. And they were in a flourishing condition without State aid, Protection or any other measure involving hardships on the poor people of this country being invoked for their benefit, before this thoughtless "Rob Peter to pay Paul" measure brought ruin and disaster on them.

So far for the cost. Let us see whether the result has justified the sacrifice.

The recommendations of the Tariff Board for Protective Tariff in 1925 and the consequent passing of the Bamboo Industry Protection Act were effected with the object of fostering and developing the Bamboo paper industry in India. The expectation of the growth of a local industry engendered by high promises made by the manufacturers of papers when application was first made for protection, and supported by a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the consumers for the growth of an Indian industry, has now been falsified by the results.

Let us see what increase has taken place in the production of bamboo pulp and in the consumption of indigenous raw materials.

The Titagarh Paper Mills, which are the biggest paper as also pulp manufacturers in this country, give the following figures. In 1924-25 they consumed 13,791 tons of indigenous primary materials. In 1929-30 they consumed 15,553 tons of grass, 496 tons of Bamboo, 239 tons of Rags, 415 tons of Hemp Ropes, 2,106 tons of waste

paper that is in total 18,806 tons thus showing a positive decrease during the 5 years. Then in 1930-31 the consumption of Bamboo increased suddenly to 5,526 tons and the total of all these indigenous primary materials rose to 24,606 tons which is barely more than 3000 tons over the total of 1924-25 which would give only 1200 tons of air dry pulp. But during these years the consumption of wood pulp has increased from 6,725 tons in 1924-25 to 12,222 tons in 1928-29 and then this latter figure shows a decrease to 10,026 tons in 1930-31 which shows an increase of nearly 3.5 thousand tons of wood pulp.

With regard to the general practice of the other paper concerns the following is interesting.

The sea customs return reveals that in 1925 the 11,788 tons of pulp was imported whereas this was increased in 1929 to 24,310 tons which again was reduced to 22,716 tons in 1930-31. This shows that the imported pulp is used by Indian Mills to the tune of 11,000 tons over and above the import figure of 1925, showing unmistakably that the Indian Mills are taking advantage of Protective Tariff for manufacturing paper and no pulp. The Titagarh paper mills alone have been benefited to the extent of 75 lacs of rupees owing solely to the additional protective duty over the usual Revenue duty but spent not even 17 lacs of rupees in adding to their general machineries of which not even 25 lacs is exclusively for pulp making machineries.

The enormously high percentage of dividend the Indian mills are paying for some years and the clamour for an extension of protection on Papers show that the Indian Mills are more bent upon making profit for their shareholders than the development of the Bamboo pulp industry.

It may be asked, how are the consumers, the people who are facing ruin and making tremendous sacrifices so that the Paper Manufacturers may benefit, being treated. The following extract gives definite information :

The Titagarh papers are sold in Calcutta at As 3-6'23 p. per lb. The same papers are sold in other upcountry markets such as Lahore and Lucknow, at As. 2-11 per lb., that is, at a price less than the Calcutta price by not less than 6 p. They could have reduced the price at Calcutta, but if compared with the price of 1925, the reduction of Calcutta price is practically nil, inasmuch as the price in 1925 was As. 3-6'46 p. per lb. and in 1930 it was As. 3-6'23 p. according to their own declaration. They have taken advantage of the protection as we have seen above, not to sufficiently invest in new plants, nor in reducing the price of the paper but on making unusual profit.

At the same time it has been shown that better pulp could be made at a lower cost than the usual imported stuff, from bamboo. But the mills are too busy making hay while the sun shines to bother about the developing of the bamboo pulp

industry--the pretext on which this general licence for extorting *chauth* from the country was issued to them in 1925.

In view of the above facts, and considering the heavy dividends that have been paid by these concerns, Protection for Paper if continued would be an outrage on the public.

In all justice these gentry who have enjoyed--and are still enjoying--"seven years of plenty" at the consumers' expense, should undergo a beneficial "dieting" for the next seven years by a Protective tariff on Wood Pulp being imposed immediately.

Colleges Not Nurseries of Political Crime

Dr. Urquhart, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and Principal, Scottish Church College, said in the course of his inaugural address in opening the All-Calcutta Students' Conference last month:--

"I should like to take this opportunity of protesting publicly against the all too hasty generalizations, specially when they affect the student community. We have been recently deeply pained at seeing how the entirely justifiable condemnation of the perpetrators of violent deeds has been transformed into a condemnation of the student body as a whole. It is a gross injustice to speak as if colleges and schools at present were nothing but factories for the production of potential assassins."

Derah Ismail Khan Disturbances

The People of Lahore, August 23, writes:--

Independent versions of the tragic happenings--incendiarism and arson of Hindu shops and houses--at Derah Ismail Khan remind one strongly of what took place at Cawnpore nearly five months ago. The only difference is that at Cawnpore both the parties--Hindus and Muslims--caused and suffered heavy losses; at Derah Ismail Khan the Hindus were the victims. The similarity we want to call attention to lies in the attitude of the police. Even according to the official inquiry the behaviour of the police at Cawnpore was most disgraceful. Independent eye-witnesses have made similar serious allegations against the Derah Ismail Khan police officials too. It is said they kept looking on, enjoying the spectacle, when arson and incendiarism were being perpetrated in their presence. An official *communiqué* now announces that a small commission of inquiry is going to be appointed. The personnel of the commission is not yet known.

Retrenchment Urgently Required in Bengal

Mr. J. N. Gupta, M.I.C., I.C.S. (retired), is convinced that there is "need of drastic retrenchments in the existing extravagant and top-heavy schemes of the administration of the province." While the Central Government and most of the major provinces are devising

schemes of economy and retrenchment, he asks:

Are there any adequate and valid reasons why Bengal should not fall into line? Is it not a fact that of all the major provinces Bengal is by far the poorest in India, her revenue per head being less than 1/3 of other major provinces, while the most recent authoritative investigations have disclosed that of all the Provinces Bengal has been able to do the least for the moral and material uplift of the people since the Reforms.

And yet the fact is that the aggregate of revenues raised in Bengal, labelled "provincial," "Central" and "railway," is not less but probably more than that raised in any other Province.

Bengal and the Re-constitution of Provinces

Various areas are going to be made "Governor's provinces" on linguistic, communal and other grounds.

When two decades ago Bengal was re-partitioned, a Royal promise was given that her boundaries would be again looked into. The officers of H. M. King George V. have not yet redeemed that promise. Now that new provinces are going to be constituted, it is only fair that all Bengali-speaking areas on the borders of Bengal should be given back to Bengal. The repartitioning of Bengal is not a mere sentimental grievance. It has also led to Bengal's economic impoverishment. This will be clear if figures were given for the minerals extracted in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa respectively. Let us take only coal. In 1929 Bengal extracted 4,965,104 long tons of coal, and Bihar and Orissa 15,123,144 long tons. Much of the coal-bearing area now included in Bihar and Orissa originally and naturally belonged to Bengal, and should be given back to Bengal. If Bengal gets back all Bengali-speaking areas severed from her, her economic grievance as regards minerals will also be partly redressed.

What Mr. S. C. Ghosh said in April last as president of the annual general meeting of the Indian Mining Federation, according to the report published in *The Searchlight* of April 5, requires to be quoted in this connection. Said he:

Whatever may be the measure of political autonomy granted at the Centre, it is certain that in the revised constitution the provinces will receive a completely autonomous status. The question of provincial autonomy, in my opinion throws into clear relief the need for the re-constitution of Indian provinces along the natural

limits of the economic zone of each province. We in the coal industry are specially interested in the reconstitution of the boundaries of the province of Bengal. The economic coal-bearing zone, known as the Ranigunge and Jharia coalfields, cuts at present across the provincial borders. The result has been that a part of the coalfields is now situated within the province of Bihar and Orissa and a part within the province of Bengal. It would, in my opinion, make for distinctly greater advantage to the coal industry if the Ranigunge and Jharia coalfields could be placed under one provincial administration. I anticipate that under the new constitution the provinces will have to do much more on their own unfettered responsibility than at present. In order, therefore, to rule out the possibility of any divergence of treatment by two provincial Governments in regard to two halves of the same industry, it seems imperative that the district of Manbhum should be included within the territorial boundaries of the province of Bengal.

It is admitted on all hands that Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking district.

Rice Research, and Burma and Bengal

The New Delhi correspondent of *Advance* writes :

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have sanctioned a scheme for rice research in Burma, which will be in operation for a period of five years beginning from November next. The Council will make recurring and non-recurring grants annually to meet the expenditure which will supplement the grant of Rs. 1,20,368 sanctioned by the Empire Marketing Board for this purpose. The scheme is subject to the following condition amongst others :

That the grant will not be regarded as a subvention towards the normal work of the Provincial Department of Agriculture, but will be utilized for a scheme of rice research and for the appointment of a Plant Breeding Expert for rice in Burma.

On this he quite justly observes :

As Burma is going to be separated from India in the near future, it is desirable in the primary interests of Indian tax-payers that the experiment should be put into operation in Bengal, which is the premier rice-producing province, if it is not too late to alter the present arrangement.

Foundation of the American Tagore Association

The first announcement of a nation-wide celebration in India to commemorate the attainment of the seventieth year by Rabindranath Tagore seems to have given signal for celebrations outside India which are as sincere and touching as they are

international in significance. The half-starved children of Soviet Russia have sent their greetings. One of its great composers has written a special musical score and dedicated it to Tagore. The University of Paris, one of the foremost centres of western learning, organized a special celebration in honour of the Poet-laureate of Asia, and the Rector of the University, Mon. Charléty, Members of the "Institut" like Mon. Paul Pelliot and A. Foucher, Professors of the Faculty like M. M. Jules Bloch, Mauss and others, all assembled in the Institute of Indian civilization of the University of Paris, founded through the influence of Mon. Sylvain Lévy, the greatest living Indologist of Europe, now the President of the Société Asiatique of Paris. Now comes the news from our friends of New York that the Tagore birth-day was celebrated in different cultural centres of America and that the American Tagore Association has been founded in that connection.

Sir Arthur Salter's Scheme for an Economic Council in India

Last November the Government of India invited the League of Nations to send Sir Arthur Salter to India for "consultation with regard to the creation of a new economic organization in India." The proposed consultation was for the purpose of studying economic questions and for making "plans designed to achieve particular purposes."

Sir Arthur Salter's Report is illuminating in many ways. First of all he gives in his Report a list of such economic organizations in other lands, such as France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Greece. He omits Russia however, and says nothing about the Five-Year Plan which constitutes to-day the greatest economic experiment and corporate economic endeavour in the world. This may be because he comes from the League of Nations and Russia is hardly a nation. Or the reason may be traced to the congenital dislike of Russia of the Government of India. But men have things to learn even from snakes and nations can surely benefit by a study of Russian economics.

We are told by Sir Arthur how "A League technical committee pointed out some time ago to a European Government which it was advising, the fostering by the state of those industries which have least affinity with the natural resources, opportunities and traditions of the country, necessarily involves serious loss to other industries which could with less expense have been converted into real producers of national wealth, as well as to non-industrial interests.

Therefore Sir Arthur recommends the maximum development of the most potent resources of the country (and the relative neglect of such resources and institutions as would not quickly and readily increase our national wealth). Among national resources are natural resources, *e.g.* land, forests, mines, rivers, seas, etc. etc.; human resources such as unskilled and skilled labour, technical brains and enterprising minds and, finally, the past savings of the nation *i.e.* its capital which is scattered all over the country in the shape of roads, bridges, canals, railways, buildings, trees, artificially added fertility of the soil, education, goodwill of business, machinery, boats, ships, vehicles, precious metals, gems, etc. etc. Of these various resources the human element is most important. As has been pointed out by many economists the poverty of India is mainly due to lack of industrial and agricultural skill, lack of organization and business brains and lack of organized funds. Therefore the first thing that one should aim at is the removal of these wants by agricultural, industrial and general education. Next comes the problem of material construction such as, electrification, organization and rationalization of industries, banking, building roads, canals, railways, development of at present unworked resources and areas like the Himalayan territories, etc. The main idea should be, as is in accordance with the first principle laid down, the fullest utilization of national potentialities as opposed to making it easier for foreign resources (human and others) to find occupation and become important in the scheme of Indian economy.

Sir Arthur has some unsavoury comments to make on Governmental practices. On page 11 of his Report he says:

The Royal Commissions are formal and slow; and a comparison of actual results with their voluminous reports and recommendations is often disillusioning.

On page 12 he condemns -

the inadequacy, or inaccuracy, of the information at present available.

He also points out that

the "internal trade" statistics suppressed on the recommendation of Lord Inchcape's Commission are very much needed, that indices of wholesale and retail prices, and of wage levels, are at present almost entirely lacking except in a few areas, that the information published is often in too crude a form, unanalysed and unaccompanied by explanation... in all these respects India compares unfavourably with many other countries and... considerable improvement could be effected without disproportionate expense.

These comments are a tribute to the highest paid Civil Service in the world as well as to the highly efficient system of doing things that the British have built up in India!

Sir Arthur Salter has not had the time or the skilled assistance necessary for drawing up a comprehensive scheme of economic development in India. Nor was he sent here to draw up such a scheme. What would have been to our advantage is, if he had been asked to make recommendations regarding the future economic policy of the Indian State. Government-appointed and organized advisory councils, however non-official and representative they may be, would usually be more glorified Chambers of Commerce, which aim at enriching existing commercial and industrial interests. What India wants is a general economic upliftment, a great increase in production accompanied by a general rise in the standard of living. This could only be brought about by a tremendous national effort like the Russian Five-Year Plan. What that plan is achieving will be seen in the following note on that subject.

A. C.

The Russian Five-Year Plan

In an article in the *New York Times*, late in 1927 an eminent American economist wrote as follows, after he had paid a visit to Soviet Russia:

Sixteen men in Moscow to-day are attempting one of the most audacious economic experiments in history. As the presidium of the state planning Commission, responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and popularly known as the Gosplan, they are

laying down the industrial future of 146 000 000 people and of one-sixth the land area of the world for fifteen years. They are making a careful and immensely detailed plan for a year in advance, a careful but less detailed plan for the next five years, and are blocking out the general economic development for the next fifteen years.

It is an experiment so immense, so novel and so courageous that no student of economics can afford to neglect it. Whether it transcends the limits of human administrative capacity and fails, or whether it meets this challenge and succeeds, it has much to teach us. It is something new in the world.

Suppose you were asked to-morrow to take a train to Washington to sit at a desk in a Government bureau, to take pencil and paper and tell the rail roads, the power companies, the steel mills, the coal mines, the oil fields, the Secretary of the Treasury, the banks, the wholesale houses, the farmers, the ship lines and the automobile factories how to order their capital investments and their raw materials, how to plan their production and distribution—for the next five years. One suspects that Henry Ford would quail before the order. For lesser mortals a journey to the moon would seem about as feasible. Yet here are men who have accepted the challenge in a larger though less industrially complicated country.

This account hails back several years. Since then the Five-Year Plan has turned out to be no idealistic stunt, but a phenomenal economic achievement. This has been possible, because in Soviet Russia it was something which everybody worked for, though a few experts planned it. The following statistics speak for themselves.

GROSS PRODUCTION FIGURES FOR THE U S S R (In billion roubles at pre-war prices)

Year.	All industries	Manufactures	Agriculture	Total production.	Ratio to 1913
1913	8.43	6.39	11.61	20.04	100.0
1914	8.43	6.43	11.36	19.79	98.8
1917	6.38	4.78	10.72	17.10	85.3
1920-21	2.08	1.08	7.42	9.50	47.4
1924-25	5.65	3.96	9.75	15.40	76.8
1925-26	7.58	5.72	11.76	19.34	96.5
1926-27	8.76	6.72	12.37	21.13	105.4
1927-28	10.08	8.14	12.26	22.34	115.5
1928-29	11.77	12.48	24.25	121.0

The figures show clearly the economic condition of Russia in Czarist days, how the crash came during and after the Revolution in 1917 and how for many years Russia's productivity was more than halved. Then began a slow recovery under Soviet rule. But with the coming of the Five-Year Plan things took a distinctly better turn and great progress was made within a very short time. If positive instances were taken, the power of the plan would be seen even more clearly. Electrification was one of the passions of Lenin. His was the idea that was carried to the extreme of economic feasibility by the Gosplan. Thus we see :

Output of Electric Power (million kwh.)

1913	1927-28	1928-29	Ratio 1927-28 to 1913	Ratio 1928-29 to 1913
1,945	5,050	6,600	259.6	339.3

In Other Fields

	1913	1927-28	1928-29	Ratio to 1913	Ratio 1928-29 to 1913
Coal (mill. tons)	28.9	35.4	41.1	122.5	142.2
Petroleum (" ")	9.3	11.6	13.2	125.8	141.9
Peat (" ")	1.55	6.9	7.7	446.2	500.3
Internal Combustion Engines (1000 h.p.)	26.5	106.9	150.0	403.4	565.0
Agricultural Machinery (mill. rubles)	67	125	162	186.6	241.8
Pig Iron (mill. tons)	4.2	3.3	4.1	78.6	97.6
Super Phosphates (thousand tons)	55	150	261	272.7	474.5
Cotton Fabrics (mill. mts)	2250	2742	2970	121.9	132.0
Woolen Fabrics (" ")	95	97	105	102.1	110.5
Sugar (thousand tons)	1990	1340	1340	103.9	103.9
Grain (mill. tons)	91.6	31	74.5	89.6	91.3

A study of these figures show clearly in what direction Russian economics is moving. Electrification and mechanization are the main principles of the whole scheme. No ideal inefficiency for the Russians! Generally speaking India's economic needs are similar to those of Russia. A careful study of the Five-Year Plan, however, shows that above everything the Russians spend a great deal of energy in collectivization of industries and farms. It may be that the Russians would have achieved better results if they had devoted their entire energies to greater production only and cared less for collectivization or socialization. If it is a right assumption, one should recommend that for an Indian Plan greater production alone should be the aim, without any particular reference to the philosophical ideals regarding the ownership of the economic resources, excepting of course in cases where ownership is a determining factor of productivity (as in the case of Agriculture and Tenancy).

A. C

The Golden Book of Tagore

Naturally enough the response to the 'Golden Book' is as universal as it is sincere. Contributions are pouring in from all the world over and the Committee hopes that some of the best minds and noblest souls of this age will be represented in this significant homage to India's greatest Poet Rabindranath. Of the five sponsors to the volume Mahatma Gandhi has already sent his autograph tribute to the Poet expressing his deep love and appreciation. Sir J. C. Bose, the Greek Poet Costis Palamas and Professor Einstein have also sent their contributions, while Mon. Romain Rolland has sent an unpublished dramatic fragment 'Niobi' with a special dedication to Tagore. But of his group of fellow Nobel Laureates, over and above Einstein and Rolland, Mrs. Selma Lagerlof of Sweden, Knut Hamsun of Norway, Thomas Mann and Professor Sommerfeld have already sent their contributions and Professor C. V. Raman, W. B. Yeats and Sinclair Lewis will send theirs very soon. Johan Bojer has also sent in his contribution.

From England, Bertrand Russell, Havelock Ellis, Gilbert Murray, Lowes Dickinson,

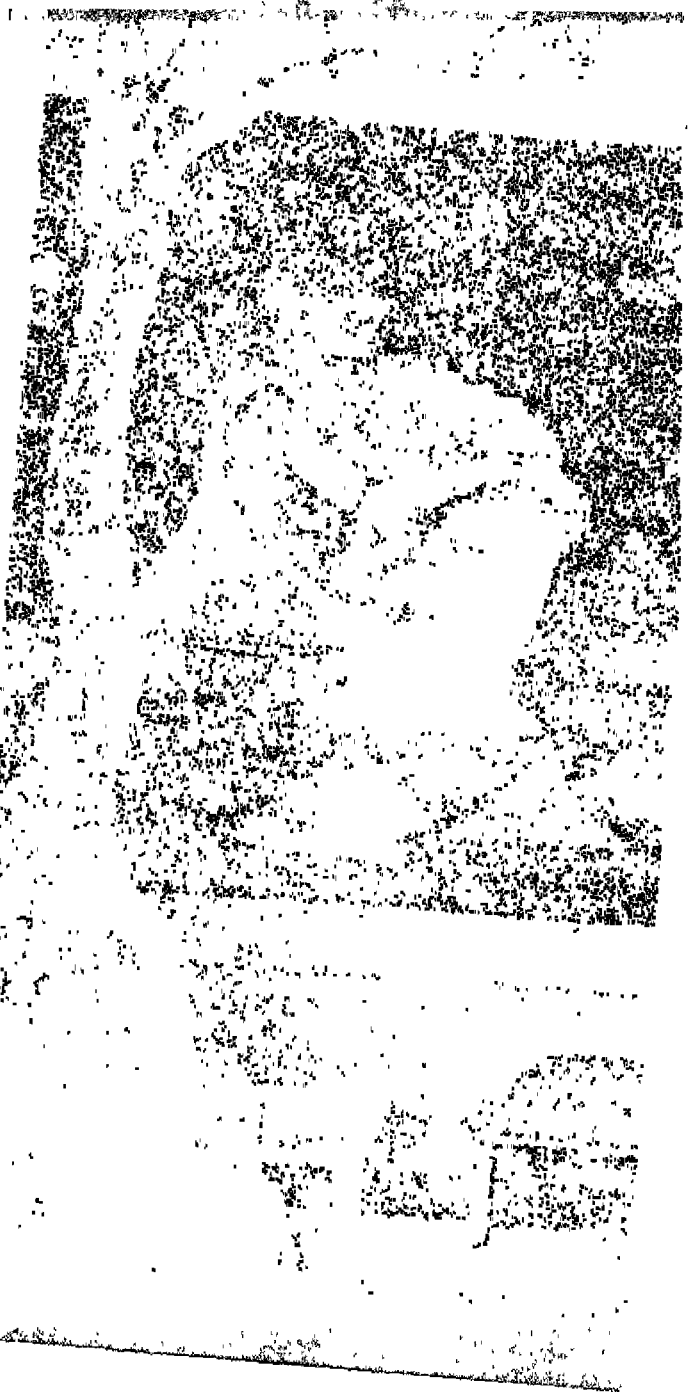
Lawrence Binyon, William Rothenstein, Sir Michael Sadler, H. W. Nevinson, E. B. Havell, C. P. Scott, Edwyn Bevan and others have sent their writings. From America Edwin A. Robinson, Upton Close, Will Durant, J. H. Holmes, Dr. J. T. Sunderland, Nicholas Roerich and others have written. From Russia her great composer Vassilenko has sent a musical score specially composed for the great Indian song-maker, while Profs. Petrov and Pinkevitch have sent their writings. Nearly all the great Academies of Europe have sent their homage through M. Paul Valéry of the French Academy, Costis Palamas of the Athenian Academy, Prof. Sommerfeld of the German Academy, Dr. Sven Hedin of the Nobel Academy, Prof. Formichi of the Italian Academy and the Director of the Spanish Academy of Madrid. Some of the leading Orientalists and Indologists of Europe have sent their contributions. To mention among others, Prof. Sylvain Lévy of Paris, Dr. Winternitz of Prague, Prof. Sten Konow of Oslo and Prof. Carlo Formichi of Rome.

From the vast continent of Asia, a few interesting pieces have come from China and Japan, a poem from Lin Yen Hon of the Buddhist monastery of Peking and another from Yone Noguchi of Tokyo, as well as two splendid tributes from Mangkoenagoro VII, Sultan of Soerakarta and Noto Soeroto of Java. The postal communications in Asiatic countries are far from being satisfactory and many of the letters of invitation seem to have been lost. Still the Committee is confident about getting in due time contributions from Tagore's admirers in Persia (which invited him), Iraq, Turkey and Egypt.

TO ADVERTISERS

As our offices will remain closed for a fortnight during the Pujas, all advertisement copy, stop orders and alterations for the November issue must reach us by the 7th of October. Any matter or instruction received after that date will be useless.

Advertising Manager
THE MODERN REVIEW



THE SHOP
By Ramendranath Chakravarty

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OCTOBER, 1931

WHC

Conditions of Wage-workers in Mysore State

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

ORE has a reputation for being progressive. It is often spoken of as the "model" Indian State. Its Sir Mirza Mohammed Ismail, now on for the Indian Round Table Conference, indeed publicly claimed, on one occasion, that it was "in a category of its

as a right to expect from such a State in stimulating industrialism on a national plan it would adopt not only measures for enriching the poorer classes, but also measures perfected in the West for the protection of the interests of the State, ensuring comparatively decent conditions of life and safe-guarding the health of the workers and the health of the unborn. One has a right, moreover, to expect from an administration enjoying a reputation for progressiveness not only an impressive array of fine laws, but also, on paper, equitable treatment of the workers of mines, mills, factories and so on, but also an adequate and efficient machinery for translating these laws into action and a vigorous campaign upon the part of the State to improve the lot of the workers and to provide them with

II

An outsider entering Mysore's for the first time is favourably impressed. That is particularly the case if he is as the honoured guest of the "Government."

The tradition of hospitality with Oriental—especially Hindu—races retains its vitality wonderfully, as attested from personal experience. On more than one occasion officials, from the top down, lay themselves out to "show the time" (if I may borrow an expression from the land of the "Stars and Stripes") too, guests are entertained lavishly. Beautiful spots of the State and its beauties are provided without stint for the guests, and the skilfully wrought and beautifully maintained under the command of kings and emperors, old, and familiarizing themselves with schemes of public utility upon which the Government has embarked since the "Province" (some 29,500 square miles area) was handed back to the (adoptive) of the dispossessed Hindu dynasty.

The newcomer is charmed with the City. The region surrounding the City has been carefully "town-planned"; the streets are wide and their surface is smooth. They broaden in places into contrived "circles."

Black growing trees, planted on either side of the road, grass-edged herbaceous borders margining the motor-way, plazas and parklets on every hand, entrance the visitor. It looks like a little bit of paradise detached from the heavenly regions and set down in the midst of a semi-arid land.

Even in the driest season the environs of the royal residence are remarkably green. Only when the men and women bearing earthen pots or actually sprinkling the precious fluid on plants and bushes are seen is it possible to realize how the miracle is produced.

Myriads of electric bulbs twinkle, particularly on a festive night. A lakh (so I have been told) of incandescent lamps have been fixed on the walls, turrets and domes of the Palace and bathe it in effulgence in the evenings round about His Highness' birthday or the Dassara.

Any night in the year the hill rising above the Palace is picked out with lights from its foot to the final of the shrine dedicated to Shri Chamandeswari (the guardian goddess of the princely house) that crowns it. Seen from the platform on the hill-side, built at the Maharaja's bidding, the City presents a sight unique in India. So impressed was a Muslim divine from my part of India who beheld the spectacle for the first time that he exclaimed:

"Elsewhere in our country there is only one sky. But here in Mysore there are two—the starry heaven above and the twinkling electric lights below."

III

Bangalore, the headquarters of His Highness the Maharaja's Government, where, too, he has a palace (built in imitation of Windsor Castle) which he occupies at times—favourably impresses the newcomer. He is struck with the evidences of modernity that lie upon the surface everywhere.

The roads connecting "Carlton House"—not the (late) Marquis Curzon's house in London, but the Dewan's official residence in Bangalore—with the Public Offices and the Palace are kept in a good state of repair. The "Government House" car in which the State guests are driven about by skilful drivers glides over these highways almost as easily as it would over the asphalt streets in the United States of America, where it was manufactured. It goes, at regular intervals, past iron posts supporting wires over which

travel, unseen by the eye, a fleet, fast-driven machinery, lights houses and streets and runs telephones and telegraphs (the last outside Mysore's jurisdiction).

The roads are lined on either side with tall, wide-spreading trees, their branches sometimes intertwining overhead forming a cool colonnade. Beyond them, set far back in large compounds, some of which look more like well-kept parks than private grounds, are handsome residences. Progress and prosperity appear to be writ large everywhere on everything.

Barely five minutes' walk from Lavender's Hotel, in which I am staying, is situated the administrative nerve-centre of the States—the Public Offices, popularly known as the *Atharan Karcheri* (the eighteen courts). Nearly two furlongs in length, a structure that has obviously grown as needs increased, it is set at the edge of a park that, watered by the showers of the south-west monsoon now in progress, is green.

The Dewan is associated with three (recently "retrenched" to two) members in an Executive Council. For some reason that I have been unable to discover, they are not known according to the principal subject they hold in their portfolio. They bear numbers and are called the "First," "Second" and "Third" Member respectively.

The Secretaries are, on the contrary, not numbered. They are known after the department or departments they control under the oversight of the Dewan and the Member in charge. Judging by their number and especially by the multiplicity of the bureaux they administer, the elaborate routine followed in the various offices, the bulky volumes of rules regulating official conduct, the reports and other documents issued "under authority" and the expense incurred on the central establishment, the modernization of the Mysore administration appears to have proceeded very far.

IV

Some one connected with the Government had the foresight, years ago, to confine industries to a certain locality instead of letting mills and factories rise wherever they may. He must have been a town-planner *par excellence* at a time when little was known of town-planning in modern India. He scented the danger that lurked in pursuing, in this respect, the line of least resistance.

The industrial area now in the south-westerly corner of Bangalore. The situation offers certain advantages.

A considerable acreage was undeveloped in this region when the first mill was constructed. Despite much activity during recent years, some of the land still lies waste.

The metre-gauge line linking the town with Mysore skirts this area. The yards of the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway that serves as an artery between the State and the contiguous parts of British India and through those parts with the outside world, are situated almost in the centre. Arterial roads pass through or near it. These communications make it easy to transport raw materials to the mills and the finished goods to the markets.

Raw materials are available within easy reach. Cotton is grown in the State and in near by districts in the Nizam's Dominions and the Madras Presidency. Since Tipoo's time the silk-worm has been reared in Mysore. During recent years much has been done by the Government to stimulate that industry. Some wool is also produced and an effort has been made during the last decade to upbreed sheep, with a view to increasing the quantity and improving the quality of the wool.

When industrial development was begun towards the end of the last century, Bangaloreans were proud of their water-supply, and justly so. A large lake, capable of holding a quantity of water that appeared immense in those days had been constructed some years earlier and conduits laid. The demand made by industrial concerns could easily be met after the requirements for drinking water had been satisfied both in Bangalore City and the adjoining Civil and Military Station—a bit of Mysore leased out to the Government of India.

An active policy of utilizing the falls in the Cauvery river at Sivasamudram to their utmost capacity and the willingness of the Government to supply current at a cheap rate saved industrialists the trouble of arranging for power through other means. It offered the additional advantage of doing away with the smoke and smells inseparable from the generation of power from coal and oil, which would, in any case, have had to be imported from the outside and would have added to the cost of production.

Labour too was available near at hand

The Madras Presidency was groaning under the weight of population. Tamils were therefore only too eager to migrate to Bangalore and elsewhere in search of employment.

This area, in fine, was specially suited for the development of industry. If initiative and capital for the utilization of the existing advantages were forthcoming, mills and factories would spring up in the natural course of events.

And they did. Not perhaps as rapidly and certainly not as plentifully as they should have done in the circumstances. But still several mills were established.

V

Had the Government been as much alive to the need of safe-guarding the interests of the workers and creating a pleasant, healthful environment for them and their children as it was eager to encourage the industrialists, all would have gone on well. By now this part of Bangalore would have become a garden city, like Port Sunlight, the soap-town established by the (first) Lord Leverhulme, or Bourneville—Messrs. Cadbury's chocolate city—in England.

The ability to create garden cities was not lacking. One has merely to visit the portion of Mysore City lying in the vicinity of the Palace, or the parts of Bangalore City surrounding the Dewan's residence, the Public Offices and the Bangalore Palace, to see what officials in this State are able to do in the way of town-planning if they wish to exert themselves in that direction. The description given by me at the beginning of this article, though hurried, will suffice to enable persons who cannot visit these towns to form an idea of them.

But it does not appear to have occurred to anyone in authority to create a beautiful or even a healthful environment for the workers. Or if the idea occurred to any one, it was infertile, beyond probably the production of a plan, drawn carefully to scale and coloured attractively enough to make a pretty decoration when framed and hung in an office or drawing-room.

It lacked, in any case, that impulse which compels men in power to dip into the State coffers and extract from it money to convert eye-sores into places of beauty. Without that compelling impulse the surroundings of the Palace in Mysore City and round the Public Offices in Bangalore City would have remained unsightly and

the opulent neighbourhood in these towns would not have been the Mecca of sightseers.

Ah! Such is life! Those persons who possess the resources to create for themselves an enchanting environment are not called upon to incur expenditure. The Government assumes, without any urging, the financial burden with which the rate-payers should in equity, have been saddled.

But persons who lack amenities are left without them. The area they occupy must remain a scar upon the otherwise fair face of the city because the Government, in its wisdom, will not deprive the Municipality of the privilege of improving it and the Municipality, not without reason, pleads poverty.

VI

It thus happens that when one goes from the part of Bangalore wherein the mighty dwell to the area in which the wage-earners are huddled, one finds all effort to beautify has ceased furlongs before the edge of that section has been reached. The "circles" (or "circuses," as they would be called in the country from which the idea behind them has been borrowed) of which superficial visitors to the State speak in rapturous terms, are non-existent. There are no giant trees, their greenery restful to the eye and their shade welcome on a hot day. No parks or parklets have been created to serve as "lungs."

There are no swimming tanks—no shower baths—no public (and, for that matter, few private) baths. There is even a paucity of taps and sometimes the water runs in them only at certain hours when it is not convenient for the slum dwellers to bathe.

Little effort has been made indeed to develop the water-supply *pari passu* with the growth of the population in Bangalore City. I have seen with my own eyes women, working and otherwise, at ten o'clock at night, sitting round public taps in the city in crowds waiting for their turn to come to draw a pottful of the precious liquid, which sometimes ran in a mere trickle, and carry it home for domestic use.

The sight always makes me feel sad. It is not seemly for women to be out in the street at that late hour.

A little foresight upon the part of the men in power would have averted the need for stinting water so necessary for

life. All that would have been necessary was that work on the new water-works scheme should have been begun several years earlier, in anticipation of the demand, instead of in 1930.

The only tank that, if kept clean, might enable the workers who congregate in this district to bathe occasionally has been permitted to become foul. I have a shrewd suspicion that the waste water from a series of mills is allowed to empty into it. Hundreds of buffaloes and other cattle are in any case, to be seen wallowing in the shallow water at its edge or standing a little further in. In the measure that they enjoy themselves they rob the poor labourers living in the vicinity of the slender opportunity to keep themselves clean.

The children in this district are even worse off than the adults. No open-air playgrounds have been provided for them by the Government, the Municipality or the mills. They have only the gutter in which to amuse themselves.

The gutters are evil smelling. Water runs into them from drain-holes in houses fringing the narrow alleys. Refuse is thrown or swept into them. They are used as latrines. Breeding places that they are for mosquitoes and deadly germs of every description, it is only necessary to look at them or to get a whiff of the ooze in them to understand why Bangalore, like Mysore and other towns in the State, is seldom without an epidemic of one kind or another, and why the death-rate, particularly the rate of infant mortality, is so shocking.

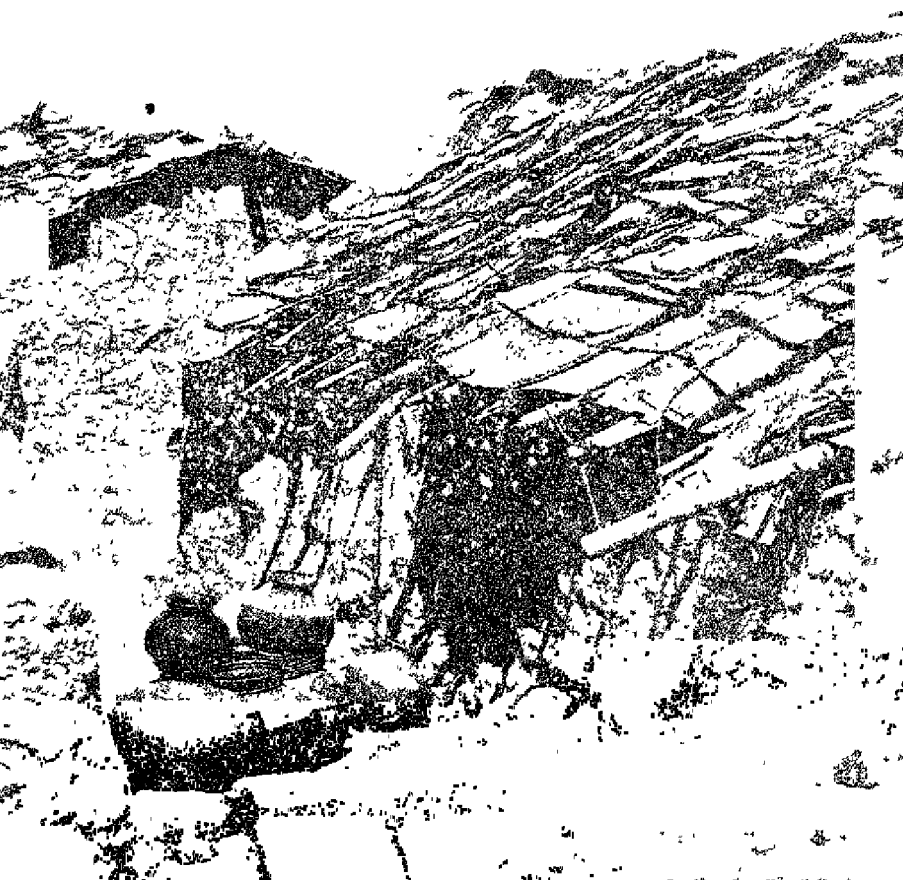
VII

The vilest of housing conditions in the industrial area of Bangalore defies description. On either side of the narrow dark, stinking alleys—dank in the monsoon season—are studded ramshackle huts unfit to serve even as kennels or pig-sties.

Many of the mud hovels look as if they had been built without the use of square or plumb-line to ensure even angles and straight walls. There is, indeed, no attempt at alignment in them. They sag here and bulge there as if an earthquake had heaved them up in spots and tumbled them down in others, giving the roof the appearance of the outline of a sway-backed horse.

The roofs are, in many instances, of corrugated iron or old kerosene tins flattened out. To prevent gusts of wind from lifting

CONDITIONS OF WAGE-WORKERS IN MYSORE STATE



operatives in the Binny Mills, Bangalore, live in the most squalid surroundings
Copyright Photograph by St Nihal Singh

them away they are weighted
ones.

d one lane in this district. It
two inches in width.

way through which I entered
enements was four feet eleven

and two feet two inches wide.
n of ordinary stature would

o in order to enter the room
ke from the cow-dung fire

the chimneyless hearth almost
choked me while I was taking

ments of the bowel. It was
ree inches in width, ten feet

deep and, under the peak
seven feet high.

and a woman "lived" in this
hey had no children at the

vere, I believe, expecting a baby

This is quite a typical to
Bangalore's industrial area exc
is occupied by only one couple
uncommon for two and even mo
to huddle in a single room with
a tiny veranda. Nor is there an
such huts in which parents and th
adolescent and even adult progen
in a heap. Not infrequently, ne
sometimes not relatives at all,
as lodgers. Indeed the number that
into them in some cases sound
unbelievable.

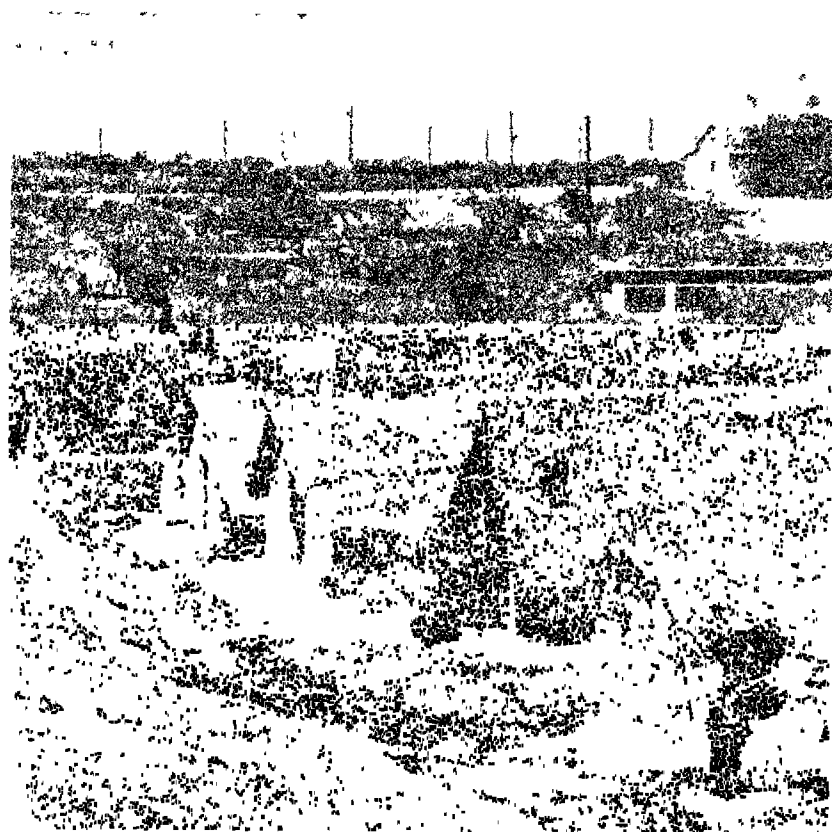
I do not blame the wage-work
overcrowding. Their earnings a
small. Rents are high—extortion
considering the accommodation

What chance is there for the
slaves of circumstance who perfor
in these vile cond tions to lead a

edge of the industrial area is a mud with which the monsoon played havoc. The earth, usually soft, has been swept away leaving ugly holes behind. This created has been utilized for housing some industrial bottom is fifteen and, in some twenty feet below the level of the street level. It is necessary for the water-carriers to climb up and down the sides of the hole in which their pots are kept their head.

There is no lack of "water-carriers" during the rainy season. When the monsoon rains pour down upon the earth, their contents upon the earth, water pours down from the pit and the drain. The kind Municipality overruled.

There is no lack of "water-carriers" during the rainy season. When the monsoon rains pour down upon the earth, their contents upon the earth, water pours down from the pit and the drain. The kind Municipality overruled.



Water-carriers living in a pit—from fifteen to twenty-five feet below the street level. Copyright Photograph by Sri Nihal Singh

As I have been able to ascertain, the pits have been constructed to make the ascent from the pit easy, living there struggle up and down the ramps like P. W. D. "coolies" in their work operations. Particularly hard upon the women "water-carriers," as it is significantly are the traditional water-carriers

such times the place in and the unfortunate beings subjected to intense discomfort. Set down, as the "P" deep hollow, it is a bare, cold place where trees grow there to afford shelter to the wretches who dwell in the pits. The huts are crowded close together in their very midst.

ter can be no proper ventilation on account of the steep lanes surrounding the huts. They have placed two sets of latrines for ventilation and to drain.

Who can envy the workers who find themselves living near these stinking conveniences? And imagine the effect upon the health of the pit-dwellers when the hole in which they live becomes flooded during the monsoon, and when the filth from above is washed down to add to the insanitation already existing there!

The men and women who, with their children, occupy these wretched huts in this hell are workers in spinning and weaving mills near by. They toil for long hours for pitifully small wages that just enable them to keep body and soul together. Who are they to pick and choose their habitation? They must find shelter near their work.

By a strange coincidence, a few hours after I had visited the "Pit Colony" one of the powers that be in the State came to see me. When I asked him what he had to say about it, he told me, point blank, that he had never heard of it—much less had ever seen it.

I do not know which is more reprehensible—to be utterly oblivious of the wretchedness and misery of "the other half of the world," or, knowing the dreadful conditions in which the "other half" exists, to do nothing to improve them.

IX.

It is not because of lack of space for expansion that the workers who dwell in the "Pit Colony" and near by crowded districts are left to their misery there. The mills are, as I have noted, situated at the very edge of Bangalore. Immediately beyond them, across the railway line, is a vast stretch of open country.

A "mansion" stands at one edge of Mysore City. It has cost the State, I am told, some Rs. 2,500,000. It has been actually tenanted only a few days by the Government's guests of high degree during the years that it has been in existence.

If those twenty-five lakhs had been spent upon creating beautiful surroundings for the wage-workers in Bangalore, how different would be the story I would have had to tell!

Not only has the Government been negligent in this matter, but it has apparently refrained from putting any pressure upon

the mill owners at least to ensure a standard of accommodation and any tangible results. Here is one fact that tells its own tale.

A collection of mills in Bangalore, set up and run with money largely subscribed by Indians and, I understand, subsidized by the Government, is under British management. Some 4,500 men and women are employed in the various departments. With the exception of a few who live in buildings owned by the Company and a few more who have put up "cubicles" of an "improved type" on Municipal land, mostly with borrowed money, the mill-hands are compelled to live in rented hovels of the nature described by me earlier in this article, for which they have to pay rents at exorbitant rates to the landlords.

Yet in Madras, less than two hundred miles distant, the same company manages two mills. It has built sanitary "lines" for its employees in those mills. A few years ago one of the high officials took me over them and explained to me how he and his colleagues had taken pains to preserve cleanliness. I particularly noted the bathing facilities and latrines provided for the workers, and the garden plots that were allotted to them so that they could grow their own vegetables if they so desired.

Why should the same British management act so differently in Madras and in Bangalore? It cannot be explained upon a purely economic basis.

The management of the mills in Bangalore do not, for instance, hesitate to employ a number of Britons and pay them salaries and bonuses upon a scale sufficiently attractive to bring them out to India and keep them there. They have built bungalows in healthy, beautiful surroundings for their residence.

Despite the expense incurred upon the European staff, the mills have passed through prosperous times. After the payment of bonuses and dividend reserves have been built up.

Given the will, I have little doubt that funds could have been found for extricating the workers from the toils of the rapacious landlords and giving them decent housing conditions at a nominal or even reasonable rate. But the incentive was lacking—the wage-earners themselves were dumb. The State, to all appearances, was apathetic.

There is only one way in which to

account for the difference of treatment by the same agents in Madras and Bangalore.

In British India there is a growing body of public opinion. It is becoming increasingly clamant—powerful. There is, moreover, some attempt at semi-responsible government.

In the administrative nerve-centre of this Indian State all sorts of devices are employed to restrict the freedom of speech and press and to keep the people subservient. It is true that there is talk of "responsive government." It is likewise true that the present Dewan is an improvement upon some of his predecessors, who were ruthless in forcing their opinions upon the Maharaja's subjects. He and his fellow-officials are nevertheless their own masters so far as the people are concerned. That is certainly not healthy for the rulers—or the ruled.

The reaction of the constitutional position upon the capitalist classes is visible to any one who has the courage to see. That is especially the case in regard to the reaction of that position upon the employing classes that are outside the jurisdiction of His Highness the Maharaja as persons of European descent are

X

Workers in the Kolar Gold Fields, about fifty miles east of Bangalore, leased out to a number of British syndicates and virtually dominated by the powerful British firm of Messrs John Taylor and Sons, are also wretchedly housed. The area is open. Trees are few and seldom spreading. The sun shines mercilessly and the showers, when they descend, beat down upon huts of

corrugated iron. Not only that, but also the sides are of that material.

The huts are low and narrow. I am not quite five feet seven inches in height yet I had to bend my head before I could get into one of them.

The inside was hot. It reminded me of an experience I once had when travelling in the Pacific. The Chief Engineer of the ship was a friendly Scot. He took me down below to examine the works. I stood near the furnaces as they were being stoked. The blast nearly scorched me.

The worst of it is that persons who could bear the inclemency of the weather the least, either too old or too young to work, are left to swelter in these modern infernos during the hottest part of the day.

Whenever I have surveyed the dimensions of a hut I have wondered how men, women and children managed to crowd themselves into it, especially at night. What a multiplicity of functions had to be performed by so many individuals in such a confined space!

Yet the men who sweat in the bowels of the earth, some of them a mile and a half below the surface,—and in holes where any moment death may wrap them in its cruel embrace and crush them into pulp—produced quantities of gold that even King Midas might envy!

Often it appears to me that were not the hardships of life in India poised upon the belief in *Karma*, the load would be impossible to bear. I only wish, however, that sedative did not kill the spirit that would rebel against degrading conditions.

(The second article of this series will appear in The Modern Review for next month)



The Inevitable Extension of Public Control

By WILFRED WELLOCK, M. P.

THE growth of unemployment throughout the world is compelling most people to think, and to face tendencies and proposals which on theoretical grounds they would be inclined to ridicule. The average economist, banker or industrialist tends to look at the present state of world trade as a phenomenon which needs some subtle explanation. For the cure, he looks into his bag of old and tried tricks, expecting that some combination of them will meet the situation. But he is mistaken.

Why should we be surprised at the present state of unemployment in all the industrial countries? If we take our own country, there is not an industry or a works throughout the land which has not been desperately hunting about for labour saving machinery, especially during the last six or seven years, and has not, in consequence of such machinery, been turning increasing numbers of men upon the streets. At the present moment, there is a hot dispute in the cotton industry of Lancashire over the question of automatic machinery, the adoption of which will throw 50 per cent of the weavers out of employment.

Or take the example of iron and steel. In the year 1874 there were 683 blast furnaces in Great Britain, which between them produced 6,566,451 tons of pig iron. As the result of rationalization the number of furnaces had been reduced by 1928 from 683 to 122, while the output of steel had increased. In 1873 each furnace had an average output of 985 tons per year; to-day each furnace produces 50,081 tons per year. Yet the furnace which produces 50,081 tons requires fewer men to operate it than the furnace with a capacity of 935 tons.

These are mere illustrations of what is taking place in every part of this country, and indeed in every industrial country throughout the world. Rationalization is nothing new, but it is being applied more vigorously and consciously to-day than ever in the past. It has indeed become a mania. So much so that success in industry is

measured by the number of men that can be dispensed with.

The natural and inevitable result of this policy is wholesale and increasing unemployment. Thus Capitalism cannot deal adequately with the situation it has created, for the very reason that it regards the increasing number of unemployed as a sign of its success. Its consuming ambition is cheap production, whereas, to accept responsibility for the people it throws out of work, either by maintaining them whilst in that condition, or utilizing their labour through the instrument of a shorter working day, would be to defeat the very purpose of rationalization. That more economic processes of production, and the operation of a shorter working day would mean increased human well-being, is no concern of the majority of industrialists, whose primary aim is, and I presume always will be, cheap production and maximum profits.

In other words, the anti-social character of capitalist industry is being revealed in the present industrial situation as never before. World trade is on the decline, chiefly because countries that were non-industrial before the war are developing industrial processes at an astonishingly rapid rate. This fact, together with rationalization, is the chief cause of the present so-called world trade depression. As a matter of fact, there is actual trade depression, or at any rate it is very slight. What depression there is, is due to the operation of the Capitalist system itself. The unemployed, for instance, are compelled to consume a less quantity of goods than would be the case if they were employed. Furthermore, gluts, as of wheat and other agricultural products, due to machinery and more scientific methods of production, have so cheapened prices as to throw the producers into a condition of penury. The middlemen, as usual, capture the spoils.

Thus, whichever way we look at it, we find that the cause of all our economic and industrial troubles to-day, our penury, our unemployment, the so-called world trade

depression, is over-production, abundance! Indeed the situation is enough to make the gods weep, unless, blessed with the gift of humour, they are splitting their sides with laughter at our folly, wondering when our eyes will be opened.

In the midst of these conditions we are presented with the spectacle, in Great Britain at any rate, of the industrialist, the farming community and the public generally, all pressing for political action of some kind. Either they want tariffs, or bounties, or loans and subsidies, or demand that the Government shall take the initiative in sending out trade delegations to foreign countries, organize compulsory marketing-schemes, and large scale industrial amalgamations, etc.

One has only to sit in the British House of Commons for a week or two to realize the impotence of Capitalism in present conditions. Every industry and every financial interest is busy vying with its neighbours in efforts to secure Government attention and assistance of one kind or another.

In support of this statement let me enumerate some of the things the Government is doing at the present moment. It has appointed Committees to enquire into the cotton trade and the iron and steel trade. Their reports have just been issued, and the Government is assisting in carrying out the recommendations that have been made. In agriculture, a bill to undertake large scale marketing schemes has just been introduced. A Land Drainage Act has just been passed. Furthermore, an announcement has been made that bills are shortly to be introduced to grant powers for large scale State farming, the bulk purchase by the State of foodstuffs and raw materials, etc. During the session that has just closed, a coal bill was passed whereby compulsory marketing schemes are enforced, as well as huge district amalgamations of coal mines. In both of these schemes, the President of the Board of Trade plays an important part, which means that the State is making further encroachments upon the control of industry. This is the first occasion on which the State has secured appreciable control over one of the basic industries. With regard to this industry moreover, further inroads into its control have been made at Geneva, where some success has already been achieved in the

regulation of the hours of labour throughout the coal-fields of Europe.

No one who has carefully studied modern industrial and economic trends, along with modern political developments, can escape the conclusion that the great need of the age is public control, and that the next great step in the sphere of industry and commerce is in the direction of public control, both national and international. By no other means can the fruits of rationalization and mass production be guaranteed to the people in all lands, and the evils of unemployment and "over-production" be avoided. The great need of the world to-day is co-operation, and particularly international co-operation. But co-operation is very difficult to achieve when you are at the mercy of private interests whose aims conflict, not only with each other but with the countries in which they operate and with the people by whose service they prosper. One can see even now what beneficial results could quickly be attained in many directions were there a large measure of public control over certain industries in the various competing countries. To take the example of coal, if the coal industry in the various countries of Europe were nationalized, recent experience has shown how easy it would be to unify the hours of labour, and to ration markets.

To take another illustration, let me refer to Russia. By virtue of complete public control of her various industries, Russia is in a position to say at any time, in regard to any particular industry, whether it would be wise in the national interest to reduce prices or shorten hours in case, say, of over-production. During the time I was in that country I saw this policy operate with wonderful effect. In one case of over-production I saw a national reduction in the price of a commodity take effect with the object of increasing consumption and thus using up the surplus. In another case I witnessed a reduction in the hours of labour with the object of keeping all the workers in that industry employed.

So far as Great Britain is concerned, there can be no doubt, as I have already hinted, that we are moving fast in the direction of increased public control. We cannot travel very far in a Socialist direction in the present Parliament, as the Labour Party has rather less than 40 per cent of the electorate behind it. Nevertheless 40 per cent is a tremendous advance, and brings

the Labour Party into the control of Government. It is also interesting to know that while the question of nationalization is the chief bone of contention between the Liberal Party and the Labour Party, the Liberal Party is travelling very fast in the direction of Socialism, although, of course, it would never accept the name. It is generally recognized that we are fast approaching the time when each industry within the country will be organized as a single unit of production, and the Liberals are as opposed as we are to private monopolies. Indeed they have frequently declared in the present Parliament, that when it comes to a monopoly some form of public control must be introduced. When, therefore, it is recognized that industries are likely to approach a condition of monopoly at a more rapid rate than the State is likely to be able to secure control over them, there need be no hitch with respect to Liberal support for this policy. Indeed, in view of this fact, the line of demarcation between the Liberal and Labour Parties tends to become ever thinner. As a matter of fact it is now so thin that a considerable number of Liberals find it increasingly difficult to justify their remaining longer outside the Labour Party.

If, furthermore, we consider municipal affairs, we find that not only Liberals but even Conservatives are very often strongly in favour of public control. Indeed it is amazing, when one comes to take stock, how rapidly public enterprise is developing municipally. Take Birmingham as an illustration, which I mention because living there I am familiar with its development. In addition to looking after roads, sewers, parks, water-supply, it controls a magnificent electricity service, gas service, bus and tram services, and runs a flourishing municipal bank. It now takes responsibility for the housing of the working classes of the city. During

the last ten years it has built no less than 30,000 working class houses, all of which are beautifully laid out, on well-ordered estates, each house having a garden, and anywhere from four to seven rooms.

The population of Birmingham is 976,000, and altogether the city employs no less than 30,000 people, including the teachers in its numerous schools. If we add to these the more than 4,000 people employed by the Birmingham Post Office, and the 3,600 people employed by the Co-operative Movement, we get a total of 38,000 who are engaged in some form of public service.

These figures give some idea of what is taking place. Moreover the present tendency in this country is to enlarge the area of local government in order to enable new public services to be undertaken, and in the most economic conditions. Even the Local Government Act passed by the Tories in the last Parliament had this object in view. On every hand we have the more progressive local authorities clamouring for larger powers. It is probable that before very long many of our more enterprising municipalities will be taking up the distribution of such commodities as bread, milk, coal, etc.

I merely mention these things in order to show the spirit that prevails in this country; and what is true of England is largely true of Germany also, while economic stress and the growing insecurity of the workers under Capitalism will make an extension of public control imperative in all the industrial countries of the world. Without such control there is no hope of a reasonable life for the great mass of the people, and we shall be condemned to witness increasing poverty and misery amidst abundance and a power of producing goods which surpasses anything of which men have ever dreamed.



The Indian Central Banking Committee's Report

B. NALINAKSHA SANYAL,

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WITH the publication of the Report of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee on the 16th September, a mine of information about the present position and requirements of the credit structure in India was made available, and the attention of the country was once more drawn to the supreme importance of strengthening and organizing our credit institutions as the preliminary step towards economic advancement and freedom.

There is a pretty long history behind the appointment of the Banking Enquiry Committees in 1929, and ultimately Sir George Schuster, who was till then too fresh to be sun-dried into the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic mentality, had made a healthy departure in generally meeting the desire of the people, both in the choice of the personnel and determination of the terms of reference in consultation with the members of the Committee. The Committee which thus was the outcome of a demand by all sections of the people, and which was as representative as it could be, was asked "to investigate past records and existing conditions of banking in India including the organization of the money market and to consider the steps, if any, that are feasible and desirable under the following main headings; *viz.*, (a) the development of banking with a view to the expansion of indigenous, co-operative and joint-stock banking, with special reference to the needs of agriculture, commerce and industry; (b) the regulation of banking with a view to protecting the interests of the public; and (c) banking education with a view to provision of Indian personnel in adequate numbers and with the necessary qualifications to meet the increasing needs of the country for a sound and well-managed national system of banking."

The terms of reference, thus agreed upon, subsequently gave rise to some difference of opinion regarding the question whether the details of the constitution of a Reserve Bank came within the purview of the Committee and the Chairman gave a ruling

precluding such discussions. Otherwise, the field to be covered was immense and the Report published bears clear testimony to the stupendous task undertaken.

The Report is in two parts. Part I comprises more than 900 pages forming the majority report together with a few minutes of dissent and appendices giving among other things the observations of the foreign experts who were asked to collaborate with the Committee; while Part II consists of nearly 500 pages recording the elaborate minority report of Mr. Manu Subedar. The findings of the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees received due consideration in the preparation of the Central Committee's Report, and a summary of the provincial recommendations is appended to Volume I, Part I of the Report.

One interesting feature of the Report is that in order to have the discussions on the basis of a common angle of vision the Committee agreed that the fundamental basis for making their recommendations should be that the administration of the provinces and the Central Government would be wholly in the hands of Ministers fully responsible to the respective legislatures. The Committee make it clearly understood that their recommendations are based on this fundamental assumption. We are afraid, therefore, that the proposals made may have no direct bearing on the immediate problems of reform.

Apart from the separate report presented by Mr. Manu Subedar covering almost the whole field of enquiry, three separate minutes or notes of dissent are appended to the report. The first of these is by Mr. Ramdas Pantulu dealing with indigenous bankers, the second is by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar dealing mainly with the financial requirements of industries and the financing of foreign trade; and the third is signed by six members, *viz.*, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. D. P. Khaitan, Mr. Jamal Mahomed, Mr. Ramdas Pantulu, Mr. Shanmukhan Chetty and Mr. Makhtar Singh, dealing mainly with the financing of foreign trade. A study of the various notes leaves the impression that

except Mr. Manu Subedar the Committee were in more or less general agreement regarding most of the issues. Where there has been a difference in outlook Mr. Subedar holds the extreme opinion from the nationalist view point, then comes Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, and last of all stands the group headed by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas. All the members appear to have realized the needs of the situation fairly well so far as the demand for a national economic policy goes and the differences lie more with regard to methods of securing freedom for the Indian money market than in fundamentals. The foreign experts who collaborated with the Committee do not seem to have left very good impressions.

The majority report is divided into twenty-seven chapters dealing with various credit agencies in the field of rural finance, industrial and commercial finance and financing of foreign trade, as also with such important subjects like the relation between the banking system and the money market, regulation of banking and banking education. The subject of rural finance takes up a good portion of the report and of the numerous recommendations in this connection the following deserve special notice, *etc.*

(1) The Committee propose the formation of Provincial Boards of Economic Enquiry with a view to provide the government with necessary information for the active pursuit of a progressive and constructive agricultural policy with a view to fostering profitable agriculture under modern conditions.

(2) The poor economic condition of the peasantry in India, in general and the lack of proper credit facilities available to them involve them in a vicious circle. The Committee therefore propose better provision for rural credit through suitable organization of agencies like co-operative credit societies, land-mortgage banks, and indigenous money-lenders and also suggests the creation of new facilities such as the establishment of licensed warehouses.

(3) Regarding rural indebtedness the Committee urge that a serious effort should be made to find a remedy for the chronic indebtedness of the agriculturist, so far as it relates to his unproductive debt. Local Governments are requested to pursue a vigorous policy of debt conciliation on a voluntary basis, failing which they are asked to explore the possibility of securing the settlement of debt on a compulsory basis.

(4) The indigenous banker or money-lender is considered to be an indispensable factor in our rural economy and the Committee want to improve his position and to make him a useful member of the Indian banking system. It is, therefore, proposed that such indigenous bankers as are engaged in banking proper and are prepared to shed their business other than banking, should be eligible to be placed on the approved list of the Reserve Bank for rediscount facilities in the same manner as joint-stock banks. Other lines of advance such as amalgamation of indigenous bankers into joint-stock banks, "Kommandit" credit institutions, or co-operative banks are also suggested.

(5) With regard to co-operative banks for rural finance the defects have been pointed out including the lack of true principle of co-operation, excessive overdues, defective audit and inefficient control. Moreover co-operative financing is said to be inelastic, dilatory, inadequate, and yet too costly in some provinces, because of the inevitability of several intermediate agencies, each requiring separate margins of working as between the ultimate borrower and the original lender or depositor. In the opinion of the Committee no rural society should charge its members a rate higher than 12 percent per annum. Various suggestions are therefore made to improve the working of co-operative societies and particularly to secure a reduction in the rate of interest.

(6) The Committee think that ordinary co-operative credit institutions should confine themselves to dispensing short and intermediate credit, and that co-operative land-mortgage banks should be established to deal with long-term credit. The loans by such land-mortgage banks should be devoted to the following principal objects; namely,

(a) the redemption of land and houses of agriculturists, and the liquidation of old debts;

(b) the improvement of land and methods of cultivation and the building of houses of agriculturists, and

(c) the purchase of land in special cases. It may be noted in this connection that the development of well-organized joint-stock land-mortgage banks for the benefit of the numerous classes of landowners who cannot be adequately served by the co-operative credit organizations is also recommended.

With regard to commercial banking the

Committee recommended an extension of the system of advances by joint-stock banks against precious metals, etc. The loan officers of Bengal have received particular attention and the Government of Bengal have been asked to examine the note on the question prepared by Sir Nalini Ranjan Sarkar.

Finally the improvement in the organization of agricultural marketing and the institution of licensed warehouses are strongly urged for furthering rural credit.

The Committee then make various suggestions for the financing and development of industries. They think that the nationalization of the country's fiscal policy with similar reforms in other spheres of national life would enable industrial investments. Provincial industrial Corporations are therefore recommended for establishment in order to ensure the supply of financial facilities to industrial concerns. The foreign experts consider this scheme as unsound and suggest its restriction to "pioneer enterprises of a non-competitive character."

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, who has appended a note of dissent on the subject, considers the proposals of the majority to be rather weak and halting, particularly as the provincial industrial corporations are proposed to be instituted only when found necessary. Mr. Sarkar holds that the conditions in Bengal, Madras and Bombay are at least fully ripe for the establishment of industrial banks and the Ministers of these provinces should undertake the task of their formation now. He then proposes the institution of an All-India Industrial Board vested mostly with advisory powers, pending the establishment of an all-India corporation. A study of the industrial development of foreign countries leads Mr. Sarkar to the conclusion that private initiative and enterprise alone cannot be depended upon to provide the necessary financial aid to industries. Secondly, some special institution is required for providing long-term credit, infusing confidence among the investing public and leading them to invest their capital in sound industrial securities, as also for initiating schemes for reorganization and rationalization when necessary. Such a special institution should, as a rule, be a distinct organization, apart from the commercial banks.

The greatest difference of opinion amongst

the members of the Committee appears to exist on the question of financing of foreign trade. The Foreign Trade Committee by majority recommended that the existing joint-stock banks should open foreign connections, and that when the Reserve Bank is established, the Imperial Bank should be liberated from their present restrictions. If the Imperial Bank is unable to participate in India's foreign trade then the majority recommend the starting of an Indian Finance Bank for undertaking the financing of foreign trade, with capital supplied by joint-stock banks.

Six members, headed by Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, however, are of opinion that the State should itself start an exchange bank forthwith. Disagreeing with the majority they think that there are not enough facilities available for the financing of India's foreign trade, and at any rate these are not available for the nationals of this country. They therefore advocate a state exchange bank, but have no objection to the conversion of the Imperial Bank into an official Indian exchange bank provided suitable safe-guards are taken.

The foreign experts are, however, opposed to the idea of granting any government assistance to a new Indian exchange bank under any circumstances.

As regards the financing of foreign trade Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar advocates the establishment of an independent Indian exchange bank, preferably after the formation of the Reserve Bank. The share capital of such an exchange bank is to be thrown open in the first instance to the joint stock banks of India and the public, and any portion remaining unallotted to be taken over by the Government. In his opinion the monopoly of the remittance business of the Government should not be given to the proposed exchange bank as that function would properly belong to the Reserve Bank.

Mr. Manu Subedar in a separate and thoroughgoing report suggests that the foreign exchange business should be conducted through a department of the Reserve Bank, whose accounts of this business should be kept separate, and whose services also in this direction should be built up separately to meet any losses and contingencies arising in its operation.

Apart from the question of the institution of an Indian exchange bank in future two questions have engaged the serious

attention of the Committee, namely, the control of the operations of the non-Indian exchange banks operating now, and the problem of restricting the opening of their branches in the interior. Opinions on these subjects appear to be sharply divided and the majority of the Committee have practically decided to keep more or less neutral attitude. Complaints have been levelled by Indian witnesses against foreign banks on the score of making discrimination against Indians or Indian concerns. These charges make it imperative for the Committee to recommend a system of licensing to bring the foreign exchange banks under control. The conditions of license as laid down by the committee are as under :

(a) Furnishing the Reserve Bank annual statements showing their assets and liabilities relating to the Indian business as prescribed by the Reserve Bank from time to time ;.

(b) Submission, for a few years to come at any rate, to some prescribed authority in India, preferably to the Reserve Bank, periodical reports of Indian and non-Indian business handled by them ; and

(c) Other conditions on the basis of reciprocity. Regarding the restricting of the operations of the exchange banks to the port towns only the Committee appear to be unanimous, although there is some difference of opinion as to what should be done with respect to the few existing branches of exchange banks in up-country, as well as the Allahabad Bank whose control has virtually gone to the hands of one of the non-Indian exchange banks.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar is emphatically of opinion that there must be proper safe-guards devised so that the operations of the exchange banks may not develop to the financing of internal trade under any circumstances. He proposes therefore a separate scheme of licensing, arguing that, under present circumstances, restriction on the basis of reciprocity is meaningless. He, however, does not suggest any legislative prohibition for the exchange banks in the matter of taking deposits from Indians or Indian firms. Finally, Mr. Sarkar desires to prevent the acquisition of Indian banking interests by foreign agencies and referring to the transfer of the Allahabad Bank to the hands of the exchange banks group he demands that provisions should be made against such contingencies in future. He has also a scheme for purchasing out the control

of foreign exchange banks over their branches in the interior as well as over the Allahabad Bank.

Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and his five colleagues hold the view that the complaints against existing exchange banks regarding discriminatory treatment are strongly supported by circumstantial evidence. They want therefore to go further than Mr. Sarkar, and propose that license should not be given even to the already established branches of the exchange banks up-country.

Mr. Manu Subedar's suggestions are still more far-reaching. He has drawn up his own set of stringent regulations for the licensing system, providing, in addition to what we generally find in Mr. Sarkar's suggestions, for statutory restrictions with regard to the employment of non-Indians in the service of exchange banks in India. According to him except the manager and one official in each branch under him the rests of the staff must be Indian. He also proposes prohibition of taking deposits from Indians and Indian joint-stock companies by the exchange banks. With regard to branches in the interior Mr. Subedar proposes not only that no new branches should be opened, but the existing branches should be closed down in course of five years from the commencement of the licensing system.

Both Mr. Subedar and Mr. Sarkar urge that the Imperial Bank should not be converted into an Exchange Bank. The fundamental difference between Mr. Sarkar and Mr. Subedar lies in the fact that the latter does not favour the idea of a State Exchange Bank, nor even the type of a special Indian Exchange Bank proposed by Mr. Sarkar. On the contrary, as has been stated before, he does not believe in the need for a separate institution at all to deal with exchange business.

The Report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee thus gives us much food for thought and controversy. Our only regret is that the question of the constitution and details of the Reserve Bank was not allowed to be fully gone into. Nor have the Committee given adequate attention to the possibilities and problems of joint-stock banking in India.

With regard to the Reserve Bank the Committee, agreeing with the foreign experts, have unanimously urged that it should be started at the earliest moment possible, and have pointed out that its inauguration is necessary

It is a pity that the country is however left where it was in 1928 regarding the many knotty questions that arose in connection with the institution of the Reserve Bank. It thus appears that in spite of the large expenditure involved and the wastage of time and energy we remain without a lead regarding the future structure of the entire banking machinery.

Regarding joint-stock banks the Committee have hardly any important proposals to offer for improving their strength and extending their operations. The Committee merely propose that with a view to encouraging the opening of branches by joint-stock banks the Reserve Bank may place, for the first five years, with every new branch opened by an approved joint-stock bank at an entirely unrepresented centre, a deposit of such sum on such terms and conditions as it may consider necessary.

Mr. Mann Subedar, however, takes up the cause of the joint-stock banks with greater zeal. He suggests that with a view to encourage such banks the following among other concessions should be provided:

(a) Free transfer of funds between those centres where the Reserve Bank has a branch.

(b) Remittance's concessions as the co-operative banks enjoy.

(c) Freedom from stamp duties to some extent.

(d) Facilities to open new branches on a basis similar to that provided to the Imperial Bank in the past.

(e) Facilities for rediscount facilities

for the purpose of obtaining assistance against suitable collateral.

(f) Exemption from Super-tax for a period of five years in the event of two small banks amalgamating.

In order to secure some measure of co-ordination in the working of different classes of credit institutions in the local money market the Committee propose the inauguration of an All-India Bankers' Association. Moreover, for suitably protecting the public and for controlling and guiding the operations of all banks, any bank, Indian or non-Indian, wishing to do banking business in India is, in the opinion of the Committee, to be required to take out a licence from the Reserve Bank. Such licences are to be freely granted to already existing institutions.

The Committee finally make important recommendations on the provision of banking education in India and abroad, both in the Universities as well as through the Indian Institute of Bankers.

As has been pointed out in the beginning, the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee had a stupendous task before them, and the members deserve to be congratulated for the volume of labour they have put in. It now lies with the Government to inaugurate suitable schemes for the consolidation and improvement of the credit institutions of the country. We trust that necessary measures will be undertaken at an early date to fructify the labours of the Committee, and we urge that the value of the recommendations should not be undermined by piecemeal acceptance of the suggestions.



The Early History of the Bengali Theatre

(Based on Original Sources)

• BY BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

THERE exist many sketches of some aspect or other of the history of the Bengali theatre and one full-length study of the whole subject. But of none of them can it be said that they give entire satisfaction, for the simple reason that not one of them is based on a thorough study of all the material that could be brought to bear on the subject. The history of the Bengali theatre presents a rather forbidding aspect from the point of view of the search for original sources. There is no regular contemporary account of its origin and development. In the absence of such a history, all that it is possible for us to know about the subject lies scattered in a number of periodicals, whose preservation, always a matter of difficulty and accident, has been rendered almost impossible by the climate of Bengal and the carelessness of its people to their old records. Whatever may be the cause, the result of all this, in any case, has been unfortunate. I have elsewhere given an account of the Vernacular Press. While engaged on that study, it often caused me great disappointment to find that most of the newspapers and magazines whose names I could trace in the Government records and other sources were not available at all. Of even those few which had been preserved, a complete set could never be expected. And even the surviving incomplete sets are, more often than not, broken up and scattered over two or three different collections. This lays upon the student the necessity of going about from library to library, hunting out scraps of information from large volumes which contain a mass of information absolutely unconnected with his subject. In the circumstances, it was not unnatural perhaps to find that the student should be repelled by the prospect of wading through bushels of husk in order to get at a grain of wheat. I cannot claim that I have pursued this dry-as-dust search to the bitter end. But while working on the history of the Vernacular Press in Bengal and kindred historical subjects, I had

come across numerous references to the Bengali theatre in a very large number of English and Bengali periodicals of the last century. The following account of the origin and early history of the Bengali theatre is mainly based on these notices. It is my intention to present, in this article, something like a *corpus* of these scraps of information about the Bengali theatre which are available in the contemporary Press, in a chronological and connected order. It is a very modest task, but not perhaps wholly superfluous. I shall deem my purpose more than fulfilled should these notes prove of help to the future student of the history of the Bengali theatre.

I.

The first Bengali theatre dates as far back as 1795 and stands as an isolated episode, unrelated to its later history. This is due to the fact that the first organizer of a Bengali theatre, that is to say, a theatre in which a play in the Bengali language was staged by Bengali actors and actresses, was not a native of the country but an adventurer from far-off Russia. This was Gerasim Lebedeff, who drifted to Calcutta towards the end of the 18th century and established a theatre there at 25 Doomtulla, the present Ezra Street. After a few years' stay in this country he went to England and there published a Hindostani grammar in 1801. In the preface to this grammar he gives a very interesting description of how he came to establish his Bengali Theatre in Calcutta. This account, published in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1823

* "In 1795 it is notified that by permission of the Governor-General Mr. Lebedeff will open a theatre in Doomtullah, the lane leading out of China Bazar which is nowadays disguised under the name of Ezra Street."—H. E. A. Cotton's *Calcutta Old & New* (1907), p. 152.

See "Hist. of Calcutta Streets & Houses, 1780-1834" by W. K. Fanning—*Bengal Post & Present*, ix. 65. Also p. 35, and the 'Extract from Upjohn's Map, based on the Survey 1792-93.'

(pp 84-86) by Sir George Grierson, is worth quoting at some length. He says :

After these researches [into Indian languages and literatures], I translated two English dramatic pieces, namely, *The Disguise*, and *Love is the Best Doctor*, into the Bengali language ; and having observed that the Indians preferred mimicry and drollery to plain grave solid sense, however purely expressed—I therefore fixed on those plays, and which were most pleasantly filled up with a group of watchmen, *choksy-lars* ; savoyards, *canera* ; thieves, *ghoonia* ; lawyers, *gunosta* ; and amongst the rest a corps of petty plunderers.

When my translation was finished, I invited several learned Pandits, who perused the work very attentively ; and I then had the opportunity of observing those sentences which appeared to them most pleasing, and which most excited emotion ; and I presume I do not much flatter myself, when I affirm that by this translation the spirit of both the comic and serious scenes were much heightened, and which would in vain be imitated by any European who did not possess the advantage of such an instructor as I had the extraordinary good fortune to procure.

After the approbation of the Pandits—*Goluchnat-dash*, my Linguist, made me a proposal, that if I chose to present this play publicly, he would engage to supply me with actors of both sexes from among the natives : with which idea I was exceedingly pleased,—I therefore, to bring to view my undertaking, for the benefit of the European public, without delay, solicited the Governor General—Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth for a regular licence, who granted it to me without hesitation.

Thus fortified by patronage, and anxious to exhibit, I set about building a commodious Theatre, on a plan of my own, in Dom (Dome-Lane), Tollah, in the center of Calcutta ; and in the meanwhile I employed my Linguist (Goluch) to procure me native actors of both sexes,—in three months after I had both Theatre and Actors ready for my representation of *The Disguise*, which I accordingly produced to the Public in the Bengali language, on the 27th of November, 1795 ; and the same play was again performed on the 21st of March, 1796.

The inauguration of the theatre was also announced in the *Calcutta Gazette*, in the issue for November 5, 1795 of which, occurs the following notice :

By Permission of the Honorable the Governor General.

MR. LEBEDEFF'S

New Theatre in the Doornatlah.

DECORATED IN THE BENGALLEE STYLE

Will be opened very shortly, with a Play called

THE DISGUISE,

The Characters to be supported by Performers of both Sexes.

To commence with Vocal and Instrumental Music, called

THE INDIAN SERENADE

To those Musical Instruments which are held in esteem by the Bengallees, will be added

European. The words of the much admired Poet *Shree Bharat Chandra Roy*, are set to Music.

BETWEEN THE ACTS,

Some amusing Curiousities will be introduced

The Day for Exhibition, together with particular detail of the Performance, will be noticed in the course of the next week

This preliminary announcement was followed, three weeks later, by another giving the date and time of the first performance. In the *Calcutta Gazette* for November 26, 1795, it was announced

BENGALLY THEATRE.

No. 25, Doornatlah.

MR. LEBEDEFF

Has the honor to acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement,

That His

THEATRE,

WILL BE OPENED

TO-MORROW, FRIDAY, 27th Inst.

WITH A COMEDY,

CALLED

THE DISGUISE.

The Play to commence at 8 o'clock precisely

Tickets to be had at his Theatre
Boxes and Parl. — — — — — 8
Gallery. — — — — — 4

This was followed by another performance on March 21, 1796, which was also noticed by the following advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* for March 10, 1796.

BENGALLIE THEATRE.

No. 25, Doornatlah.

Mr. LEBEDEFF presents his respectful compliments to the Subscribers to his Bengallie Play, informs them his second representation is fixed for Monday the 21st instant, and requests they will send for Tickets and the account of the plot and scenes of the Drama, on or before Saturday the 19th Instant.

For the better accommodation of the audience, the number of Subscribers is limited to two hundred, which is nearly completed, the proposals for the subscription may be had on application to Mr. LEBEDEFF, by whom subscription at One Gold Mohur a Ticket will be received till the subscription is full.

Calcutta, March 10, 1796

Both the performances, as Lebedeff says in the preface to his Hindostani grammar, "attracted an overflowing house," and after the second performance he expressed his gratitude to his patrons in another notice in the *Calcutta Gazette*. This runs as follows

BENGALLY THEATRE.

Mr. LEBEDEFF, respectfully acknowledges the very distinguished Patronage.

the Ladies and Gentlemen of this Settlement Subscribers to his Second BENGALLY PLAY, honoured him with, and begs leave to assure them, he has the most grateful sense of the very liberal support afforded him on this occasion and intreats they will be pleased to accept his warmest Thanks.

March 24, 1796.

II

More than forty years elapsed before this first staging of a Bengali play by a foreigner was followed by a second, organized by a native of the country. And the period which lies between is a period of transition during which, under the influence of a new system of education, a demand was gradually created for theatres of the European type. Lebedeff's Bengali stage was a *tour de force*. At that time English education and influences had not grown sufficiently powerful among the Bengalis for them to feel the want of a theatre of a novel kind. For their amusement they were still contented with their traditional *yatras*, *panchalios*, etc. It is, of course, true that under the impact of new ideas *yatras* were losing their rigidly traditional character, and new forms of these representations were coming into vogue. "Colly Rajah's Juttra," which was first introduced towards the beginning of 1822 and for which it has sometimes been wrongly claimed that it is the first Bengali play after Lebedeff's, was a *yatra* of this kind. The following account of this *yatra* appeared in the eighth number of the *Sambad Kaumudi*, and a translation of it was given by the *Calcutta Journal* for September 1822.

No VIII ... 5. A descriptive account of a drama newly invented, and of the characters personated in it. It is denominated the Colly Rajah's Juttra. It was stated in a former number that when a full account of this comedy was received, it should be laid before the public. It is composed of various actors, who are well versed in the art of singing and dancing. The following is the order of their appearance on the stage. First, two assistants; second, the Colly Raj; third, his Vizier; fourth, a preceptor; fifth, a noble and well-dressed Englishman just come from Chutogram, with his lady; and sixth, the only manservant and maid-servant of this young gentleman. When all these are assembled, they began to dance, sing with a voice as melodious as that of the cuckoo, talk witty things, and thus excite the laughter of, and put in rapture, those rich baboos, some of whom, it is said, are very much interested in it. From this it is concluded, that in process of time, this comedy will become very popular.

* Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan has contributed an interesting account of Lebedeff's theatre to the *Natch-dhar* for Agrahayana 13, 1331 B. S., pp. 3-6.

† See also *Asiatic Journal*, Sep 1822 p 98

The use of the word "drama" in connection with this performance has given rise to the mistaken notion referred to above. But all doubt with regard to the true nature of the "Colly Rajah's Juttra" is set at rest by a Bengali notice about it, which appeared in the *Samachar Durpan* for January 26, 1822. The account given by this paper makes it quite clear that it was not even a *yatra* properly so-called, but only a pantomime with perhaps a satirical motive. Another instance of the adoption of a new theme for the *yatra* is to be found in the *Samachar Durpan* for May 4, 1822. In a notice which appeared in that issue it was stated that some gentlemen of Bhowanipur were casting the story of Nala and Damayanti from the Mahabharata into the *yatra* form and collecting money for its performance.*

These pieces, as has already been observed, represent departures from the older and the traditional *yatra* form. But they were not genuine dramas or dramatic performances. As a matter of fact, the Bengali drama did not grow out of the Bengali *yatra*—it was on the contrary the theatre which influenced and modified the older institution—nor did the demand for a new kind of theatre come from the class which, as a rule, patronized it. The Bengali theatre came into being to satisfy the desire for new and less naive amusements felt by the generation which had received a good English education. The more well-to-do among them went to the English theatres to see the performances given there. It was apparently the voice of the Bengalis of this generation which was echoed by the *Samachar Chandrika* when it advocated the establishment of a native theatre in Calcutta after the English model. The following editorial, which appeared in one of its issues, was reproduced in the *Asiatic Journal* for August, 1826.

In this extensive city public institutions of various kinds and novel descriptions have lately sprung up for the improvement and gratification of its inhabitants; but their amusement has not yet been consulted, and they have not, like the

* An interesting account of a new *yatra*, which forms a later stage in the development of this indigenous form of theatrical representation is given by the *Sambad Bhaskar* for March 30 and April 17, 1849. The piece is called *Nanda-ulaya* and the most revolutionary departure in its performance was the acting of the women's parts by young girls. It was performed twice in March 1849 at the house of the author, Ramchandra Mookerjee of Jorasanko and again on April 14 at the residence of Sri Krishna Sinha of ...

English community, any place of public entertainment. In former times, actors and actresses were attached to the courts of the princes of India, who represented plays, and charmed the audience with graceful poetry and music and impassioned action. We have had of late some *Sikur Jitras* exhibited, which though not perfect, gave great diversion to the people; they have been, however, infrequent. It is therefore very desirable, that men of wealth and rank should associate and establish a theatre on the principle of shares, as the English gentlemen have done, and retaining qualified persons on fixed salaries, exhibit a new performance of song and poetry once a month, conformably to the written *nataks*, or plays, and under the authority of a manager; such a plan will promote the pleasure of all classes of society. (*Asiatic Intelligence—Calcutta*, p. 214).

The new generation, which had studied English models either at the Hindu College or by themselves with something like the same fervour with which the Renaissance scholars had studied the Greek, were as full of enthusiasm for the new as they were contemptuous of the old. What they at first did, therefore, was not to create a Bengali theatre giving representations of Bengali dramas, but to organize amateur English theatricals in which Shakespeare's plays and English translations of Sanskrit dramatic classics were staged. It was these amateur English theatricals, organized and performed by Bengalis, which were the real precursors of a genuine Bengali theatre.

The first theatre established on these lines was that in the organization of which Prasanna Kumar Tagore took a prominent part. With regard to its origin, the following notice appeared in the *Samachar Durpan* for September 17, 1831:

NATIVE THEATRE. For some time past it has been in agitation among the natives of Calcutta to erect a theatre for their own use. At the request of Baboo Prusannu Koomar Thakoor, a meeting of several of the principal native gentlemen was held on Sunday last, when the following individuals were chosen as a Committee to make all the preliminary arrangements. Baboos Prusannu Koomar Thakoor, Sing, Kishen Chunder Dutt, Sen, Madhub Chunder Mullick and Ghose. The theatre is to be got up in the English style and the plays to be acted in it are to be in the English language.

This theatre was opened on 28th December, 1831 with the performance of *Ramcharita* (a translation of Bhavabhuti's *Uttara-Rama-Charita* by Wilson) and a part of *Julius Caesar*.* The following account of this performance appeared in the contemporary press. The *Samachar Durpan* for January 7, 1832 wrote

HINDOO THEATRE. We learn from the *Hurkari*, that on Wednesday week the Hindoo theatre was opened, by an address written for the occasion by a friend to native genius.

A portion of the *Ram Charita* translated into English from the Sanskrit by H. H. Wilson Esq. was then represented. Other pieces followed, and the entertainment of the evening closed by the recital of the last act of *Julius Caesar*. Among the audience were Sir Edward Ryan, and several ladies and gentlemen of note, who expressed much satisfaction at the performance.

We understand, says the *Hurkari*, that a more extensive Theatre is to be prepared and that the society formed for that purpose had resolved to make every effort to re-establish the drama in India.

A more detailed account was given in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Samachar Chandrika*, an English translation of which was published in the same issue of the *Samachar Durpan*.

A theatrical performance was acted in the garden of Baboo Prusannu-koomar Thakoor on the evening of Wednesday the 14th Pous last [28 December 1831]. I did not myself see it, but many of my friends went by invitation to witness this *Ram-jatra*. Parts of the play of *Ram-leela* having been translated into English, Hindoo young men committed to memory the translation and recited it, assuming the different parts of *Ram*, *Lakshmi*, *Soota*, and the rest.

These young men have prepared a number of excellent dresses at their own expense, and study their parts under an English Instructor. Our native directors and furnishers of plays, give only one sort of dress for a long time. Turkata Premchand alone has provided several dresses of female singers. Under English management things will doubtless be a thousand times better, and it may be confidently expected that the appointments will be exactly suited to the nature of the representation. Besides the English gentleman who acts as director is well fitted for the post. There are many sorts of plays in this country and there are also many English plays, and he did very wisely to select for the first performance the *Ram-jatra*; for he thus took first what could be easily represented by native youths and well belits them. Be it as it may: it is a happy thing.

Though the event belongs chronologically to a later period, it may most conveniently be mentioned here that in 1848 a Bengali actor named Vaishnav Charan Addy twice acted the part of Othello with great credit at the *Sans Souci* Theatre on Aug. 17 and Sept. 12. This information is given in the *Sambad Prabhakar* for Aug. 21 and Sept. 12, 1848 respectively.

* See also the *Asiatic Journal* for May 1832 *Asiatic Intelligence Calcutta* p. 34

III

Prasauna Kumar Tagore's theatre was hardly anything more than the enlarged edition of a school or college dramatic club, and, what was more, the plays performed in it being in English, its appeal was more or less artificial and narrow. So, it is not surprising to find that it was very short-lived. The next theatrical enterprise in Calcutta was due to the energy and enthusiasm of a private individual, and it did not repeat the mistake of staging English plays. This dramatic enthusiast was Babu Nobin Chandra Bose, w^o set up a private theatre at his own house in Shambazar on the site of the present Shambazar Tram Depot, about the year 1833 and staged four or five Bengali dramas in it every year. The following account of his theatre appeared on October 22, 1835 in the *Hindoo Pioneer*,* a weekly paper started by the alumni of the Hindu College :

THE NATIVE THEATRE. This private theatre, got up about two years ago, is still supported by Babu Nobinchandar Bose. It is situated in the residence of the proprietor, at Sham Bazar, where four or five plays are acted during the year. These are native performances, by people entirely Hindus, after the English fashion, in the vernacular language of their country; and what elates us with joy, as it should do all the friends of Indian improvement, is, that the fair sex of Bengal are always seen on the stage, as the female parts are almost exclusively performed by Hindu women.

I have not come across any notice of the earlier performances given by this theatre, which are referred to in the above passage, but in October 1835 it gave a dramatic representation of the familiar Bengali tale of Vidyasundar, and of this performance a long and enthusiastic account appeared in

the *Hindoo Pioneer*. It is given in full below :

We had the pleasure of attending at a play one evening during the last full moon, and we must acknowledge that we were highly delighted. The house was crowded by upwards of a thousand visitors, of all sorts, Hindus, Mahammadans, and some Europeans and East Indians, who were equally delighted. The play commenced a little before 12 o'clock, and continued, the next day, till half past six in the morning. We were present from the beginning and witnessed almost the whole representation with the exception of the last two scenes. The subject of the performance was *Bidya Sundar*. It is 'tragi-comic, and one of the master pieces in Bengali, by the celebrated Bharat Chandra. I need scarcely explain the details of the play, which is commonly known by every person who can read a little of Bengali, yet for the sake of our English readers we must observe that this play is much like that of *Romeo and Juliet* in Shakespeare. It commenced with the music of the Orchestra which was very pleasing. The native musical instruments such as the *sitar*, the *sarangi*, the *pakhawaz*, and others were played by Hindus, almost all Brahmans, among them the violin was admirably managed by Babu Brojonath Gosham, who received frequent applauses from the surrounding visitors; but unfortunately he was but imperfectly heard by the assembly. Before the curtain was drawn a prayer was sung to the Almighty, a Hindu custom in such ceremonies and prologues were chaunted likewise previous to the opening of every scene, explaining the subject of the representation. The scenery was generally imperfect, the perspective of the pictures the clouds, the water, were all failures, they denoted both want of taste and sacrifice of judicious principles, and the latter were scarcely distinguished except by the one being placed above the other. Though framed by native printers they would have been much superior had they been executed by careful hands. The house of Raja Biru Singha and the apartment of his daughter were however done tolerably well. The part of *Sundar*, the hero of the poem was played by a young lad Shamacharn Bonarji of Barranagore who in spite of his praiseworthy efforts did not do entire justice to his performance. It is a character which affords sufficient opportunity to display theatrical talents by the frequent and sudden change of pantomime, and by playing such tricks as to prevent the Raja, who is the father of the heroine of the play from detecting the amorous plot. Young *Shamacharn* tried occasionally to vary the expression of his feelings, but his gestures seemed to be studied, and his motions stiff. The parts of the Raja and others were performed to the satisfaction of the whole audience.

The female characters in particular were excellent. The part of *Bidya* (daughter of Raja Biru Singha) the lover of *Sundar* was played by *Radha Moni* (generally called *Moni*) a girl of nearly sixteen years of age, was very ably sustained, her graceful motions, her sweet voice and her love tricks with *Sundar*, filled the minds of the audience with rapture and delight. She never failed a once as she was on the stage

* THE HINDOO PIONEER. In the *Reformer* of yesterday we observe a letter on the subject of the new publication got up by the Alumni of the Hindu College. It appears that the youths who have got up the *Pioneer*, have made some sort of pledge to the managers not to make it a vehicle of political or religious controversy, or of attacks upon the College." (Cited in *The Calcutta Courier*, Oct 5, 1835)

It would appear from the above extracts that the *Hindoo Pioneer* was set on foot either in the middle of September or in October 1835. It was in all likelihood a weekly paper, and not a monthly, as the date "22 Octr." following its account of the theatre reproduced by the *Asiatic Journal* for April 1836 (*Asiatic Intelligence*—Calcutta, pp. 252-53) would seem to indicate

offer of a n...
 and her motions so truly expressive when informed that her lover was detected, and when he was dragged before her father, were highly creditable to herself and to the stage. When apprised that *Sumati* was ordered to be executed her attendants tried in vain to console her; she dropped down and fainted, and on recovering, through the care of her attendants, fell senseless again and the audience was left for some time in awful silence. That a person, uneducated as she is, and unacquainted with the niceties of her vernacular language should perform a part so difficult with general satisfaction and receive loud and frequent applause, was indeed quite unexpected. The other female characters were equally well pronounced, and amongst the rest we must not omit to mention that the part of the *Hunter* wife of Raja Bira Sinha and that of *Mahala* (a name applied to women who deal in flowers) were acted by an elderly woman *Jay Durga* who did justice to both characters in the two-fold capacity; she eminently appeared amongst the other performers, and delighted the hearers with her songs, and another woman *Raj Churni*, usually called *Raja*, played the part of a maid servant to *Jay Durga*, it not in a superior manner, yet as able as *Jay Durga*.

To the writer of this account the most attractive feature of the performance seems to have been the acting of the women's parts by Bengali actresses. He writes about their achievement with appreciation and does not fail to draw a moral from the fact.

We rejoice that in the midst of ignorance such examples are produced which are beyond what we could have expected. Ought not the very sight of these girls induce our native visitors present on this occasion to spare no time in educating their wives and daughters? Had this girl, who made such a capital figure on the stage, been educated in the study of her vernacular language, 1. as a Hindu, beggar countrymen to consider how her talents would have shone! Was not her ingenuity, though she only spoke by rote, sufficient to convince those who charge Nature for being partial to men that Hindu females are as well fitted to receive education as their superior lords? Was not this display sufficient to convince the Hindu visitors that a woman, as long as she is devoid of education, is a perfect blank in society? If they still neglect this important consideration after noble and fresh examples of the mental power of our females their hearts must be cold and their minds without feeling.

Such is the Native Theatre, and such is the way in which it is conducted. The proprietor, Raja Nobinchandra Bose, deserves our highest praise for endeavouring to raise the character of our mistaken though truly praiseworthy women. Although such private exhibitions are generally expensive, yet we see the Raja encouraging it both with personal exertions and pecuniary assistance. It is a matter of joy that a rich native has thus come forward to further active measures for the improvement of the friends of India. May his example be followed by an opulent community?

Let us behold a great moral revolution in our country, which in time must needs raise India to a state of merited renown.

We wish every success to this praiseworthy undertaking. We entertain no doubt of its continuance as long as the proprietor perseveres in his zealous exertions. Let him employ effectual means for the prevention of the debasing system now existing in regard to Hindu females. Let him devise new methods of improvement, and above all resolutely keep the Theatre up and like the *Hindu Theatre*, not suffer it to meet with a death-blow in its very origin. This will be doing much real good to society and earning the unqualified praise from the public. Such deeds speak for themselves; they attract glory from all quarters, and thus are worthy men crowned with rufing splendour!—*Hindu Pioneer*.

The enthusiasm of the *Hindu Pioneer* does not seem to have been shared by all its contemporaries. At any rate, we find a note in the *Englishman and Military Chronicle* which gives a foretaste of the later hostility to the Bengali Theatre on pointal grounds. The note is quoted below.

HINDU THEATRICALS. We insert a letter respecting the account of certain Hindu Theatricals which we copied from the *Pioneer*. Our correspondent, who is we know well informed, has sufficiently shown that so far from such Theatricals being attended with any advantage, moral or intellectual to the Hindus, it behoves every friend to the people to discourage such exhibitions, which are equally devoid of novelty, utility and even decency. Our correspondent has lifted the veil which the writer of the sketch sought to screen the real character of these exhibitions, and we hope we shall hear no more of them in the *Hindu Pioneer* unless it be to denounce them. *Englishman*.

IV

Nobin Bose's theatre lingered on for a few years and then came to an obscure end, and for some years after we hear nothing about Bengali theatrical performances in Calcutta. The taste for dramatic performances which had been created did not, however, disappear and it found expression through less ambitious means. These were school or college dramatic clubs. Recitations and representations of scenes from English plays had always been customary in those institutions. But it was only in 1851 that the David Hare Academy (established on Aug. 7, 1851 and situated at Burtola) set the example of the performance of a complete play in English by a school. The sensation that this novel enterprise created at the time may be guessed from the following notice which appeared in the

* Cited in *The Calcutta Courier*, dated Oct 28, 1855.

Sambad Prabhakar, a vernacular daily, for February 10, 1853:

A new function will take place on the evening of the prize distribution day of the David Hare Academy. Such an entertaining affair has never yet been witnessed anywhere in Bengal. A very fine stage is being set up and decorated within the school by some skilled Englishmen. The students will act the famous play called *The Merchant of Venice* by Shakespeare Sahib on this stage, and display their learning. Sri. Ryendra Dutt of Midnapur, who is well known for his generosity, is taking special interest in this performance. The students will gain great reputation if they can give proof of their ability in this performance. Though the school is already famous, its success in this matter will spread its fame all over Bengal.*

In the issue for February 16, 1853, of the same paper we get the announcement of the first performance which was to take place on the same evening. The play staged was Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. There was a second performance of the same play on February 24†. The play was apparently very successful, and it is stated in the *Sambad Prabhakar* that about 600 to 700 highly educated and wealthy gentlemen, including Englishmen and women, witnessed the representation and spoke highly of the acting. The staging of the play and the acting, the *Sambad Prabhakar* says, was so good that to many they created the impression of the *Sims-Sim* theatre itself.

The *Bengal Harkuru* and *India Gazette* for Feb. 23, 1853 gives the following account of these performances:

THE DAVID HARE ACADEMY.—We understand that Mr. Clinger, Head Master of the English Department of the Calcutta University, is now giving instructions on Shakespeare's Dramatic plays to the alumni of the David Hare Academy, and has succeeded in training some back to the competent performance of the plays (rent them); and accordingly the play took place on two nights in the hall of the Institution. The part of *Shylock* was pronounced the best, and the *Merchant of Venice*, etc. was rather defective, which diligence and perseverance will perfect in time.

We have it, on the authority of Jogindra Nath Basu, the biographer of Michael M. S.

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† *Sambad Prabhakar*, dated February 26, 1853.

Datta, that the David Hare Academy also staged the play *Julius Caesar* in 1853.

The example of the David Hare Academy was followed shortly by another institution, which was its rival—The Oriental Seminary. This school organized a regular theatre called the "Oriental Theatre" and like the David Hare Academy staged the plays of Shakespeare. The following note about this school theatre occurs in the reminiscences of Michael M. S. Datta by Gour Das Bysack.

Next during 1853-55, some of the ex-students of the Oriental Seminary formed a Dramatic Corps under the drilling of Mr. Clinger who belonged to the old *Sims-Sim* Theatre, and opened a stage, called the "Oriental Theatre," in the premises of the Seminary, where they acted the plays of *Othello*, *Merchant of Venice*, etc. etc.

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THE ORIENTAL SEMINARY.—We understand that the senior pupils of the Oriental Seminary, having raised a fund of eight hundred rupees by subscription among themselves, are making preparations to establish a theatre for the exhibition of the Shakespearian plays.

In five months the theatre was set up. The *Bengal Harkuru* for September 28, 1853 gives a detailed account of the first performance by the Oriental Theatre of Shakespeare's *Othello* on 26th September, and not on the 22nd as is generally stated:

THE ORIENTAL THEATRE [From our own Reporter]

The play of *Othello* was performed at the above theatre on Monday night to a very full house. The audience consisted principally of Natives, among whom were Rajah Partabchandra, Bahadur Ramchandra Ghose, etc. We were glad to observe that among the European attendance were Mr. Charles Allen, C. S., Mr. Lushington, C. S., Mr. Simon Kerr, C. S. and other influential promoters of native education.

The performers were, all of them, young men taught, we believe, in the institution of the late Gourmohun Auddy, who, for years, kept up an English school, still existing, for the education of his countrymen's children, and they made their debut under the training of Mr. Clinger, a tutor in the Midnapur College, and also, we think, in the Oriental Seminary.

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... must
... satisfaction to every member
of the audience who cares for the intellectual
improvement of his native fellow-citizens.

Othello was staged by the Oriental Theatre for the second time on Oct. 5, 1853.

The Oriental Theatre staged a second play on March 2, 1854. It was Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. The following announcement regarding this performance is to be found in the issues for Feb. 27 and March 2, 1854 of both the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Citizen*.

The Oriental Theatre

No. 268.

Chittopore Road.

The *Merchant of Venice*

will be performed

at the above Theatre

on Thursday, the 2nd March, 1854.

By Hindu Amateurs.

Doors open at 8 P. M.

Performance to commence at 8½ P. M.

Tickets to be had of Messrs. F.W. Brown & Co. and Babu Womesh Chunder Banerjee, Cashier, Spence's Hotel.

Price of Tickets, Rs. 2, each.

The Tickets distributed will avail on the above evening.

The *Morning Chronicle* for March 2, 1854 had the following editorial note on the subject:

We beg to remind our readers that the *Merchant of Venice* will be performed this evening by a company of Hindu Amateurs at the Oriental Theatre in Chittopore Road. Those who are desirous of seeing how young Native gentlemen can wear the buskin, should attend the Oriental Theatre this evening, and we promise them that they will come away with a higher impression of native tragic talent than that with which they may possibly, at present, be impressed. We recollect some months ago witnessing at the same Theatre a performance of *Othello*, and, as we presume the same company will appear to-night, we have no doubt but that they will be well worth hearing.

The performance of the *Merchant of Venice* was repeated on March 17, 1854 and this time the part of Portia was performed by a European lady—Mrs. Greig. The *Bengal Harkara* for March 16, 1854 wrote editorially:

We observe that Mrs. Greig is going to perform the part of Portia in the *Merchant of Venice* at the Oriental Theatre tomorrow evening, which will be her last performance and indeed the close of her last day's sojourn in Bengal. As the Oriental Theatre is not a great way down the Chittopore Road, and the tickets are low priced, we dare say she will have a numerous audience.

* See the *Citizen* for Oct. 5, 1853.

... of the Oriental
... seems to have remained closed for
a time. It was, however, revived early
in 1855, as appears from a letter published
in the *Bengal Harkara* for Feb. 18, 1855. In
this letter the correspondent gives interesting
particulars regarding the Oriental Theatre
and of the growing popularity of theatres
among the Bengalis.

THE ORIENTAL THEATRE

To the Editor of the Bengal Harkara.

Sir—We have the pleasure to inform the public that the Oriental Theatre will be opened tomorrow. The Managers, from what we are given to understand intend to make of it a permanent institution, and to confess the truth, it will reflect great credit to their taste and judgment.

The Oriental Theatre is purely the offspring of native exertions, and affords the best evidence of the growing perseverance of our countrymen in laudable pursuits, and their appreciation of rational amusements. The actors, it is well known, had acquitted themselves on the last two occasions when they appeared on the stage with the Tragedy of *Othello* and the *Merchant of Venice* to the satisfaction of the public, and won merited applause from individuals from whom a word of favor is an honor. We sincerely wish them the same success this time.

There is another circumstance which proves that the Managers of this Theatre is in no way wanting in their zeal to promote its substantial interest, and this is the fact of their having secured the patronage of the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, for aught we know, has never since his advent in India cast one look of kindness on the undertakings of the natives, and we fervently hope that His Lordship will embrace this opportunity to wash away the only stain in his reputation as an impartial and affable administrator by favouring these *Amateurs* with his countenance.

It is indeed gratifying to observe the rapid development of refined feelings among the Hindoos half a century before the baneful influence of Mahomedan despotism kept the nation not only under a political but moral stupor. Their minds were cramped, and they were in a state of lamentable degradation. But the work of improvement has begun, and we are glad to see them progressing in the scale of being. Of this there is not a better index—than the circumstance of their having adopted amusements which combine the double advantage of recreating their minds and ennobling their sentiments. God only knows how bad is our Bengallee stage. Immorality of every species is suffered to stalk on it, and vice receives from it a warm support. Licentiousness and theft, adultery and mendacity walk hand in hand without being checked by any kind of moral control. It is therefore the duty of everyone to whom India has given birth, to be up with a stout heart and a strong hand to assist the young *Amateurs* of the Oriental Theatre who have so wisely opened a channel of entertainment which is free from the dross of immorality. Let it be borne in the minds of all that with our Patriarch Dramatists our theatrical glory is gone: and if

every encouragement be now afforded to those our juvenile friends we may not despair to see a better day when our dramatic and historic glory will advance.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.

W. C. D.

The last piece to be staged in this theatre was Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. The following announcement of its performance appeared in the *Citizen* for Feb 15, 1855.

Under the Most Distinguished

Patronage of

The Most Noble

The Marquis of Dalhousie, K. T.

Governor General of India.

Will be represented at the Oriental Theatre, Gurranaatta, Chitpore Road, No 268, this-day, Thursday, the 15th February, Shakespeare's "Tragedy of Henry IV., Part 1". To conclude with the very amusing farce of the "Amateurs," by H. M. Packer, B O S., written expressly for the Amateurs of the old Chowringhee Theatre.

Doors open at 8 P. M.

Performance to commence at 8½ P.M.

Tickets to be had of Messrs. F.W. Browne & Co

Price of Tickets Rs. 2 two each.

V.

The next dramatic club to present Shakespeare's plays was more ambitious and not attached to any particular educational institution. It was the Jorasanko Theatre, which was housed in the Jorasanko residence of Pyari Mohan Basu, a nephew of Nobin Chandra Basu, the patron of the Bengali theatre. It staged *Julius Caesar* on May 3, 1854. Two quite contradictory reports about this performance appeared in the *Sambad Prabhakar* and the *Hindoo Patriot*. The *Sambad Prabhakar* wrote the following appreciative note (cited in translation) about this performance in its issue for May 5, 1854.

In the evening of last Wednesday, some highly educated Hindu youths of this country earned great fame by acting very ably at the residence of Babu Pyari Mohan Basu of Jorasanko, who is endowed with many good qualities, a drama about the death of Julius Caesar composed by the great poet Shakespeare—a book which is a compendium of sadness, love, patriotism and other divine emotions. The residence of Pyari Mohan Basu was illuminated by lamps and decorated with pictures and other beautiful objects pleasing to the eye. The beauty of the stage particularly, can hardly be described. About four hundred distinguished and respectable gentlemen came to witness the performance, and also many English ladies and gentlemen. But for the rain and storm the audience would have been still larger. No one expected that the educated young men of this country would be able to render such a performance of the difficult play about the death of Julius

Caesar. All visitors praised them and there were many who were saddened by the representation and shed tears at it. We highly praise our friends of the Jorasanko Theatre. Though the first example of the performance of an English play by the natives of this country was set by the Hare Academy and after them the students of the Oriental Theatre have given dramatic representations, and both of them have done so creditably, yet their performances were not so perfect. We therefore request the authorities to reduce the price of their tickets and show their performance again to the public.

The comment of the *Hindoo Patriot* was, however, very deprecatory. It wrote:

THE JORASANKO THEATRE.—The rage for theatre making has usurped in Calcutta the place of pyrotechnics and such tom foolery. This is decidedly a change for the better. And although such playing as that which we witnessed on the evening of the 4th instant at the Jorasanko Theatre is calculated rather to disgust than amuse the lovers of the drama, yet as it aimed at establishing a rational principle we can find it in our hearts (notwithstanding the shockingly bad acting of the majority of the performers) to applaud the spirit in which the Theatre was got up. The scenery and stage decorations were extremely creditable, and with an efficient corps dramatique the Jorasanko Theatre could indeed be made the means of affording intellectual recreation to those who for want of better amusement are now wont to spend their money on the most contemptible species of pleasure. We understand that the proprietors of the Theatre have incurred considerable expense in fitting it up and it is a pity that their object should have been so woefully frustrated through an injudicious selection of the dramatic personnel. The play of Julius Caesar requires skilful acting, but with the exception of Cassius and Casca, the whole of the performers sang or blundered through their parts in utter ungratification of Will Shakespeare. Cassius was well represented by a young man named Induonath Chatterjee, an ex pupil of the Oriental Seminary. The young gentleman seemed to feel what he acted and having by nature the advantage of a "lean and hungry look," he did very well indeed for the Roman conspirator. We could wish that the other actors knew their parts as well. Brutus, though acted shockingly enough by a fairly young man with a very thick mustache, was nevertheless not so grating to the taste as Caesar or Calphurnia. The former roared and raved like either a madman or a drunkard, the latter horribly coated over with paint and varnish squeaked like a pig or a minny. As for Mark Anthony, by Jingo! he looked more like an undertaker than a valiant Roman and his speech over the dead body of Caesar so thoroughly disgusted us that we left the theatre before the weeping and wailing was over. We have a bit of wholesome advice for our young friends, who we beg, will take our criticism in good part. We ourselves are the most steadfast admirers of the Drama. Nothing will give us greater pleasure than to behold Shakespeare springing into new life under the histrionic agent of our educational system but we cannot do so while

The good gentleman is being murdered and mangled. Let the Jorasankowallahs take in hand a couple of good Bengallee plays and we will promise them success. Or if Shakespeare is on the go,

let them select intelligent performers and at all events dismiss with the teaching of Mr. Clinger that man will spoil everything. (The *Hindoo Patriot*, May 11, 1851.)

Blindness in India and Its Prevention

By Lt.-Colonel E. O'G. KIRWAN, F.M.S., F.R.C.S.

INDIA is a land of blindness and much of it is preventable but the sad part of this enormous problem is that as yet very little is being done. In the villages of India are great masses of helpless people suffering from eye diseases who do not avail themselves of medical assistance or who suffer from eye diseases which sooner or later impair or destroy their sight. Owing to poverty, ignorance and social customs the problem of blindness is difficult to cope with but much can be done to alleviate the sufferings of these poor people. The incidence of blindness in India is relatively higher than in other countries. There are about a million and a half totally blind in India and for every blind person there are three persons with more or less damaged vision from eye disease. In Bengal according to the 1921 census the population is 46½ millions and the incidence of total blindness is recorded as 70 per 100,000 but the returns for the compilation and application of vital statistics are inaccurate and unreliable. Anyone who is acquainted with the prevalence of blindness and eye disease prevailing everywhere must realize that these figures are low and necessarily incorrect. Blindness is essentially a disease of old age and the proportion of blindness rises with succeeding age periods. In the 1921 census of India, at 30 years of age the proportion of blind is about 117 per 100,000; at 50 years of age the proportion has risen to about 380 per 100,000. In old age the figure rises to about 900 per 100,000. Women suffer more than men, there being 1,047 blind women for every 1,000 blind men.

Apart from the question of unnecessary suffering these poor unfortunate's create an economic problem which should be

tackled by the public and the Government. The main cause of the large amount of blindness may be said to be due to the general backwardness and apathy of the population and the great lack of medical facilities. Blindness is for the most part preventable or remediable where the people are sufficiently educated to adopt simple precautions and to avail themselves of medical advice. Blindness amongst intelligent and educated Indians is rare. Of the blindness occurring in India in children about 90 per cent is preventable and the great number of people who are incurably blind or partially blind become so in infancy or early childhood. It is extremely important that parents and people who are responsible for the care of young children should know something about the chief eye diseases which cause preventable blindness. It is so often due to ignorance and carelessness that young children are allowed to become blind.

First "Babies' Sore Eyes." This is due to usually an infection from the maternal passages whilst the baby is being born. If the mother is healthy the babies' eyes are not infected. When the child is infected there is a profuse yellow discharge from the eyes which occurs a few days after it is born and the lids become red and swollen. The discharge is very infectious and may produce the disease in other people if conveyed to the eyes. If treatment is not prompt the babies' eyes may be lost. The disease is caused by the venereal disease known as Gonorrhœa which occurs in men and women. Therefore when a new born baby becomes blind from this disease, it is largely due to the father or the mother having had an infection which was not properly treated. To prevent the disease

easy Every doctor and midwife knows about it and all *dhobis* ought to know. It consists of wiping the eyes dry with a clean cloth immediately after birth and putting into the eyes 1 per cent silver nitrate drops. If the baby gets sore eyes it should be taken without delay to the doctor or better to an eye hospital. On no account should expert treatment be delayed for if the eyes are neglected blindness will inevitably result. Congenital syphilis is a disease which often affects the young and is due to the father or mother having contracted syphilis and not being properly treated and so handing on this dreadful disease to their children.

The disease in children's eyes is characterized by a greivish haze over the front of the eyes. One eye is first usually affected to be followed later by the second eye becoming involved. It is accompanied by other manifestations of the disease such as irregular growth of the teeth, deformities of the nose, deafness and swollen joints.

To prevent blindness due to congenital syphilis the obvious way is for parents to be properly treated for syphilis before they have children.

Another most important preventable eye disease which occurs more often in older children. It is caused by ignorant people putting strong and irritant drugs in the eyes to cure some simple ailment. Some of these remedies are the juice of irritating plants, tobacco juice, chewed red pepper, red hot coals, strong solutions of silver salts, etc. They set up severe inflammation and ulceration and destroy the vision. The obvious way to stamp out this cause of blindness is to enlighten the public that such remedies are fraught with danger and that if the child has sore eyes to take the child to the doctor or else use some simple harmless remedy. A simple wash such as one teaspoonful of common salt to a pint of boiling water is recommended and which can be used frequently without doing any harm.

Irritant remedies to the eye in cases of eye disease are a terrible curse in India. The travelling *hakim* and *kavraj* have a lot to answer for in this connection as have the coucher of cataract known in Bengal as the *Mol* and in the Panjab as *Rawal*. Their operations are frequently attended with brilliant but disastrous after results. The couchers are here to-day and gone to-morrow

and so are able to escape the consequences of their handiwork. These charlatans still abound in the villages of India and a few actually carry on their trade in the town of Calcutta itself. In the Eye Infirmary of the Medical College, Calcutta, it is a daily occurrence to see patients with eyes ruined beyond repair by the work of these rascals. Many of these patients arrive in excruciating agony and all that can be done to relieve their pain is by taking out the eye. Like every other occupation coaching in India is hereditary, the principles of the craft being handed down from father to son by word of mouth and by practical instruction. By tradition and ancestral habit the coucher is a wanderer on the face of the earth and like a gypsy he carries his wares such as they are to the very doors of the people's homes. Until crude and violently irritant remedies for conjunctivitis and smaller affections cease to be hawked about the bazars of India and legislation is introduced to deal with couchers much preventable blindness will ensue.

Another very important disease of young children, which is responsible for a large amount of preventable blindness, is Keratomalacia. This disease is due to insufficient and improper food. The white of the eyes becomes greasy looking, dark, yellowish brown in colour. The dryness passes over the front of the eyes which become opaque and ulcerate and eventually blind. The child is thin and emaciated and usually suffers from diarrhoea. Proper food, chiefly milk, is the certain way to prevent this disease and if the child gets the disease the best treatment is codliver oil till all signs have disappeared. Small-pox is also a disease in which the eyes frequently become involved and this could all be prevented by the rigorous enforcement of vaccination and re-vaccination. "Good vaccination saves more eyes than all the eye hospitals put together in India" says Colonel Wright of Madras, and it is deplorable that the rules and regulations with regard to efficient vaccination in infancy in India are being restricted. Parents of newly born children should seek out the village vaccinator and get their babies vaccinated as soon as possible. Children should be re-vaccinated at intervals of five years.

Trachoma must also be mentioned as one of the greatest causes of preventable blindness in India but in Bengal it is not common

and it is of interest to know that there is only a little difference between the prevalence of the disease among the Marwaris from Rajputana and the Mahomedans from northern India.

Trachoma if treated from the first should never be permitted to cause the slightest diminution in the acuity of a patient's vision. In old people cataract and glaucoma are the special foes that produce blindness.

Cataract is a degenerative change in the crystalline lens which lies behind the iris and which gradually becomes opaque so that light cannot get through the pupil to the back of the eye. Thus blindness results but vision can be restored in most cases by a successful operation but never trust your eye for operation to the village coucher as so many poor ignorant people do who know no better.

Cataract is much commoner in India than in Europe and America. This is due to the intense heat and glare of India. In the majority of cataract cases there is a definite focus of long continued local sepsis which is most commonly dental or alimentary in origin. This leads to premature senility with its accompanying signs of degenerative changes in the various tissues of the body of which cataract forms a part.

A further factor frequently accompanying the formation of cataract is a deficiency in certain elements of the dietary. The exact items have not been determined as yet. The majority of Indian peasants are habitually on the verge of a starvation diet and cataract may be one of the ocular complications of a nutritional disease accentuated by other predisposing causes such as intense sunlight and focal sepsis.

Glaucoma is an eye disease where the

pressure of the eye rises leading to destruction of the nerve of the eye and resulting blindness.

The disease can be cured most satisfactorily by an eye specialist. It is one of the most appalling diseases that can affect the eye as it is usually painless and leads to complete blindness unless treated surgically and cured by an operation. Like cataract, glaucoma is very common in India and is nearly always associated with some form of sepsis such as dental or intestinal intoxication. In Bengal large numbers of cases of epidemic dropsy or as it is incorrectly called by the public Beri Beri periodically make their appearance affecting children, adults, and old people. A very common complication of this disease is epidemic dropsy glaucoma. Many people have lost their sight for ever as a result of this disease but those who submitted to operation on their eyes before it was too late retained or recovered their sight. The causation of this disease is due to infected and badly stored rice.

The above diseases are responsible for most of the blindness in India and a large number of them can be prevented.

The relief of and the operative treatment of cataract is not the whole solution of the prevention of blindness in India. What is wanted is some large organization covering the whole of India and aiming chiefly at prevention rather than treatment.

Today the blind are innumerable all over India. They beg for alms at every street corner. How much of this is preventable, how much curable? We have not as yet the statistics in which to have an answer but the comparative figures for Great Britain and India assure us that preventable blindness is one of India's future public health problems.

The Spanish Republic

By Dr SUDHINDRA BOSE

IN the recent Spanish general election the Republic is sustained: it is a triumphant victory for the forces which overthrew the monarchy three months ago. Moreover, the Republican-Socialist party is given a clear majority in the national constitutional assembly, thus assuring a relatively conservative government.

Another of the outstanding results of the election is the overwhelming defeat of the clerical and monarchist elements. It is another example of the fact that it is impossible to tell what is the real mass opinion under a dictatorship until the masses have a free choice in a free election.

While the clear-cut decision in support of the republic is now a matter of history, it is evident that there will be a division between the Republicans of the right and left, and the Socialists. It may be delayed for a time because of the separatist tendency of Catalonia, but even while this question is pending, there will be a division between the Socialists and the capitalist Republicans. The latter want a republic favouring invested capital, and the Socialists a republic serving working class interests. It is only on the basis of this fact that the more or less confused Spanish situation can be understood.

SEPARATING THE MONARCHY

The Spanish election has extended King Alfonso's vacation indefinitely. His flight from Madrid will doubtless rank with James II's escape to France, Louis XVI's running away to Varennes, and Kaiser William's get-away to Holland. As year chases year, royalty is losing its halo. Royalty began slumping before the Great War. During that war and since then, it has been slumping faster and faster.

Republican sentiment in Spain has been fermenting for years, but economic depression gave the movement strength enough to force King Alfonso out. Alfonso, the Spanish playboy, was popular as a sportsman. Story-telling is one of his accomplishments. My wife tells me that she once heard him in Spain crack jokes with the natives at a

railway station by the hour. Alfonso is a jokesmith. Yet he has been a weakling in politics and an impediment in the progress of his native country. His principal aim, judged by his actions, has been not to further the interests of the Spanish people, but to do those things which might prop up his tottering throne. The monarchy cared little for the condition of its people. It robbed them of their constitutional rights and squeezed their meager pocket-books of money, some of which Alfonso invested in foreign bonds in his own name.

Since 1902, when Alfonso took over the reins of government at the tender age of sixteen, he has been engaged in political intrigue and has stood in the way of progress. During the Great War he nursed an illusion that the warring groups would call upon him as a mediator. By the summer of 1923 he had managed things so badly that to avert an uprising he had to resort to a dictatorship.

Since then, the people of Spain have had scarcely any voice in their own government. The recent economic troubles, however, brought such disturbing and persistent mutterings of armed rebellion and mutiny that the King was forced to put the constitution in operation again, and to authorize a general election. Then the election turned so overwhelmingly against him that he was pushed off the throne.

No tears are being shed in America over Alfonso's fate. He was not fitted for the responsibility to which he was born, and the country will doubtless be better off by his removal. A little while ago he was King Alfonso. Today he is Mr Alfonso, exile.

Alfonso XIII is the last of the reactionary Bourbon dynasty. The Spanish monarchy, hundreds of years old and once the most powerful in Europe, fell to the rising tide of republicanism. An overthrow in Spain in the old days would have rocked Europe, and disturbed the world. Now an overthrow there is no more significant than in Patagonia, if as much. Spain is not in the centre of things.

It is rumored that the ex-King of Spain will soon visit the United States. A trip to America is believed to be one of his most treasured wishes. If Don Alfonso should ever come to this side of the Atlantic, he would be sure of a great welcome. He is a Bourbon with a great family tree. High-caste Americans will invite him to the swellest functions. He is bound to have a great fun in America. He has plenty of money stored away, he has a queen for a wife, two princely sons and two princesses for daughters. Socially, Alfonso is safe.

DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The democratic movement, which swept king after king out of Europe, received not a little impetus during and after the Great War. At the outbreak of the struggle there were only three republics on the Continent—France, Switzerland, and Portugal. With the accession of Spain, there are now fifteen republics in Europe.

Only nine of the old monarchies went

Still more noticeable is the shift of population from monarchial to republican rule. Before the war approximately forty million Europeans lived in the three republics then existing. Now republican governments include a population of 362 millions (with the Asian populations of Russia and Turkey), while only 162 million persons live under monarchies.

With the progress of political democracy has come a corresponding advance in industrial democracy. Legislation to curb the privileges of predatory combinations of capital and to equalize opportunity has gone hand in hand with political reforms. They are parts of the same movement for the betterment of those whom Abraham Lincoln in the United States called the common people.

HARD TIMES AHEAD

The natural tendency in the United States is to hail an overthrow of monarchy in Spain as a step of progress. In the long run undoubtedly that is what it will prove. But in the immediate situation, the prospect is not exceedingly bright. Observers have drawn up a formidable list of obstacles which the new-born republic of Spain must overcome to achieve stability. President Zamora, who succeeded Alfonso as head of the nation, is quite a recent republican. It seems he became a republican as an after-thought and because of a personal feud. Until 1923 he was a royalist, and as such served in three cabinets. He was Minister of War in the cabinet replaced by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Because King Alfonso would not defend him against Primo's charge of cabinet corruption.

Zamora renounced his monarchist sympathies. The chances are that he would be about as friendly to left-wing republicanism as a cat would be to a brood of mice. Foreign Minister Lleroux is a former supporter of the Dictator. Without doubting the present sincerity of Zamora and Lleroux, one cannot help wondering how far such leaders can go, or even desire to go, in the direction of true democracy.

Popular education in Spain is a mockery, and over half the population is illiterate. The country has suffered from a continually adverse trade balance and a continual deficit in its federal budget. The Spanish government has borrowed abroad at high rates of interest, and sweated the underlying population for the debt-service. Huge estates and revenues have been reserved for the Crown and the Church. The currency is badly depreciated.

Among the most immediate problems of Spain are the Catalan Republic and the possible secession of the Basque provinces. In its long period of insurgency against the Spanish government, Catalonia repeats the history of Ireland in its relation to England, prior to the establishment of the Irish Free State. Catalonia is Spain's Irish problem; but unlike Ireland, Catalonia is the richest, the most fertile, and the most enterprising province in the Spanish peninsula. Barcelona, its capital, is Spain's largest port and most modern city. The people of Catalonia have contributed for years to republican organizations with the promise that when the King was overthrown they should have their independence. When the King was shoved over the border, they proclaimed Catalonia a republic, ran up their own flag and elected Colonel Macia, as their first President.

WEAPONS OF OPPRESSION

The three oldest sources of oppression to the Spanish people have been the nobility, the church, and the army. Even a brief consideration of these three old institutions will to a certain extent tend to clarify the present situation. The nobility has kept the Spanish peasants who constitute seventy per cent of the population in a state of virtual serfdom. The peasants have accepted the dictates of their landlords, and voted as they have been told.

Spain is a bigotted Roman Catholic country. If ever there was a priest-and-nun-ridden country it is that. The Catholic

church owns property of incalculable value, and the Catholic priests exert tremendous influence politically. Royal Spain was the only country in Europe that still paid tribute to Pope (about thirty-six million rupees). Under the monarchy the constitution recognized only the Catholic Christianity: "the State maintained the church property and paid the clergy; the higher clergy enjoyed special political and civil privileges; government employees were required to be Catholics, religious teaching was compulsory in the schools; the church completely controlled secondary education; other religions were permitted but under such restrictions as to make it almost impossible for them to exist." The Catholic church has been a mighty partner in the intellectual enslavement in the country of the Inquisition. The Republican government has indicated that it will separate church from state and place all religions on the same footing. The Spanish hierarchy, jealous of its privileged position, is refusing to surrender. The church has been for centuries enjoying usurped power. It was the power granted by the monarchy and the nobility in exchange for "helpful co-operation." As happened in Italy, the majority of the Catholic Spaniards will undoubtedly put the interests of the nation above allegiance to the church in the field of political action.

Spain with a population of only 22,000,000 has an army of 804,000, one officer for every 20 soldiers, one officer for every 1,000 inhabitants. There are battalions of colonels, squadrons of generals. Alfonso pampered the army, for the army kept him in power. I mean, of course, not the army, but the officers and generals.

The rank and file of the soldiers were recruited from the peasant population for two or three years. They were forced to leave their lands untilled, and serve the army almost without any pay. The common soldiers, unpaid and underfed, had been for years annoying to the sleek and satisfied groups of generals. These were the recipients of official favours.

The future of the new Spanish Republic is on the knees of the gods. One may expect to see Spain go through a prolonged struggle for democracy; and it will not be spared the pain that goes with it. The new Spain, in groping its way out, will probably make mistakes; but it has the right to make its own mistakes. The dumb millions of Spain have suffered long enough at the hands

of the aristocracy, the army, and the church. Indeed, there is yet no occasion to be unduly pessimistic over any change away from the old order to the new,

no matter how roughly undertaken. Democracy will vindicate itself. With Alfonso gone, the way is open for the beginning of a new era.

Sind

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, B.A., M.Sc., B.L.

THE first Round Table Conference recommended the separation of Sind and the appointment of an expert committee in India to examine the probable revenue and expenditure of a separated Sind. The Government of India has now appointed the Sind Financial Enquiry Committee. It has issued a lengthy *questionnaire* in regard to the cost of the separation of Sind, and has sent it to various public bodies and leading persons for their replies. Had the Committee stopped at issuing the *questionnaire* one could not have complained; but appended to each question are certain statements of facts, which present only one side of the case, and, then again, they are often inaccurate and misleading. The Committee apparently wants to influence opinion on the question of the separation of Sind.

Their fourth *questionnaire* with the statement below it, as published in the *Amrita Dhar Patrika* of the 21st August, 1931, is quoted below:

"1. What will be the number of members of the Legislative Council?"

The number of members in the Assam Council is 53, but it is anticipated that there will be a considerable increase under the new constitution. Sind supplies at present 17 out of 72 elected members of the Bombay Council, and the Simon Commission contemplated the Councils of major provinces being from 200 to 250 in number. The populations of Assam and Sind are according to the note circulated at the request of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto to Sub-Committee No. IX of the Round Table Conference 6.70 and 3.27 millions respectively."

Instead of merely pointing out the errors, let us give the true figures and the relevant facts.

Statement showing the composition of the Legislative Councils, as laid down in the Electoral Rules

	Bombay	Assam
<i>Nominated:</i>	28	14
(Executive Councillors and nominated members, of which the officials are not to exceed)	16	7
<i>Elected</i>	(86)	(39)
Non-Muhammadian, Urban	11	..
Rural	35	20
Muhammadian, Urban	5	..
Rural	22	12
General (Urban)	..	1
Europeans	2	..
Landholders	3	..
University	1	..
Commerce and Industry	7	3
Total	114	53

It will be seen that there are 39 elected seats in Assam to Bombay's 86. If we confine ourselves to general constituencies only, there are 33 seats in Assam to Bombay's 75. Sind sends 19 members including 1 each from the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, and from the Sind Jagirdars and Zemindars.

The respective total populations of Assam and Sind are 7,606,230 and 3,279,377 (Census of India, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 3). The whole of Sind is "Reforms" area; while in Assam there are extensive "Backward" tracts within the meaning of Sec. 52 A (2) of the Government of India Act, which are not represented by election.

The following territories in Assam are "Backward" tracts: "1. The Garo Hills district. 2. The British portion of the Khasia and Jaintia Hills district other than the Shillong Municipality and Cantonment. 3. The Mikir Hills (in Nowgong and Sibsangar districts. 4. The North Cachar

Hills (in the Cachar district). 5. Naga Hills district. 6. The Lushai Hills district. 7. The Sadiya Frontier Tract. 8. The Balipara Frontier tract. 9. The Lakhimpur Frontier tract." (No. 5—G dated the 3rd January 1921, *Gazette of India, Extraordinary*, p. 45). "These tracts cover an area of approximately 22,500 sq. miles out of the total area of Assam, 53,015 sq. miles, though the population is only one-tenth of the provincial population" (Views of Local Governments on the Recommendations of the Indian Statutory Commission. 1930 p 402).

"The total population of the province, excluding the hill districts and frontier areas which are not represented by election, is 6,871,570. At the general election of 1920 the number of registered voters was 202,440 or 2.94 per cent of the population. In 1923 the number of voters increased to 224,063 and the percentage to 3.26 and in 1926 the corresponding figures were 250,751 and 3.64. In the constituencies where the elections were contested 25 per cent of the voters went to the poll in 1920, 42 per cent in 1923 and 43.5 per cent in 1926." (Report on the Working of the Reformed Constitution, 1927, p 518). The total of the Assembly voters in 1926 was 27,472 and 54.25 p. c. of them voted in the contested constituencies. (Return showing the Results of Election in India in 1925 and 1926, p. 27.)

The total number of Muhammadans in Assam is 2,202,460; and their estimated number in the "Reforms" area is 2,188,000. The number of Muhammadan voters in 1926 being 75,749 (Cmd. 2923 of 1927) the percentage enfranchised is 3.41; the corresponding figure for the non-Muhammadans is 5.37 p. c.

In Sind (area 46,506 sq miles) the Muhammadans number 2,406,023; the Hindus 810,567. The number of Muhammadan voters was 58,941 in 1926; so the percentage enfranchised is 2.45; the corresponding figures for the non-Muhammadans are 66,511 and 7.62 (cf. Cmd 2923). The percentage of the Muhammadan and the non-Muhammadan voters, who polled in contested constituencies are 44.2 and 46.4 in 1926. The total of the Assembly voters from Sind was 32,959 in 1926; and 42 per cent polled in 1926.

It is usually assumed that the Muhammadans are in general economically backward, and as a consequence with higher voting qualifications their numbers fall off more rapidly. In Sind, the qualification of a general constituency Council voter is the payment of Rs. 32

as land revenue and that of an Assembly voter is Rs. 75. The number of such Muhammadan Assembly voters is 18,123 as against 13,777 non-Muhammadans. This proves that whatever may be the case elsewhere, in Sind at least, the Muhammadans are economically stronger and more influential, although Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayetullah asserts that the Hindu Amil "owns to-day 40 per cent of the land in Sind..... 30 per cent is already mortgaged with him, so that we, the majority, have only 30 per cent." (Round Table Conference, Proceedings of Sind Sub-Committee, p 17).

"The average area of a rural constituency in Assam is over 1,600 sq. miles, as against 200 sq miles in England. They vary between 287 sq. miles with 2,867 voters, and 7,645 sq. miles with 3,293. The largest number of voters is 16,425" (Views of Local Governments, etc. p. 401).

The area of an average rural constituency in Sind is over 13,952 sq. miles. They vary between 2,664 sq. miles with 3,973 voters to 24,364 sq. miles with 25,240 voters, which is also the largest number of voters in a single constituency.

Compared with the other divisions of the Bombay Presidency, Sind is over-represented so far as general constituencies are concerned. This is due partly to the weightage given to the Muhammadans under the Congress-League Scheme of 1916 (nearly double of what they are entitled to on population basis)—and Sind is 75 per cent Muhammadan—and partly to greater considerations shown to Sind for the great distance from the capital city.

Representation Population in 000's. in the Council.

Bombay City	1,176	9
Northern Division	3,719	16
Central	6,059	20
Southern	4,906	12
Sind	3,279	17

(Note: Bombay Presidency European seat cannot be assigned to any particular division.)

If according to the suggestions of the Simon Commission the membership of the Legislative Council be increased to 250 i.e., thrice its present elected strength, Sind's quota will be some 60.

All these facts should have been circulated by the Committee to help the public in forming a correct opinion.

In para 10 the *questionnaire* says:

It is understood that the Commissioner in Sind is the controlling authority in respect of Excise in Sind and is invested with the same powers under the Bombay Abkari and Opium Acts as the Commissioner of Excise. Sind is a self-contained unit for excise purposes, with its own establishment, (except that the Superintendent of Salt and Excise is borne on the general Presidency cadre) but it is inspected annually by the Commissioner of Excise. Is this superior inspection essential, and if so, what arrangements should be made to secure it after . . .

The Government of India's memorandum on Excise Administration in India for 1927-28 with reference to the administrative agency in Sind, says:

The collection of the Excise revenue was in the hands of the Collectors of districts under the control of the Commissioner in Sind. A combined establishment was maintained for the protection of the Excise and Salt revenues. The establishment was subject to the authority of the Commissioner in Sind under the control of the Superintendent of Salt and Excise, Sind, who was aided by three Deputy Superintendents. Deputy Superintendents acted also as advisers in Excise matters to the district Collectors.

There appears to have been no change since then.

What then are we to believe? Has Sind its own separate establishment or is it a combined one?

If Sind is separated and created a new province, the Governor is to occupy the place of 'the Commissioner in Sind'; and under him there are to be ministers. Who is then going to be the controlling authority, and who is going to be vested with the powers of 'Excise Commissioner'? Apart from superior inspection, which may or may not be essential, who is going to supply the Sind ministry with administrative experience and authoritative official advice?

Bombay Government pays the Central Government a large sum annually for the use of its officers and establishment. This is not shown as expenditure *in* Sind but a portion of it is expenditure *for* Sind. What is the amount?—this must be found out.

In para 14, the *questionnaire* goes on to say:

It is understood that the Stamp office, Karachi, is a self-contained department under the control of Karachi, who is "ex-officio" . . . "Collector of Stamps" for Sind, the Commissioner in Sind being the chief Revenue-controlling authority under the Stamp Act, and that no additional expenditure under this head would be necessary in the event of separation. Is this correct?

The Sind Gazetteer (p. 502) says:

Sind used to obtain stamps from the

Sup. and nt of Stamps and Stationery, Bombay, but in 1905 a stamp office was established at Karachi for the supply of Sind, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and parts of Rajasthan, under the Collector of Karachi as Superintendent and the City Deputy Collector as Asst. Superintendent of Stamps.

Stamp revenue is provincialized no doubt, but Karachi must pay the Central Government for its share of stamps used in directly administered areas, and the Punjab Government for its own legitimate share. In Bengal we pay the Government of Assam a certain fixed sum as an annual assignment on account of Stamp Duty paid in Bengal in respect of non-judicial stamps on documents *relating to properties or transactions* in Assam. Then again Karachi must pay the Central Government for the cost of stamps supplied from the Central Stamp Store at Nasik and for its share of the cost of Security Printing Press and charges in England.

The statement of accounts submitted before the Sind Committee of the Round Table Conference speaks of receipts *in* Sind, and expenditure *in* Sind. The average stamp revenue collected *in* Sind is shown as 192 lakhs, the average expenditure under the head of stamps as 670 lakhs. This conveys a wrong idea—for while the stamp revenue *for* Sind collected in the rest of the Bombay Presidency may be nil, as Bombay City has a separate stamp administration, the expenditure *for* Sind by way of payments to other Provincial Governments and the Central Government may not be an expenditure *in* Sind. Sind must bear a share of such expenditure; and this share must be added to the expenditure *in* Sind.

Throughout the *questionnaire*, "the Commissioner in Sind" looms large. He is to be the Governor in Sind, he is in administrative control of the Department of Land Records, he is the controlling excise authority; he is the chief revenue controlling authority. "Will it be necessary to have a Revenue Commissioner in Sind in addition to him?" To our lay mind, it seems that he is inducted like *deus ex machina* to solve administrative difficulties too often?

It appears that the Enquiry has been held at Poona—why at Poona, instead of at Karachi or Bombay, one fails to understand; but we hope there were good reasons for it and sufficient publicity was given to attract witnesses and written memoranda.

At the last Round Table Conference, the Hindus of Sind were unrepresented and

Dr. Moonje complained of lack of detailed local knowledge at the Sind Sub-Committee. This time also, the Sind Hindus are going unrepresented and much misrepresentation may be made by the Muslim separationists. Let us, the Cis-Indus Hindus, realize that

Sind is not beyond Hind. Let us try to realize the true position of affairs and help the Hindus of Sind. In this hope the few facts and figures given above are placed before the public. May Sind merit attention from bigger brains and abler hands.

International Federation of Indian Students

By TARAKANATH DAS, Ph.D.

UNDER the leadership of Dr. S. K. Datta of International Students' Service of Geneva, the second Indo-Europe Conference was held at Friburg, Switzerland, from the 19th to the 24th of April 1931. Indian students from various culture centres of Europe participated in this conference and discussed various social and educational problems. A few German, British and American scholars, who are interested in promoting international co-operation through students, were also present. After the sessions of the conference were over, participants left Friburg for Geneva to get first-hand knowledge of various activities of the League of Nations.

One of the most interesting features of this conference at Friburg was that Indian members themselves devoted a day, discussing their problems in various European countries. During the deliberations, Indian representatives from Great Britain bitterly complained of the ill-treatment accorded to them. It was pointed out that in some of the British Universities Indian students are termed "blackies" by the British students. In Great Britain Indian students generally find difficulties in securing opportunities for practical training and at times they cannot get admission into colleges and universities. Indian students from Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich, and Tübingen, on the other hand spoke of their experience in Germany. They were in agreement that Indian students are very well treated; and German professors and others try to help them in every way and above all they do not find any social discrimination.

The following letter, published in the *People* (Lahore) June 21, 1931, echoes

some of the grievances of Indian students in British universities:

"Sir,

It will be recalled that in 1927 all the cafés, restaurants and dance-halls, imposed a colour ban, but after representation being made to various authorities a compromise was reached, and soon after the ban was raised. Again this year two cafés (Strand Café, and Café Teria) refuse to admit "coloured students" as a whole without any reason whatsoever. Edinburgh Indian Association approached the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Students Representative Council of Edinburgh University, but so far no action has been taken by them and the "Colour ban" still continues. I want to appeal to my countrymen through your paper to take some step in the matter so that this "national insult" may not occur again and Indian students coming over here may enjoy equal privileges with all other nationals in the country. I especially appeal to all the parties in the Legislative Assembly to bring pressure on the Indian Government so that representations be made by the Government of India to the Secretary of India here to take necessary steps in the matter....

Hony. Secretary
Edinburgh Indian Association."

Mr Iswar Saran of Allahabad, in a letter published in the *Manchester Guardian* of May 22, 1931, makes the following comments and regrets that the situation is getting worse every day:

"It is a fact that if there were no difficulty of language—most Indians know only one European language, and that is English—and political considerations, many Indians would prefer other European countries, and especially France and Germany, for education, training or society, to England. It is also a fact that there is a growing tendency among Indians to travel by non-British-owned steamers in preference to English-owned steamers. An Indian, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service of the British Government, whilst returning to India in an Italian steamer humorously remarked to me, 'We are nonentities in English steamers; here we are at least entities

I am constrained to observe that things instead of improving are getting worse. The position of an Indian today in England is decidedly more uncomfortable than it was some time back. Nationalism has given a new consciousness to Indians, and being sensitive by nature and intensely proud of their ancient culture and civilization, they resent the superior attitude adopted towards them . . .

Far-sighted British statesmen recognize the fact that colour-bar in Great Britain against Indians is possibly one of the most important causes of the present Anglo-Indian hostility. The *Spectator* (London) has recently devoted considerable space in aiding the work of the newly organized 'Joint Council to Promote Understanding Between White and Coloured People in Great Britain.' In a recent article this renowned journal discussed the seriousness of the situation. We shall quote a few passages from this article :

. . . Colour prejudice—found in its extreme degree among the Anglo-Saxons, and to a lesser extent among the Nordic peoples in Europe—cannot be regarded as the hall-mark of civilization, for some of the most civilized peoples do not possess it . . . In the course of our investigations one of the things which has constantly struck us is that much of the ill-feeling towards Great Britain in India today arises, not from a sense of political grievance but from personal slight, imagined or real. We could give chapter and verse for this statement. To our knowledge several of the most advanced leaders of Indian nationalism were formerly warm friends of Great Britain, and it was owing to their treatment by white British subjects that their outlook changed . . . Two weeks ago we pointed to a letter from the Secretary of Y.M.C.A. Indian Students Union and Hostel in Gower Street, in which the writer dealt with an aspect of the problem which especially concerns Londoners. He said that it was becoming more and more difficult for coloured students and visitors to London to obtain suitable accommodation. Mr. Auman who quoted instances of room having been booked in advance for well-known and distinguished Indian visitors, who, when they came to install themselves in their hotels, were refused accommodation 'on the flimsy excuse.' From our experience we could give many similar instances . . . At a moment when we are straining every nerve to bring about a permanent understanding between the people of India and ourselves, based on friendship and appreciation of the good qualities of the other, can we afford to send home (to India) every year hundreds of embittered and disillusioned students, with nothing but unhappy memories of their stay in England? Indians feel their treatment in Great Britain and in British steamship lines very deeply, for it is to marked contrast to the reception accorded them in the continent of Europe and in the (German) French, Italian and Japanese steamers where they are received with all the courtesy shown to white travellers . . .

After much deliberation Indian representa-

tives of the second Indo-Europa Conference came to the conclusion that for the best interest of India and to protect Indians from humiliation, steps should be taken to divert Indian students from England to the continental culture-centres. It was also decided that to do this work effectively and to break up the cultural isolation of India, Indian universities should have adequate facilities for teaching important European languages especially German, French and Italian.

It may be pointed out that more than two thousand Indian students are in Great Britain. They on the average spend no less than fifty lakhs (5,000,000) rupees annually in Great Britain. India does not get the equivalent benefit from the expenditure of this vast sum, which is also a drain on the nation's resources. If fifty lakhs of rupees can be used by any existing Indian University as an additional permanent endowment fund, then it can from its income at six per cent interest secure services of at least twenty foremost professors from foreign lands, (if that is necessary), as a temporary measure, to increase Indian national efficiency through higher education.

Majority of Indian students, who go to Great Britain, do so not because the educational facilities in England are superior to those in other countries of Europe, but because they expect better jobs—in the Government Service of India—because a degree from a British University is often a requisite for a high government position in India.

No one should think that I am opposed to Indian students going abroad. I feel that efforts should be concentrated that the standard of Indian educational institutions should be so raised that it would not be necessary for Indian students to go abroad to acquire ordinary scientific and industrial education. To be sure, Indian professors, brilliant Indian graduates and research scholars should be sent to various western universities. It is necessary that Indian scholars of the best type should visit German, French, Italian, Swiss and American universities in large numbers. Needless to say that worthy Indian scholars may serve as representatives of Indian culture and they may serve as links in promoting India's cultural relations and friendly understanding with great and progressive nations.

From my personal experience I may say that Indian scholars, business men and travellers are welcome in Germany. During the recent years hundreds of Indian ladies and gentlemen have visited Germany and have travelled by German steamers; and they have received courtesy and consideration due to all cultured men and women irrespective of colour or creed. It is to be hoped that with the increasing number of well-qualified Indian students in German universities, Indo-German friendship will be strengthened; and it will serve as a very potent factor in promoting better understanding between the East and the West.

Nowadays a large number of Indians visit Europe annually. In this connection, one may suggest that Indians who come to Europe will be more benefited if they at least travel through Italy, Switzerland, Germany, France and other countries, before they go to England. This will broaden their vision and world outlook and break up India's cultural isolation.

The second Indo-Europe Conference held at Friburg also decided that Indian students in the continent of Europe and America should form an International Federation of Indian Students. This organization may co-ordinate various cultural activities of

Indian students in western countries in an effective manner. It seems that the most effective way to form an International Federation of Indian students is to have national organizations of Indian students in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other countries, in the same line as the Hindustan Association of America or the Chinese Students Association in America. Indian students in various culture centres of a particular country (say Great Britain or Germany) should form a local organization. These organizations should be federated into a national organization. It has been decided that to accomplish this (formation of International Federation of Indian Students), a conference of Indian students will be held in London, sometime in 1931 and the next conference will be held in Munich, during the summer of 1932.

It is needless to emphasize that an International Federation of Indian Students will be an asset to the cause of cultural co-operation between India and all progressive countries of the world. Let us hope that Indian educators and students in general, especially those who are in European universities will help in bringing about such an organization.

The Social Purity Campaign in Bengal

By MELISCENT SHEPHARD

IN a book called *The Key of Progress* which is a survey of the status and conditions of women in India, there is a chapter entitled "Social Evils." This chapter consists of articles by Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi and Dr. Jerbandoo Mistri. The chapter deals with the world problem of prostitution in its Indian form i.e. religious prostitution and commercial prostitution.

Any attempt to study commercialized prostitution in any country must take into account the marriage customs and inherited traditions with regard to the relationship between the sexes. Quite apart from the so-called religious customs the prevalence of social customs such as child marriage non marriage

of widows, *jaipani*, and certain perversions amongst certain classes and castes, all tend to make the question of legislation extremely difficult.

In Bengal with its 89,525 villages and its 135 cities and small towns, one or two outstanding facts have to be taken into consideration:

- (1) The preponderance in the cities of men over women
- (2) Methods of engaging factory labour
- (3) The domestic service engaged in by up-country men, the wives and families being left in the villages
- (4) The economic status of women when employed

(5) The tendency to regard women as inferior beings, solely for the personal sexual gratification of men.

In Calcutta, as in other large cities in India, groups of Indian and non-Indian men and women have banded themselves together for the past few years to study this problem and to educate public opinion on the whole question. This education has crystallized into legislation in two directions :

(1) Protection of the child and penalties for those who offend against children.

(2) Protection of women and minor girls.

The Bengal Children Act of 1922, with many clauses still inoperative, was an attempt to crystallize the best thought of the leading men and women, and to give that thought legal form. The Society for the Protection of Children in India (Miss Arbuthnot is its General Secretary), has been regarded as the leading society. She puts into effect the clauses in the Bengal Children Act, and those who wish to give thanks for their own happy and protected childhood cannot do better than send a donation for this most necessary and difficult work to the Hon. Treasurer of that Society, 13 Kyd Street, Calcutta.

The Calcutta Vigilance Association with Sir Ewart Greaves as Chairman, and Mr. F. E. James as Secretary, promoted in 1923 the Calcutta Immoral Traffic Act. This act sought to render liable to penalty those who forced minor girls into brothels for a life of prostitution. It enabled the local Government to declare certain streets to be main thoroughfares, in which no brothel might be allowed to exist. The Act gave powers to authorities to provide suitable custody for minor girls rescued from brothels.

During the eight years since the passing of that Act, experience has proved its inadequacy. The struggle against the social evil required this preliminary attack against commercialized vice but the root problem remains unchallenged.

In 1925 the Age of Consent Bill was passed. This again was a step in the right direction, but the raising of the age of consent to 13 and 14 years for married and unmarried girls respectively, can only be regarded as the first step towards a more radical reform in the future.

Medical evidence in the Joshi report provided abundant evidence of the racial harm resulting from early marriage, and the early age of consent. It was pointed out

that puberty, and maturity for motherhood and fatherhood, are two different stages in development. The onset of puberty is *not* an indication that Nature thereby intends the boy and the girl to cohabit, and become parents. Physically, mentally and spiritually they are not yet mature. This basic fact needs to be emphasized, for it lies at the root of the Child Marriage Restraint Act (called the Sarda Act) of 1930.

With these all-Indian legal developments, Calcutta could not but advance in thought and practice with regard to the fight against immoral traffic. The Calcutta Vigilance Society therefore invited a worker to come to India, in 1928, to "investigate the segregated vice areas with a view to their abolition, and to undertake an educational campaign on the whole subject." The worker was sent by the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, founded by Mrs. Josephine Butler, who was the pioneer in Europe in the Abolitionist movement. Mrs. Butler's work is referred to in the report of the special body of experts appointed by the League of Nations, and issued from Geneva in 1927. The body of experts made a three years' investigation into the international traffic in women and children, visiting 28 countries, in which 112 cities and districts were included. To summarize this report of 2 volumes in a short article is impossible, but for the purposes of this study, the following points made by the League in their report, are of value :

Profit is at the bottom of this business. It is the third-party element which makes the traffic in women so tragic an affair in its worst aspects. The existence of licensed houses, or tolerated or registered areas, is undoubtedly an incentive to traffic, both national and international.

The League further says :

It behoves all Governments which place reliance upon the older system to examine the question thoroughly, in the light of the latest medical knowledge and practice, and to consider the possibility of abandoning a system which is fraught with such dangers from the point of view of international traffic.

Further, International Congresses in Europe—in London in 1927 and Warsaw in 1930, summarized the considered opinions of the 47 nations represented, in the following resolution.

Regulation and the system of brothels constitute the chief cause of the traffic in women and children, and are, wherever they are found, an attack on the dignity and rights of mankind. This International Congress therefore

asks all Governments in question as also the League of Nations—to take all possible measures with a view to the suppression of these systems as speedily as possible wherever they exist. This applies to all countries and territories, at all times and in all circumstances”.

At that Congress in London, India was represented by Sir Ewart Greaves, Mr. S. N. Malik, Mr. G. D. Birla and Mrs. S. N. Malik.

With this background of international thought the Calcutta Vigilance Association Legal Sub-Committee, through the worker who had been invited, (and who is the writer of these notes), made a comparative study of the legislation in the different provinces in India, Burma, and Ceylon. It was found that Burma, Ceylon, Bombay, Madras, Travancore and certain Princes' dominions were ahead of Bengal in this fight against the social evil, as far as legislation was concerned.

The legal Sub-Committee which consisted of eight men and women (of whom three are non-Indians), therefore prepared an amending bill to the Calcutta Immoral Traffic Act of 1923. The main principles embodied in the new Act are as follows

(1) Realizing that third-party profits are at the root of commercialized prostitution, the proposed Act penalizes those who procure, buy, or sell, or by forced marriage or other fraud, induce women to enter into a life of commercialized prostitution. There are also sections with regard to landlords, which enable them to get rid of objectionable tenants.

(2) Since the 1923 Act, only twenty-one streets have been officially “declared” to be “main thoroughfares” for the purpose of the Act, and the procedure has been cumbersome and slow. The new bill therefore amends the 1923 Act, with regard to the power of the Police to order the discontinuance of any place used as a brothel or for carrying on business of prostitution.

In order to avoid malicious charges there are protective clauses which enable the authorities to investigate the grounds for those charges before prosecution is allowed.

(3) There are penalties for procurers, touts, pimps, and persons below the age of 18, knowingly living on the earnings of prostitution, and for persons who traffic in the prostitution of others.

(4) There are penalties for solicitation, for causing, encouraging or abetting the seduction, for prostitution, of minor girls, and

(5) For detaining minor women, girls or boys in any place where prostitution or the business of a prostitute are carried on.

The question of suitable custody for girls removed from brothels and the inclusion within this proposed Act of certain clauses from the Indian Penal Code, and the Bengal Children Act will give in Bengal a more concise legislative weapon.

At the present moment reference has to be made to the different clauses of the different Acts which cover this traffic in women and children, whereas, under the proposed bill, all the clauses from the different laws are brought into one schedule.

Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.C. in charge of the bill, hopes to introduce it at the next session of the Legislative Council, on his return from the Round Table Conference, and is confident that this bill (which is the result of many years' experience, and not merely a theoretical aspiration) will receive the considered support of all thinking citizens.

What are the principles on which legislation in these matters can be constructively built?

(1) National prestige demands that any nation should be able to point to legislation which has crystallized into law the world movement of thought in these matters. This thought may be summed up under the following heads:

(a) The segregated vice areas in cities are a constant source of temptation and consequent disease among men of all races. The supposed immunity from disease is medically a fallacy. Scientific opinion everywhere refuses to support the compulsory inspection method which, whilst, cursorily and insufficiently examining the women leaves men free. Even in France where this system has been in operation since the days of Napoleon, the authorities have decided to abandon it within 5 or 6 years, because the incidence of disease is steadily increased by the system.

(b) No civilized country, wishing to keep her place in the good opinion of the world, can continue to tolerate the indignity and injustice of the system, which fails to penalize those who traffic in women and children, for the purposes of commercialized prostitution.

(2) Scientific opinion today “contrary to that obtaining 100 years ago” upholds continence before marriage, as physically, psychologically, socially and racially healthy.

It is therefore necessary for the State to provide the necessary conditions for the commercialized prostitution is tolerated. The unit to be considered in any race is that of the *family*, and such tolerated vice areas disintegrate true family relationships, and bring untold misery and disease to the race.

(3) Those who care for the dignity and equal moral status of men and women must deplore this unnecessary evil demand, and the consequent grievous supply. One result of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, when the principle of it is accepted, is being more nearly equal in age, that the husband and wife of the future, will have more in common on the intellectual and social planes. Many of the initial steps towards brothel visiting occur because the child-wife is completely unable to be the mental companion of her husband; the man seeks at first the feminine companionship and intellectual conversation which he finds given to him in the high class brothel, and, later, drifts to sensual excitements.

The tragedy of the training of these girls for the life in brothels is not a fit subject for this paper. The experience of three years' quiet investigation into the facts, enables the writer to urge that every reader of this paper should support wholeheartedly Mr. J. N. Basu's amending bill when it comes forward before the Legislative Council.

There are three ways in which attempts have been made to deal with the question of social reform in India:

The first is the "Best seller" way.

The second is the way of comradeship between the races in an attempt to reform that which needs reform by co-operation and friendship, and

The Third is the humble acknowledgment by men and women of all races of past failure, and a real determination to put matters right in the future, so that a better tradition shall be handed on to the children who shall follow.

It has to be remembered that those who

opposed the selfish diseases, had to fight on a battle-ground, not only on the visible plane, but in the sphere of invisible realities.

It is true that "self-control is self-Government." As Mahatma Gandhi says "Human Society is a ceaseless growth and an unfolding in terms of spirituality." For this warfare our weapons are not carnal but spiritual. It is "the truth which makes men free," and the truth about this matter (supported by the best scientific opinion) denies the right to any man to use any other human being as merely a means to an end and that end simply his own temporary physical pleasure. The statement on continence issued in 1928 by the leading biologists, psychologists, and physiologists of Europe gives a basis for our thinking.

STATEMENT ON CONTINENCE

We are of the opinion that:—

(1) In the interest of the race and of individual, it is essential that the stability of the family in marriage should be preserved, and social habits and customs should be adjusted to this end.

(2) There is overwhelming evidence that irregular sex relations lead to physical, mental and social harm.

(3) There is no evidence, either from physiology or from experience that for the unmarried, sexual intercourse is a necessity for the maintenance of physical health.

Is not this a translation into scientific language of Mahatma Gandhi's contention that true *Bramacharya* is not only healthy, not only desirable, but possible.

Since the gift of sex by the Creator is part of the divine plan for life, that gift must be possible of the highest good. It is its misuse which brings the tragedy of disease, and commercialized prostitution is the apex of misuse.

Is it too much to say that the challenge of today to the young men and women of India is a call to the adventure of real self-control, and inward and outward purity? There is a proverb: "One Lamp can light a thousand"; but the first Lamp must be lit at the Light of Divine Truth.



Protection in Soviet Russia

By K C CHAUDHURI M D

THE Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—the land of the “reds” as it is called in common parlance—has come, in recent years, for a good deal of discussion and criticism at the hands of a growing number of very able and seasoned writers. With few exceptions, they have, however, treated only of the highly controversial subject of Soviet political principles and economic policy. It is not intended here to go over the same grounds but to concentrate on a very significant and constructive programme of the Soviets, namely, its organization of far-reaching social welfare, and to discuss its features as broadly as is possible within the narrow compass of a short article.

A word of explanation is perhaps necessary why Russia of all countries in the world is chosen specially when she does not possess the most perfect or the ideal system. The answer is simple. From the point of view of the future social welfare worker in India, Russia is the only country which he can justifiably compare with his motherland. Look at only its vast and undeveloped areas, large population and their miserable state of life, its enormous resources, its agricultural character, and last but not the least—the almost ominous similarity which modern India presents to the Czarist Russia in her colossal lack of any efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the people.

The basic principle of Soviet welfare organization, as is the case in all other countries, is the recognition of the rightful claim of a child for “a free and normal development” and to provide the necessary facilities for it. “The important peculiarity,” as Lebedewa puts it, “is not only to improve the health of the woman and the child population of the republic, to combat infant mortality, to establish good lying-in hospitals for the needy, and to rationalize the nursing of the children, but also to look upon a woman as the nucleus of a process of class-warfare and new cultural construction.” This organization strives to lighten the task of a woman in fulfilling all these functions without prejudicing

her function of biological preservation. Motherhood indeed is the highest social function of a woman. “Thus it differs from others even in principles. The main points of difference, however, as will be seen later, lie in the absolute political and civic equality of man and woman with all its implications.”

The existing organ of social welfare in Russia owes its origin to the decree of 1919 of the Council of the Peoples’ Commissaries, later embodied in the Act II of 1921. Under the authority of this Act a three-cornered campaign was at once started, first, legislation, secondly, education and thirdly, the establishment of institutions.

LEGISLATION

All the legislative measures may be considered under two heads (i) general laws and (ii) special laws. The laws relating to marriage, inheritance, guardianship and the like are the instances which come under the first category. It will be sufficient to mention here that the rights of man and woman are put on an absolutely equal footing, and the duties of the parents towards the child are rigorously prescribed. Material help is guaranteed him until he is able to earn. The Soviet law makes no difference whatsoever between legitimate and illegitimate children. Both classes are entitled to all the benefits available under the law. Special laws cover extensive fields of social welfare. For example, the law prohibits the employment of any woman under 16 years of age in any industry, and of women at all in certain classes of industries. Factory legislation provides an 8-hour day and in some cases a 7-hour day for all woman workers and compulsory leave for two weeks with full pay every year. Under the health insurance law all mothers get leave with full pay two months before and two months after the confinement. With the birth of the child every insured mother gets an allowance of not less than 30 roubles for babies’ outfits and 9 roubles a month for nine months for nursing. The cost

is realized from the employer and he is further compelled to grant every mother half an hour's leave every three hours, if she is working. The total cost of insurance in 1927-28 amounted to 96 million roubles. Stringent laws are in force for the regulation of child-labour and allied subjects. No child under the age of fourteen years is allowed to work in any capacity anywhere. Children between the age of fourteen and sixteen are allowed to work only when one or more of the following three reasons are present: (i) an orphan; (ii) only earning member of the family; (iii) any other special circumstance. When they are employed a 6-hour-day and, if possible, a 4-hour-day must be maintained, and 42 hours of weekly holiday granted. Night work and overtime work are absolutely forbidden. They get a month's holiday instead of the usual fortnights every year. The laws relating to juvenile courts and offences are so thought out that they aim at medico-legal or socio-political measures rather than punishment. The court which is called a "Kommune" consists of three members, a representative of the People's Commissariat of Education, who is the president, and one each from the People's Commissariats of Health and Justice. A central committee of eight members in which the different parties are also represented further supplement this work.

The court and the committee have power to deal with all kinds of juvenile offences but cannot inflict any punishment. Their duty is to attempt to correct the offenders by socio-political measures. In 1925, 27 per cent of all the offenders were sent to institutions for special instruction, 16 per cent handed over to the parents, 10 p. c. to children's homes, 6 per cent were placed under special teachers, 8 per cent to the institutions for the naughty children, 10 per cent for medical treatment, and 10 per cent to the People's Court of Justice, who alone can inflict punishment. Serious attempt is always made to apply reform measures rather than sentences.

EDUCATION

It requires no great intelligence to realize that legislation alone, however perfect it may be, can never be a panacea for all the evils in the society, whether capitalistic, communistic or otherwise. The Bolshevik leaders took no time to understand it and in their very first decree in 1919 prescribed that legislation

must go hand in hand with other necessary measures. Among them educational measures rank as a thing of the first importance. They may be considered under the following three heads: (1) Health propaganda among the general public, (2) Instruction of the personnel of the various organizations on hygiene, public health and social laws, etc., (3) Teaching of the wards themselves as to their duty towards the state, society, the new civilization, etc. How important these problems were considered by the Soviets will be realized, if it is remembered that the People's Commissariat for Public Health is a department, subordinate to that for Education.

Health propaganda is done by organizing lectures and demonstrations, holding exhibitions, distributing posters and hand-bills and by instruction on eugenics, birth-control, hygiene of the home, infant feeding and the like. In 1928 115 of the 321 publications of the State Medical Publications were popular editions. The staff of the health organizations get their training, apart from the usual university and medical institutions in the Central Research Institute of the People's Commissariat for Public Health, branches of which exist in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkoff, Kiev, Odessa, Samara, Tashkent. A model institute was established five years ago in Moscow in the building of the former foundling home. Under the Five-year Plan new ones are being founded in north Caucasus, Dujetro-Petrowk, Siberia and Kozakstan. In these places, in addition to high class scientific research, short-time courses are held for the qualified doctors, midwives, nurses, teachers, etc. The subjects of instruction are generally pedagogic and medical preventive methods. As an aftermath of revolution and famine a very large number of destitute children were found in 1921. During this year a special decree was therefore issued by the Council of the People's Commissaries to take all possible measures. Necessity was felt for the construction of children's homes, which was unknown in Czarist Russia. On the advice of Soviet pedagogues these homes where large number of children were concentrated, were converted from mere asylums into educational centres. During the Czarist regime two classes of schools could be seen: (i) schools for the aristocracy with its usual "stock" discipline and (ii) institutions for the "pitiable" with the almsgiving atmosphere

of the haughty donor. The Soviet state has destroyed both these classes of institutions and introduced a new system with a view to the complete 'collectivization of the children,' where they will imbibe the spirit of socialism through personal and honest conviction rather than pressure, and realize the great dignity of "productive labour" and corporate life. It will thus be seen that these homes play a very significant rôle in the mental and moral development of the children, and aims at "Polytechnic vocational education."

INSTITUTIONAL RELIEF

The third item in this widespread organization of social welfare is the establishment of institutes, without which no scheme can ever be a success. They should preferably be discussed under certain heads (1) Institutions for the mother, (2) Institutions for the babies up to 3 years of age (3) Institutions for older children and the youth. More important in the first category are the mother welfare centres and lying-in hospitals. In 1928 there were 517 such centres in the whole of Russia and in all of them free advice is given to every mother on motherhood, birth-control, sexual life or any other cognate subject. Medical examinations and observations are undertaken, and, if necessary, orders are issued for the benefits, which may be payable under the law. Prophylactic measures against various congenital diseases are also adopted. With a view to lessen any risk which a mother may be exposed to during child-birth attempt is always made to hospitalize all cases. In 1927 70 per cent of all the cases in the cities and 12 per cent in the villages were conducted in the state hospitals, where accommodation for 14,519 patients are available, 8,466 being in the cities and 6,053 in the country. Everybody knows that this accommodation is far too small for a country like Russia but it is interesting to point out that in 1914, according to Rein, there were only 6,876 beds in the whole of European Russia and only 10 to 12 per cent of the needy could be admitted there.

The next stage in this process of institutional relief is the care of the babies and infants of tender age, up to 3 years of age. This is done through the medium of the so-called "consultation" or welfare centres. The work in these centres is of preventive, socio pedagogic nature. All children are

carefully examined and, if necessary, special steps are taken against social diseases such as congenital tuberculosis, lues or the like. In 1927, there were in the whole of U.S.S.R. 1,368 such centres as compared to 6 in 1917. The preventive activities of these are supplemented by house visits. These house visits are thought to serve the triple purpose of health propaganda, inspection of the sanitary conditions of the homes, and protection of the legal rights of the children contemplated in the laws. And these visits are always undertaken by three representatives, one each from the Departments of Health, Labour and Justice. Milk kitchen, special dietary kitchen, aero-helio-therapeutic homes, etc. are also founded so as to supplement this work in case of necessity. In 1927, 70.7 per cent of all the children under one year in the cities of R.S.F.S.R. were supervised by these consultations. The rapid industrialization in accordance with the Five-year Plan has further necessitated the establishment of crèches. They are generally of three different types (i) Crèche in the factory itself, (ii) "Rayon" crèche for a group of factories, and (iii) Home crèche in the barracks of the workers. In 1927 a total number of 1,026 such crèches were in working order, 795 being in R.S.F.S.R., 206 in Ukrain and 25 in B.S.S.R. The beneficial effect of these measures is reflected in the mortality statistics, which dropped from 273 per cent of live births under 1 year in 1913 to 187 in 1927.

This brings us to the consideration of the establishments for the pre-school, and school-going children and the young people. The protection of their health has been entrusted to the Central Research Institute of the People's Commissariat of Health, which has its headquarters in Moscow. This institute was opened on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution in 1929 in the former Foundling Home in Moscow. Before the revolution there was hardly any apparatus for such purposes. It will be a matter of interest to the student of history to know that after the fall of the Czarist Government the present Soviet Government found in the school hygiene department of the Ministry of Education nothing else but a few anthropometrical maps and a statistics of suicide in the schools. The Central Research Institute with its constituent branches—Institutes of Health Protection in Moscow,

Leningrad, Rostov, and Kiev and Prophylactic (Children's Ambulance throughout the country—works as a single unit. The mechanism of work is quite novel. Physical culture takes an important place and by physical culture the Soviets mean "a rational system of building a physique with a view to prepare the young for active service and defence of the country." It does not signify mere physical exercise but a well-planned programme for 24 hours' work and includes work, recreation, feeding, hygienic bodily exercise, play, sport and gymnastic.

The Prophylactic Ambulance aims at prevention of all kinds of mental and physical trouble among the children and young people. The organization consists in the first place of physicians who work and instruct in the schools of social education, the "Pioneer Leagues" and the factory and other schools, and, secondly, of the different institutions for the young. "Prophylactic Ambulances" are furnished with seven different cabinets (1) Pedagogical and anthropometric, (2) Pediatric, (3) Psycho-neurological, (4) Ear, Nose and Throat, (5) Eye, (6) Laboratory for clinical examinations, and (7) Dental. In some of the better ones arrangement for X-Ray examination, and isolation stations are provided. These isolation stations are primarily meant for trachoma and congenital social diseases. The second group of institutes are the homes for children mentioned above, which may be divided into three categories. (a) Homes for children of pre-school age, *i.e.* 3 to 6 years—and kindergartens; (b) Those for children of school-going age, *i.e.* 8 to 15 years; (c) Mixed homes for all children of certain special groups such as habitual offenders, minorities (Nazmenschinstw). The Day-homes and Forest schools are meant for children suffering from one or other form of tuberculosis. The psycho-neurological asylums are intended (a) for the mild cases and (b) for the severe cases like lunacy. The "Kommunale" for the youth are intended (a) for the industrial workers (Fabsa voytch) and (b) for the agricultural workers.

Under the decree of the Council of the People's Commissaries, dated the 13th October, 1922, all young workers must be examined medically every year regularly. On the results of this examination, if it is found necessary, all steps should be taken to protect their health. These colonies are meant for such of the workers who need help. The last group of homes are the

so-called "Young Pioneer" and "Children's Republic" (Garodki). They also serve the same purpose as the above. The only difference is that the young people on usual annual leave are allowed to utilize them.

In the country the organization is naturally not yet so well distributed as in the cities, specially because of the lack of necessary trained staff. At present the district medical officers under the direction of the Pan-Russian Red Cross Society do the work. It is proposed, however, to build the same type of organization as described above in every Soviet and collective agricultural unit in the so-called "soychoz" and "kolchoz" under the now famous Five-Year Plan.

It will be seen that the supreme organization of the Soviet welfare system, namely, the Central Research Institute of the People's Commissariat of Health has the function not only of attending to scientific advancement but also to the highly important duty of leading in the socio-hygienic measures of the Soviet State.

In conclusion a few words may just be said about the basic and fundamental principles, which were always kept in mind in organizing this system.

(1) The welfare of the people—mental, moral and physical—is the highest and noblest function of the state alike on the ground of policy as of human considerations.

(2) The state alone and not private or philanthropic societies can organize any effective scheme of welfare inasmuch as the enterprises of the latter may be made wholly nugatory by an adverse political or financial tactics of the state.

(3) The welfare must essentially be "preventive" and must begin before the birth of the child.

(4) All the measures of legislation, education and relief must be systematically correlated, co-ordinated and collectivized under the supreme authority of a single organization, although the constituent bodies should always be self-governing.

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Russian into German.

Modern Panjabi Poetry

BY MOHAN SINGH UBEROI, M.A., PH. D

THE educated Panjabi himself knows very little of Panjabi literature, its nature, extent and course of development. Not a single book in English, Hindustani or Hindi exists on the subject. In the Gurmukhi script and central Panjab dialect there are a couple of books by one Budh Singh, but they are too uncritical and unscientific to deserve the pretentious sub-title they bear—"A History of Panjabi Literature." And yet these pathetic literary rambles are the stuff upon which aspirants to university diplomas are made to feed.

The causes of this poverty of information are not far to seek, a trifle strange though they are. The educated Panjabi Hindu is in a most anomalous and tragic position so far as his vernacular is concerned. Urdu he starts with the infant class; it is the court language and the language of the courtly; the vehicle of communication with the neo-Muslim. Out of sentimental reasons he must also pay homage to his religious script, Hindi, and pick up the smatterings of its literature. But he cannot be expected to excel or make his mark in any of the two languages. Not being a Muslim and having been born a few hundred miles away from Muttra, Lucknow, Cawnpur and Benares, his Urdu and Hindi will ever be looked upon with suspicion. Panjabi remains, but there the Sikh interferes with his alleged inborn, religious aptitude for it. The result is that contributions to Panjabi literature come from men ignorant of English and from Sikhs who are actuated mostly by religious

motives. Critical work connected with the vernaculars is generally undertaken by English-knowing Indians; where, as in Panjabi, the sympathies of such students do not cover a vernacular, or are related only to dominantly religious works in it, the vernacular goes entirely unrepresented to the nation at large and to the world outside India, through the medium of English or Hindustani.

There is another difficulty with Panjabi. The word is applied indiscriminately to three dialects; Lahndi, the most important and ancient of all, and the parent of Urdu, Central Panjabi or Sikhi which it is now sought to impose on the whole of geographical Panjab through Public Instruction agency, and Ambalawi which is akin to vernacular Hindustani and partakes mostly of Hindustani grammar. To the average reader acquainted with one, the other two would not be easily intelligible. Thus unless the compiler of a history possesses mastery over all the three, he cannot cope with his task satisfactorily.

Modern Panjabi literature dates from the British official possession of the Sikh Panjab. Historical and political information had to be compiled for the benefit of the British officials and scholars in India and in England. The work was entrusted to Government and state employees. After them came voluntary workers in the direction to whom the versification of Sikh religious and secular history for popular consumption was a task affording

It is also necessary at times to take into account the competition which the engineering firms have to meet to prevent imported material being used.

We were surprised to see the very mischievous and incorrect statements made by Mr. De regarding the treatment of labour by this Company. While we do not claim that the conditions of labour at Jamshedpur cannot be improved further, the following extracts will show that Mr. De is not justified in describing them as "notorious." The Tariff Board in their Report on Steel Industry published in 1927 state:

With regard to the water supply, drainage, sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries, open spaces and general amenities, conditions at Jamshedpur are of a higher standard than is general in industrial areas in India.

The Hon'ble Sri Bhupendra Nath Mitra stated in the Legislative Assembly on 16th February, 1927:

I have never come across any other industrial centre where the labour is so well cared for.

The Rev. C. F. Andrews in his letter dated 18th October, 1925 wrote to the late Mr. R. D. Tata:

"I need hardly tell you how delighted I was with all that has been done for the welfare of the men, and rapid strides you had made towards building perhaps the healthiest and the most orderly city this side of the world."

The Rev. John T. Shaw, M.P. in his report dated May 1927 which was presented to the International Federation of Textile Workers said:

"The delegation reports that the wages paid at Jamshedpur are probably higher than in any other works in India."

These extracts can be multiplied to any extent but we trust your readers will realize that the Steel Company is doing specially good work in providing the best conditions possible for labour.

Yours faithfully,

N. B. SARKARAYALA

DIRECTOR

FOR TATA SONS, LTD. AGENTS

America's Scientific Philanthropy

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

BESIDES the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board, forty-one Americans contributed last year gifts of Rs. 3,600,000 or more each to philanthropy. Such huge gifts for charitable enterprises have won for America the enviable reputation of being not only the wealthiest country in the world but also a nation of most generous givers. They give for worthy causes with the same zeal and enthusiasm with which they go about the business of creating and accumulating wealth. By tradition the American is a progressive, he is, moreover, a cent per cent reformer with an unquenchable passion for social uplift. In fact, it is this peculiar characteristic that has made just forty-one individual Americans and three American organizations give away for charitable purposes gifts amounting to an enormous total of Rs. 426,000,000 within the brief period of a single year. This amount, by the way, does not include gifts of less than Rs. 3,000,000 each, though such gifts were many in number during the same year. In 1928 the total of all gifts given away in response to appeals for various philanthropic causes amounted to a grand

total of about Rs. 6,991,800,000. It is estimated that within the decade after the Great War, Americans have contributed nearly Rs. 60,000,000,000 for charitable purposes. Almost half of this amount was given for religion, and the rest for education, health, organized charity and such other enterprises.

A NEW ERA OF PHILANTHROPY

A survey of the larger gifts shows that while some of them were additional grants to the funds of going concerns, such as universities and hospitals, others were given as foundations to inaugurate new humanitarian movements or encourage existing enterprises for social uplift. The rise of the foundation, it may be said, really marks a new era of philanthropy. It has come into existence as a result of the American's desire to make his gift more scientific in its character and permanent in its usefulness. It is a matter of common knowledge that a fund for charity is overwhelmed with requests from every conceivable source and from all known variety of human beings. Under such conditions gifts for charitable purposes cannot but be lost in the dry sands of

humanity's constant need. The purpose of the foundation, therefore, is not to make charitable gifts to individuals but to aid or inaugurate movements and enterprises which may achieve permanent result in the uplift of mankind. Out here in India when we think of foundations, we naturally call to mind only the gifts of John D. Rockefeller, Mrs. Russell Sage and Andrew Carnegie, but there are, in fact, something like a hundred and fifty foundations in the United States in addition to more than seventy 'Community Trusts' which serve very much the same purpose. Like most charities, these foundations begin at home but do not end there. Their interest is world-wide, especially so in the case of the Rockefeller Foundation. Similarly, the Carnegie Corporation has interested itself in developing the dark continent of Africa and uplifting its inhabitants. Several other foundations, though American in origin, are international in their activities.

The amounts these institutions disburse are, indeed, enormous, and yet they are relatively small in the ocean of American charity. The six largest foundations, it is estimated, have a total capitalization of about Rs. 1,500,000,000, and a combined annual income of not much less than Rs. 90,000,000. Some of the smaller ones range down to a capital of a few thousand rupees and a corresponding income and expenditure. The marked feature of the foundation is that it attempts to promote social progress in a new way: it experiments in progressive education, gives encouragement to pioneers in welfare work, encourages struggling artists and promising scholars, and aides organizations to carry preventive measures in public health to the uttermost parts of the world. Among American Foundations, the oldest in existence is the White-Williams, originally called the Magdalen Society, founded in 1800 to maintain a home "for unhappy females who... are desirous of returning to a life of rectitude." This foundation is now engaged, largely in scientific study of children's problems in public schools. The next oldest is the one known as the Peabody Educational Trust. It was organized in 1867 for the education of "the young of the more destitute portion of the Southern and South-western States of the Union," but it was dissolved in 1914. It is noteworthy, however, that the great donations for charitable purposes really characterize the

first quarter of the twentieth century. In fact, seventy three foundations were, according to the report of the Sage Directory of American Foundation, organized after 1900, forty-four were formed after 1910 and twenty-six more after the year 1920.

A WORLD PROGRAMME

Among the great American capitalists, Carnegie and Rockefeller were the first to set apart enormous amounts for philanthropy. Carnegie began his first public charities by founding libraries and presenting organs to churches. As a result there are 3,000 public libraries and 8,000 organs to his credit. Then he turned his attention to more extensive giving; he founded the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg in 1901, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1905, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1910, and in 1911 the Carnegie Corporation, an organization which was entrusted with providing for his existing undertakings and originating others as occasion demanded. It may not be out of place here to mention that Andrew Carnegie gave away in this manner nine-tenths of his fortune, that is, a sum amounting to about Rs. 1,050,000,000. The Rockefellers, senior and junior, have given away more than Rs. 1,650,000,000 to the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, founded in 1901, the General Education Board incorporated in 1903, the Rockefeller Foundation and to other allied enterprises.

In its far-flung activities in the interests of public health, hygiene and medical education, the Rockefeller Foundation has contributed to the well-being of practically every country in the world. Universities, medical schools, nursing institutions, hospitals, State and national health services have been aided directly or indirectly by generous financial grants or by active research contributions of fellows and workers of the foundation. In the year 1928, for instance, a sum of Rs. 65,072,214 was expended in these various directions. Among other things it is interesting to note the number of medical institutions which received help that year. Substantial financial grants were made to seventeen foreign universities and higher medical institutions. These include the Free University of Brussels, University of Cambridge, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Siam; Dalhousie University, Halifax, N S; University of Edinburgh

National School of Medicine and Public Health; Keio University, Tokyo, Japan; University of Lyons, France; University of Montreal, Canada; Institute for Psychiatric Research, Munich, Germany; University of Nancy, France; Faculty of Medicine, Sao Paulo, Brazil; University of Strasbourg, France; University of Utrecht, Holland; University of Zurich, Yugoslavia; American University of Beirut, Syria, and Harvard School of Public Health.

During that year the Foundation carried on an intensive fight against malaria in Jamaica, Porto Rico, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Bulgaria, Italy, Albania, Holland, Spain, Ceylon, India, Palestine and the Philippine Islands. The Rockefeller Foundation also maintained its war upon the hookworm disease notably in Mexico, Central America and the West Indies, Columbia, Paraguay, Venezuela, Ceylon, India, the Dutch East Indies, Siam, the South Pacific Islands and the Straits Settlements. Aid to national and State health services was given during the year largely in the form of laboratories to Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Columbia, Hungary, Turkey, China, the Philippines and the United States. Denmark and the United States were given grants in the field of epidemiology. In rural health work such countries as the United States, Canada, Mexico, Jamaica, Porto Rico, Costa Rica, Brazil, Paraguay, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Irish Free State, Poland, Yugoslavia, Ceylon, India, China, Siam, South Pacific Islands and the Straits Settlements received aid. In these and many other ways the Rockefeller Foundation, since the time it came into being on May 22, 1913 until Dec 31, 1928, has expended a sum amounting to about Rs. 432,567,000.

During the year 1930, the largest gift was made by Edward S. Harkness in the form of five different gifts amounting to Rs. 93,900,000 in all. The second largest gift of Rs. 36,300,000 was made by the will of William Cook. The third largest amounted to Rs. 30,000,000, and was made by Maurice Falk for a charitable foundation. The fourth in size, amounting to Rs. 26,250,000, was made by the will of Conrad Hubert. The fifth largest,—Rs. 22,500,000—was made by the estate of John Sterling to Yale University. Among the large gifts of Mr. Harkness may be mentioned his Rs. 45,000,000 gift to

Yale University for the completion of the quadrangle system of dormitories, another gift of Rs. 36,000,000 to Harvard University for a new unit housing system for its students, a Rs. 3,000,000 gift to Yale to found the dramatic department and build a theatre in addition, he has also given about Rs. 18,000,000 for the New York Medical Centre, Rs. 3,000,000 to the Medical Centre of Western Reserve University, Rs. 3,000,000 to the Near East Relief, Rs. 3,000,000 to the New York Public Library, Rs. 3,750,000 to the Union Theological Seminary. And these are only a few of his numerous and generous gifts.

A VARIETY OF ENTERPRISES

In the United States one finds foundations for almost every imaginable purpose, and also under blanket charters which permit them to do almost anything that is legal and supposedly for the good of humanity. There are foundations for crippled children, for exchange of international scholarships, for world peace, for research of all kinds, for social hygiene, for better motion pictures, to promote public welfare by teaching the value of cleanliness, to reconcile the conflict between science and religion, to investigate psychic phenomena, to study means of preventing and curing a number of diseases, including tuberculosis, cancer, sleeping sickness and common colds. Just recently Mrs. William Ziegler, widow of one of the original executives of the Royal Baking Powder Company, established the E. Matilda Ziegler Foundation for the Blind to provide for the publication of a magazine for the blind and to ensure its permanency. It is to be printed in embossed type and circulated free to about 15,000 blind persons in the United States and Canada. Mrs. Ziegler has turned over Rs. 1,800,000 worth of securities towards the Foundation, the income of which is to be used for the publication of the magazine.

The Milbank Memorial Fund, incorporated in 1905 with an endowment of Rs. 30,000,000, has been making studies of child welfare and community health. Similarly, Senator James Couzens created a Trust Fund recently of Rs. 30,000,000 "to be used to promote the health, welfare, happiness and development of the children of Michigan, primarily, and elsewhere in the world." This means an annual disbursement of about Rs. 2,100,000 for the educational, moral, social and physical

betterment of children. The Sage Foundation, established in 1907 by Mrs. Russell Sage, has specialized in the field of Sociology and Social Service. The Commonwealth Fund, established in 1918 by Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness, mother of the philanthropist already referred to, is interested in hygiene, child health and social work. It has an endowment of Rs. 114,000,000. The Juilliard Musical Foundation has a fund of Rs. 60,000,000 given by Augustus D. Juilliard in 1919 for musical education.

GIFTS FOR THE PROMOTION OF EDUCATION

Besides large gifts to education, such as those of Harkness, Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation and others already mentioned, there are some which are distinctly educational. James B. Duke, a tobacco merchant, gave away Rs. 120,000,000 in 1924 for the founding of the Duke University, which is now one of the most highly endowed universities in the world. Besides this huge gift, he has made notable contributions to other colleges, universities and churches. He has also given large sums towards pension funds for clergymen and for the care of orphans in North and South Carolina. Duke's gift is not strictly speaking a foundation but rather a series of generous contributions. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, amounting to more than Rs. 60,000,000, is largely devoted to Negro education. The John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, organized in 1925, is well known for its handsome scholarships for "aiding without distinction on account of race, colour or creed, scholars, scientists and artists of either sex." A gift of Rs. 120,000,000 was made by Mr. Milton S. Hershey for the establishment of an industrial home and school at Hershey, Pa. Mrs. C. C. Bolton of Cleveland made to Western University the endowment gift of Rs. 4,500,000 to its school of nursing. This gift went far towards making this school one of the most significant units of the medical centre.

Many of these educational foundations are carrying on most interesting experiments and investigations. Take, for instance, the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University. Gifts amounting to Rs. 75,000,000 were given as foundation for this new Institute. The purpose of the Institute is to study man from the physical and mental standpoint and in such relationships as the family, the community and the State. In

this work of the Institute the schools of law, medicine and the department of social science, psychology and child hygiene are to co-operate.

The experiment the University Film Foundation has undertaken is unique in the field of American education. The object of the Foundation is to operate, in connection with Harvard University, a completely equipped centre where all sorts of educational motion pictures and photographs of scientific value intended primarily for exhibition at various schools and colleges as aids to teaching, are to be produced. The officials of the Foundation propose to use the moving picture camera to aid the study of botany, zoology, fine arts, industrial management and various other fields of educational endeavour. Already this work has been begun in such widely separated fields as anthropology and astronomy, and the present plan is to extend it to other branches of education and research. In addition to this, the Foundation is also at work collecting and editing film material from a number of sources, including scientific films on research and industrial subjects made by workers in large film companies.

Gifts to educational institutions are made by all kinds and sorts of people. For instance, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, the well-known publisher of America, gave a couple of years ago a sum of Rs. 1,500,000 for the erection of the third sky-scraper unit of the Temple University. Mr. Arthur J. Silliman, who was a poor orphan but became wealthy later in life, left his estate of Rs. 1,200,000 to perpetuate the one-room red school-house at East Haddam, Conn. where Nathan Hale taught after his graduation from Yale College. The little building on a promontory overlooking the Connecticut River, has been kept up as a shrine by the sons of the American Revolution. Yale University was the beneficiary of a bequest estimated at Rs. 8,000,000 in the will of Mrs. Ray Tompkins, who was the widow of a Yale football star. Mr. Tompkins died on June 30, 1918 leaving to his widow the use of his estate and directing that if no provision was made otherwise, it was to go at her demise to his *alma mater*. American colleges and universities frequently receive large gifts from their *alumni*. Through gifts such as that of a sum of Rs. 30,000 by Chester Pugsley of Peekskill, N. Y., the Vassar College has come to have over Rs. 2,400,000 which, according

to the Vassar College. The largest endowment for scholarship for poor girls in any college for women. Vassar College is thus in a position to offer a better chance to poor girls than other women's colleges. It is noteworthy, however, that such opportunities for women students of slender means come from the scholarship fund made up of gifts from alumni clubs and from endowments. Last year as much as Rs 315,000 were given to girls of the college who were in need of financial help.

THE PLACE OF COMMUNITY TRUSTS

The community trusts are also made up by gifts for public purposes, but the activities of these trusts are quite confined, though their problems are very similar to those of the great foundations. They differ from the foundations in that they deal with the cases more directly and operate within a narrow field. A community trust is really a device for making donations more scientific both in its character and usefulness than the ordinary citizen can make them. It rolls up gifts, big and small, usually without strings tied to them, and expends them where they will do the most good. The first and best known of the community trusts is the Cleveland Foundation established in 1914. It is, however, no longer the largest, for it has been surpassed by those of New York with a present total of nearly Rs. 21,000,000. Boston stands next with nearly Rs. 15,000,000 followed by Chicago with about Rs. 12,000,000. Cleveland Community Trust has a capital of Rs. 6,624,000 and Indianapolis has about Rs. 5,604,000.

It generally takes some time for community trusts to get started and begin operations, but their number is rapidly increasing. Two years ago the total sum expended by all the community trusts in the United States was only Rs. 1,856,619, but this amount is really small as American charity goes. However, there is no apparent limit to the growth of the idea and its usefulness. In course of time, gifts to the community trusts are likely to take the place of many of the donations which are generously but not always wisely made for particular purposes. The overhead expenses are also less when many donations are lumped together. Americans believe that in this way the dollar is made to go further and to do more work. Ten or fifteen years ago when founda-

tions were less well understood, there were grave fears in some quarters that they would in some mysterious way menace the public welfare. It was thought that they might become instruments of propaganda for the spread of sinister ideas. But as a matter of fact, the foundations themselves have always looked upon propaganda with suspicion even when it was in favour of so humanitarian a purpose as the abolition of war. However, they are now become more and more useful as investigating and fact-finding agencies, and when they give gifts outright, it is more often than not, to establish institutions chiefly educational.

Sometimes the foundations make contributions also to community work. For example, the Altman Foundation recently made a gift of Rs. 7,500, to the Community Councils of New York for the purpose of opening up recreation centres for school boys of the city. Of the city's 1,000,000 school children only about one-quarter have adequate play space within the reach of their homes. Four hundred and ten of New York's schools are equipped with gymnasiums and playgrounds and every one of them, it is held, should be pressed into service out of school hours to provide recreation for city children. The amount contributed by the Altman Foundation enabled the Community Councils to make eight more public school playgrounds accessible to children in the evenings, thus raising the total number of school playgrounds accessible to children out of school hours to more than forty.

FOUNDATIONS PROVE USEFUL

The manifold activities of the foundations during the last quarter of a century clearly indicate that they have contributed more generously than any other organization to local demonstrations as to how the facts found and the ideas resulting therefrom can be best applied to making the world a better place for human beings to live in. The intensive concentration on permanent results in social uplift has tended more and more to narrow down the purpose of larger foundations. The Carnegie Corporation was chartered to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge among the people of the United States." (Later a special sum of Rs 30,000,000 was set aside for Canada and the British Colonies.) The Rockefeller Foundation holds up as its ideal the promotion of the well-being of mankind. Mr. Carnegie's Foundation

for the Advancement of Teaching and Mr. Rockefeller's General Education Board carry their purpose in their titles. Great have been achievements of the Rockefeller Foundation in the field of public health and preventive medicine the world over. The contributions of the Carnegie Corporation are to be found in the fields of adult education and of fine arts. The permanent results already achieved by these foundations in the realm of social progress are enough to justify the formation of more foundations for similar purposes.

It is interesting to note the stipulations regarding the manner in which the special gifts are to be spent. Some foundations, like the Carnegie Corporation, can spend only the income of their funds for the purpose specified. Others, like the Sage, the Rockefeller, the Milbank and the Commonwealth, can spend their capital, if their trustees see fit, even to the extent of spending themselves out of existence. Still others, like the Rosenwald and the Couzens, carry with them the specific provision that the capital shall be spent within twenty-five

years of the date of the grant. If the concentration of money in the foundations become too great at some future time, it will not be difficult to dissolve them. Men, who have had experience in the management of foundations, declare that they perform a useful service in a democratic society, in that they do what ordinary charities cannot do and what governments are seldom ready to undertake. American methods in philanthropy have much that is of value to us. Our social ideals lie at present buried under alien ideals. Since honour now comes from our foreign rulers, India's wealthy men, forgetting the suffering of her starving people, are more concerned about erecting statues in honour of departed Governors or putting up buildings in memory of dead Viceroy. And for such acts of "philanthropy" they are titled and decorated. It is earnestly hoped that wealthy citizens of India would receive some inspiration not only from the way generous America gives, but also from her methods of organized philanthropy for the promotion of the happiness and welfare of mankind.

In the "Black Forest"

By HETTY KOHN

BADEN-BADEN is one of those resorts which justify their reputation for beauty. "The gem of the Black Forest," as Germans lovingly call it, nestles in a fertile valley, surrounded by thickly wooded, castled hills. Though lacking the grandeur of Himalayan or Swiss scenery, this region is peculiarly lovely, green, smiling, peaceful and hospitable.

The pride felt by Germans in this spot favoured by Nature, is pardonable, for Baden-Baden is beautiful in all the four seasons. The profusion of spring flowers, then the acres and acres of apple, pear and plum-trees in bloom,—a charming sight which attracts the entire population, fathers, mothers and children, to the orchards on the first Sunday of spring—later the lilac, and the stately tulip, the cultivation of which is a speciality with the nursery-gardeners

of Baden-Baden, the gorgeous autumnal tints of red and yellow, followed by the snows of winter. And, as a background, heightening the effect of each successive colouring, the dark and restful green of the towering pine and fir-trees.

The climate of the valley itself is mild and relaxing: the air on the surrounding heights, on most of which there are rest-houses and sanatoria, is exhilarating. When it rains in Baden-Baden, it rains torrentially, almost like the monsoon, and the miniature river Oos remembers that it is, after all, a *bona fide* mountain stream.

THE NATURAL SPRINGS

It is the hot, warm and cold medicinal springs which made Baden-Baden a health resort many centuries ago. The hot springs contain lithium, arsenic and radium. These



General View of Baden-Baden

abundant, and have been, and are the subject of much medical study. They are prescribed both for drinking purposes. The medical claims that these various waters are for the most varied ills, notably rheumatism, catarrhs, neurasthenia, and certain derangements of the organs. The waters are also said to those convalescent after other tropical diseases, surgical and anaemia.

we are in the best of health, do harm in our following the natives of Baden-Baden, by the waters" just for the fun no doubt, more elegant to go to die" (a fine pillared hall adorned depicting the legends of the town) and quaff this slightly salty hot (ing an anna each time) to the Kurhaus band. It is far tiring, however, to go with our tank, to one of the numerous fountains in the town, where this boiling gushes up day and night out of the earth, and pours from a tap basin.

seiner-Brunnen," where the water

comes out of a stone picturesque, but my friend is in the romantic little town at the foot of the steep hill at the foot of the steep hill at the market-square, church in a quaint corner: and, are sure of an amusing native Baden-Badener who come on a si- such Badener, over eight me that he had quaffed the last fifty years, and day's illness. Housewife and pitchers, and, after friendly gossip, take them for domestic purposes if in bottles for their visit.

The Grape-

In the autumn comes (grape-cure) for those suffering of the kidney. Needle means all visitors who in beautifully decorated with leaves, and, there, enjoy the fresh grape-juice served surrounding villages picturesque "Schwarzwald" under the doctor's



Baden-Baden--Kurhaus

AS A RESORT

in Baden-Baden. Some of the year-round practice ; ent on the exorbitant charge the wealthy foreigners, during the competition among them ind life rather hard. I number of doctors in it is enormous. The alists is overwhelming. Baden-Baden are hospitable. ntly of visitors enjoying town. Naturally, smiles ye them to encourage e, but this applies to and yet we can think ch have not the art of el welcome. In Baden- ie feeling that we are

ization both of the town Kurhaus, its gardens, and the like, immense the upkeep, so as to h standard of efficiency

In fact, Baden-Baden w places of Germany, ay proportionately high

taxes. The excellent Kurhaus c firework displays, have to be pa daily admission for a visitor to t and its amenities, is about 9 an course it is more economical season-ticket.

We have the impression he exerting his ingenuity and power zation to the full, with a view t if possible the charms of natu and giving the visitor the maxim of comfort and aesthetic delight. cordiality of the very clerks in t enquiry bureau. the joviality who inspects your ticket at gate, are a pleasure in themselves

Baden-Baden has, in our one disadvantage : it is one of "fashionable health-resorts." Before when the present State of Bad Grand-Duchy of Baden, it was fashionable, but, owing to the im of the aristocratic classes, thing democratic now-a-days Ame English still flock there every s hotels are expensive when comp German towns, but, by living 2 out of Baden-Baden itself, thi arranged more economically.

we friends with whom one
to be independent of the
er

INDIAN-BADEN AND INDIA

there are a number of Indian
list of visitors Indian guests
charaphat) are made welcome.
colour bar" in Baden-Baden
own in Indian affairs. I was

several Indian preparation
leaves as we could n
appreciated by our guest
upon being draped in t
came all the way to Ba
outlying village by the
some inconvenience, in c
me to what extent the
Mayo's *Mother India*
cross-examined me for tw

PROCESSES

A fondness for proces
is ingrained in the Germ
in the large cities all thr
out, as in England, but i
of South Germany th
things. Firstly there
processions, for the
Catholic territory. Many
walk in these processio
their imposing robes,
dressed all in white
decorations, and the
impressive.

YOUTH MOVIE

Then there is the ann
Festival, in which the



Indian Chapel, Baden-Baden

an opportunity of telling the
boys' High School something
A professor told me that an
eman had once stayed in his
d that he had cooked "pillau"
en and that, having enjoyed
his culinary efforts so much,
to be further acquainted with
s The relatives with whom I
allowed me to invite some of
ies to a tea-party "a l'Indienne".



Trinkhal

children took part. The
to the town at 7 A.M. v
Then come drill, more mu
In the afternoon there is
dress carnival of the cl
town, walking or driving
sent something special
representing butterflies, f
boys as elves. One of
had organized a whole
represent ten various t

IN THE BLACK FOREST

ys by the usual
n all, a shoemaker's
boy and girl walked
nt a married couple,
ner babies in a pram.
a, young and old, turns
occasion. This function
a twenty-seven years
man, who is affectionately

man becomes sentimental on
"Der Wald" is to the German
is to the English. The sove
for overworked commercial
teachers, is a day's ramble
Nor has this spirit been quen
vicissitudes of the war and
years.

On summer Sundays the
seems alive with rambling clubs



ne of the Hot Springs

nshine" infants' welfare
rganized some years
itary efforts of private
ildren from the poorer
n are fetched by the
orning by nurses, and
in at 4 in the afternoon.
ake "sun-baths" wearing
eir sole garment.

WILHELM FOREST SENTIMENT

oves his forests, and is
The most prosaic business

The Merkur Hill

Everyone belongs to at le
whether connected with the Y
or some other movement. In
from 6 A. M. onwards, we may
young people of both sexes
outings—some clubs adopt a
a gay green coat, reminding u
of Robin Hood and his me
sing German folk-melodies in
sound being audible long
hearted singers are lost to c
the pines.

ned old castle ("Altes Schloss")
n from its eminence. The "new"
h century), formerly the summer
of the Grand-Duke of Baden,
y the property of the late Queen
is now deserted and melancholy,
gardens are kept up. The capital
State of Baden is Carlsruhe, an
by train.

where the elder ones take turns to cook, look
after the younger children, and where every-
thing is managed in a very economical
way

THE PEASANTS' OPEN-AIR THEATRE AT OTIGHEIM

One unique feature of real interest to
all who visit Baden-Baden, is the peasants'
open-air theatre ("Freilicht-Bühne") at the
village of Otigheim, some ten miles from
Baden-Baden. These plays bid fair to achieve
world-fame, like the Passion-Plays of
Oberammergau.

In 1909 the enterprising rector of Otigheim
conceived the idea of establishing a "Natur-
Theater" in which Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*
should be acted by the villagers. The plan
succeeded, and for some years this play was
performed each Sunday afternoon from May
till October. Other plays were also performed.
In 1913 as many as 100,000 persons witnessed
the performances. After the war, some Biblical
plays were produced, but "Tell" remains the
specialty. Seven hundred villagers take
part, in addition to some thirty horses.
About 400 persons take part in the
choral singing. In 1929 three plays were
acted during the summer—*Wilhelm Tell*, a
Passion-Play and a new venture, a light
opera *Peciosa* by the composer Weber.
This musical play is a tale of Spanish
gypsies, and the villagers acted it most
effectively, obviously revelling in their
acting.

From the tiny station of Otigheim we
climb a shady uphill path, which has been
adorned at regular intervals by wooden
posts whereon some rustic artist has
depicted the story of the Passion of Christ.
One emerges from the wood, and is face
to face with the "theatre." It is a huge
amphitheatre, with about 4,000 seats
arranged in tiers.

The "stage" consists mostly of natural
scenery. A grassy plot, in the valley at
the base of the slope,—a small pond, shaded
by willows, and to the left, a hilly path with
trees in the background. To this is added,
for *Wilhelm Tell*, a skilfully painted
mountain landscape, and situated on the
slope, "Tell's cottage," a Swiss chalet with
a neat flower-garden in front.

It needs but a slight effort of the
imagination to transform these surroundings
into the grand scenery of the Lake of
Lucerne, and the peak of the Rutli, which
witnessed the brave deeds of William Tell.
As history and tradition tell us it was a



The Old Castle

ammit of the Merkur Hill, which
ded by the mountain steam-
e ruins of an ancient Roman
cated to the god Mercury. On
board in the forest, the pedestrian
in a quaint archaic German
damage or mutilate the trees
ush lying about, but to remember
ave the forest to be enjoyed
ted by man.

ildren and young people go up
ool holidays to the "Jugend
cottages up on the mountains

IN THE BLACK FOREST

the 13th century that the Austrian tyrant Gessler compelled the Swiss peasants to bow before his hat, hung aloft in the market-place. Tell, who refused, was put into gaol, and the condition on which he might regain his liberty was to shoot an apple placed on the head of his own little son at a distance of some yards. In this severe trial, Tell suppressed his parental feelings, and risked his son's life for the freedom of the country. His aim was successful, and the Swiss were freed from the Austrian yoke.

The play opens with a vocal duet of two fisher boys, who appear on the lake in a small boat. They are in reality two village girls, and the excellence of their performance might put many a professional singer to shame. Then appear men and women, boys and girls, all in the gay costume of the Swiss peasants, dancing and singing: cows, whose silvery bells tinkle pleasantly, are led down from the mountain pastures. A group of men is at work with pike and hammer repairing the walls of the old castle. William Tell is seen outside his cottage, bidding farewell to his wife Hedwig.

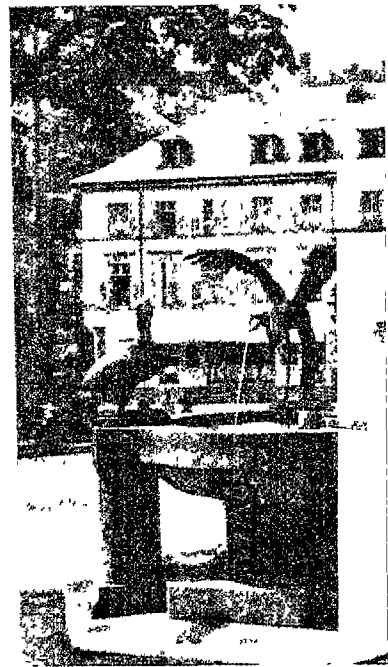
The children in the market-place below, scamper about in the most natural manner possible, splash each other with water from the fountain, and aim secret missiles at Gessler's hat. They show boisterous glee when the Austrian Guards come riding by in their glittering uniform on prancing steeds. The demeanour of Tell's son, while he stands fearless, the apple on his head, excites great sympathy among the audience. Touching too, is the happy reunion of Tell's family after the stormy scenes by the lake and the final death of Gessler. All the peasants assemble below, wave to Tell, and testify their appreciation of his daring by a song of praise.

The performance lasts about four hours. The articulation of the performers, though savouring of dialect, is excellent. The singing, too, which varies from unison to eight-part chorus, is of a higher standard than might be expected of uncultured villagers. The purpose of the whole undertaking is twofold. Firstly, this realistic representation of Schiller's great work has an educative influence over both actors and spectators. Secondly, the proceeds, which are enormous, are devoted to charitable purposes. The actors are content with very

little remuneration for their work to act for the love of it

ANOTHER LANDMARK OF BADEN THE "ROUMANIAN CHAPEL"

On the slope of a wooded overlooking the town, stands chapel of stone, popularly "Roumanian chapel." It was built by Prince Stourdza in memory of Prince Michel Stourdza who died at the age of 17 years. On rare occasions the church is opened to the services of the Greek Orthodox, sometimes held. The tombs of



Reiherrunnen

family are in the crypt below. One day the golden dome could be seen from the parts of Baden-Baden: when the war broke out, it glittered among the green trees like a solitary orange among the leaves. After the war the gold was taken off the dome and used for national purposes. The walls are all of marble. The frescoes are by Italian artists. The fresco of the Last Supper is particularly beautiful, all having a gold background. A large carved altar-screen is entirely in gold, and stretches from one side of the edifice to the other.

no pews, thus the quadrangular space of the interior is left intact and the effect of spaciousness is heightened, reminding us of some Indian edifices. The pure white marble of the walls, the floor and the statues is a perfect setting for the mural paintings, whose figures are so lifelike that they almost seem to breathe. It is difficult to imagine a simpler, more beautiful and more touching monument of parental affection and sorrow.

CONCLUSION

At a memorial meeting in Baden-Baden to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the new constitution of Germany, Herr Trunk, Minister of Justice for Baden, was the principal speaker, and a few of his remarks were rather significant. In asking his countrymen to be ardent supporters of their new constitution, he said that a country which had succeeded in restoring internal order in so few months after the disastrous issue of the war, might well be proud of her constitution. He said, however, that there were three main points which needed emphasis. Firstly, the necessity for more and more unity; secondly, the fact that each citizen has duties as

well as rights, and that he has no right to rights unless he takes his civic duties seriously. The nation, he said, had not yet by any means reached its full height, and so far merely *attempts* at reconstruction had been made. If it had been glorious to fight and die for the Fatherland, surely it was no less glorious to live and work for it. Thirdly, Herr Trunk pointed out the dangers of exaggerated patriotism, and the necessity for a broader conception of humanity. Patriotism must not be so narrow as to preclude an international outlook. The avoidance of wars, and a more harmonious understanding among the nations, must be the ultimate issue.

It is a common experience that the native residents of a beauty-spot lack enthusiasm, and leave the appreciation of its scenic advantages to the tourist. Not so the Baden-Badeners, who know and love every nook of their cosy little nest. Many Baden-Badeners complain that business is bad—if they could make up their minds to migrate to one of the larger towns, they would be better off financially. But they stay on. The fact is that they have not the heart to tear themselves away from their beautiful Baden-Baden.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addresser to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

OLD BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS IN THE UDAYAGIRI AND KHANBAUGH CAVES. Edited with new readings and critical notes by Prof. Benimadhab Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (London) Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. xxii+324

Like the Art of Orissa, these early epigraphic documents of ancient Kalinga attracted the devoted attention of a generation of antiquarians. The first facsimile of the inscriptions was taken by Col. Mackenzie and published by A. Sterling in the *Asiatic Researches* (1825) over a century ago. Since then, Killoe Prinsep (1837) and Cunningham (1877), Rajendra Lala Mitra (1880), Bhagawanlal Indraji (1885), R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal 197 have taxed their archaeological

genius to the utmost in order to make these mute "stones of Orissa" speak out the early history of Kalinga culture. Still after one hundred years of intensive study they seem to baffle us at every step and so many important problems in the political, artistic, and religious history of Orissa of those days remain still unsolved. The most systematic attempt to unravel those mysteries were made by two of our greatest historian epigraphists. Kashiprasad Jayaswal and Rakhaldas Banerjee who collaborated for over ten years (1917-27) and clarified several obscure corridors of that history, and Dr Barua in his latest study on the subject has with characteristic justice dedicated the present volume to "All of those who paved the way for this work." Quite apart from his solid contributions to the study of those difficult problems, Dr Barua's

method of recapitulating all previous readings interpretations and suggestions make the present volume eminently useful and instructive to all students of Indian epigraphy who will be grateful for his all-round survey. In transcription and translation of these valuable documents Dr. Barua has made several distinct improvements. But his most original contribution consists in illuminating the often baffling texts of the inscription with citations of Buddhist and Jain texts of rare value. Many will probably differ from him in his conclusions but every student of the antiquities of Orissa must dip into the pages of his volume for scintillating suggestions and fresh lights radiating from his notes occupying over half the bulk of the book. His notes on the "Geographical allusions" and on the "personal history of Kharavela," as pieces of archaeological reconstruction, are admirable. A "List of inscriptional words," and an "Index to Notes" add to the reference value of the book. We recommend the volumes to every earnest student of Indology.

K. NAR

FAMILY PHYSICIAN. By Dr. D. N. Chatterjee. Published by the author from 3-2 College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1.

The author's endeavour to present to the public in a handy form a short and concise description of common diseases and their homeopathic treatment deserves credit. Unlike other homeopathic authors, who supply generally indications of foreign and imported drugs, Dr. Chatterjee has sought to introduce here a number of indigenous drugs taken from Ayurvedic and other sources. But such attempts at introducing them, wanting in pathognomic provings or clinical verification are of no use as empirical uses are forbidden in Homeopathy. Dr. Chatterjee ought to have described his personal experiences regarding such drugs if he had any.

The author says in his preface that *only the characteristic symptoms* of the indicated remedies are mentioned in each sphere of diseases, but in reality one finds in most instances only some general symptomatic indications instead of characteristic ones. Lastly, it would have been better if the author had tried to give a few surer indications of selected drugs of practical importance than enumerating a host of them of lesser importance, which will not help any one in time of emergency. We hope, in the next edition of this book, Dr. Chatterjee would rather arrange them either alphabetically or in order of importance than describe them irregularly as he has done in the present case.

JNAN MAITRA

RAMAYANA. By P. G. Menon, B.A., LL.B., S.D. Printing Works, Ennakulam. 203 pp. Price 12 as.

An English *Ramayana* is a necessity, now that Bengali dramatists are invading foreign countries. This book will enlighten foreigners on Indian mythology. Mr. Menon has omitted Sita's banishment, probably to maintain Rama's reputation. Valmiki wrote the *Ramayana*, not Mr. Menon. He has no business to hide the fact that Rama, to please his subjects condemned Sita to exile. Mr. Menon

might as well deny that Rama's favourite general, Hanuman, had a long tail. We do not support synecopated or doctored mythology, unless it is a joke. Mythology is mythology, and nobody need be ashamed of it.

CRITIC

NATURAL THEOSOPHY. by Ernest Wood. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, pp. 246 with several illustrations.

This book professes to base theosophical beliefs on man's experience of himself and of the world. Theosophy, according to the author, is "the opposite of every kind of materialism, both scientific and religious." Strictly speaking, there is no such thing as 'revealed' theosophy, yet, lest people be misled into the belief that theosophy is a matter of revelation, Mr. Wood calls his book '*Natural Theosophy*.'

The book is divided into two parts—Part I speaks of *Life and Its Purpose*, while Part II has a somewhat cryptic name *Happenings By The Way*. The relation between the two parts, however, is not quite clear.

We learn from the author himself (pp 143-144) that the ideas expressed in the book were not acceptable to the older theosophists twenty-five years ago. But he insists that his is the correct exposition of theosophy. This is rather a delicate matter on which a non-theosophist had better not express an opinion.

Mr. Wood is a philosopher—or, rather, claims to be one—but neither in thought nor in language does he follow the conventional style of philosophy. This is not necessarily a compliment. Some of his utterances are vague without being delightful, sometimes he verges on crudeness. For instance he calls our world 'our work' (p. 29) but would not pause to *explain* why and how. And as to the 'goal of life,' he is so enthusiastic that he would allow us to call it whatever we like (p. 80) though, on cooler thinking (p. 209), he would probably call it 'perfection'.

His psychology of desire (p. 58) is open to serious question and his logic is occasionally so hasty that it is difficult to keep pace with him. Thus, p. 64, has the following

"Desire awakens thought..."

It is, *therefore*, of two kinds...

The *therefore*, is by no means clear.

Some of Mr. Wood's statements are childish. Thus when he says that but for pain "we should be dead *within a week*," he is too definite to be scientific.

In spite of these drawbacks in his method of exposition, Mr. Wood must be credited with a profound spiritual tone which pervades his book. His leaning towards Hindu thought and Hindu ideals is another striking feature of his book. And the topics discussed in the book will always have an appeal for the pious mind.

The get-up and printing of the book leave little to be desired.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

CO-OPERATION IN BOMBAY. Edited by Prof. H. L. Kaji, M.A., B.Sc., I.E.S. Vice-President of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Institute.

Nowhere perhaps in India has the Co-operative movement been so zealously taken up as

methodically pursued with complete official and non-official co-operation as in the Bombay Presidency. In presenting an account of the achievements of Bombay in the field of co-operation through the pages of this book, Prof Kapi does a distinct service to the cause of co-operative movement in India. The book is the work of several experts who have collaborated to supply the best of information on various topics and as such while it provides much valuable study into the problems of co-operation, it lacks that cohesion and coherence which one finds in the work of one author who has more or less mastered the subjects.

Anyway the book deserves a hearty welcome particularly as it brings into prominence the distinctive features of the co-operative movement in the Bombay Presidency, where, we understand, many of the usual pitfalls have been successfully avoided.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By Nalin Mohan Pal, M.Sc. Ph.D. Lecturer in Economic Geography, Calcutta University.

This book gives short descriptions and critical accounts of various Indian industries with a view to meet the requirements of the students of Economics and Commerce in Indian universities. This is almost the first work of its kind dealing comprehensively with the history and economics of important Indian manufacturing industries.

The book is divided into five parts dealing respectively with the development of

- (a) manufacturing and mining industries,
- (b) agricultural industries,
- (c) forest industries,
- (d) factors of production, and
- (e) economic transition.

The author has taken great pains to collect much valuable information about the industries which he treats in the first three parts, but unfortunately the presentation is not sufficiently well-balanced as between matters of antediluvian and present-day interests. Moreover, the fourth and fifth parts appear to us to be quite out of place and the comparative carelessness with which the topics have been dealt with in chapters 30 onwards considerably reduces the value of the book.

The printing and get-up are not of a good order and there remains much room for improvement in future editions.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

THE KINGDOM OF EARTH. By Cedric Dore. Allahabad Free Journal Press. Price Rs. 2.

The author wants to build his kingdom without God. By tracing the evolution of God-idea from very early times and rejecting one idea after another he comes to the conclusion: "A frank materialism is, however, inevitable" (p. 16). But he accepts uncritically the eternity of matter and its power to produce mind and, therefore, dogmatically, he rejects God but installs hope instead, because "hope is essential to existence" thereby destroying his materialism at the very outset. Hope is an ideal principle and not material and his materialistic master Heraclitus has taught him to prize "the things that could be seen, heard and learned" (p. iii). He believes in Reason but he

has never analysed its contents. Really if we scratch the author we find him a theist at every turn, the only difference is, he does not know it, and he does not know it because of his confusion of thoughts. He says, "we recognize a higher force of which we ourselves are a part, but in seeking its origin we stop at a stage where Reason can take us no further" (p. 22). Force itself is not a material but a spiritual concept and as we, thinking feeling and willing beings, are a part of it, his force becomes a spiritual principle in a most concrete form.

Theistic though the author's views are he fights shy of religion and he does so not without reason. He has first-hand knowledge of Christianity only and from his study of Christian history, especially of White's *History of the Conflict between Science and Theology in Christendom* and Draper's *History of the Conflict between Science and Religion* he has learnt that religion does more harm than good to men. Moreover, the Christian doctrine of the infallibility of the Bible with its dogma "Science wrong, the Bible right," has hampered the progress of science throughout the ages and if science is triumphant to-day, it is in spite of Christianity. From this antagonism of Christianity to Science his conclusion is that the influence of religion is to debase the human mind. He has also found what undesirable effects dogmatic religion produces on men of considerable intellectual attainments, from whom better things are expected.

CHRISTIAN DHYANA OR PRAYER OF LOVING REGARD, being a study of "The Cloud of Unknowing" By Venier Kheun of the Christa Sera Sangha.

The Cloud of Unknowing is a book on mysticism by an unknown English author. But the name of the book is really a state of mystic experience of the soul allied to such visions as the "deep yet dazzling darkness," the "unfathomable abyss," the "embrace of the Beloved," all representing the contemplative's relation with the Absolute during his communion with the One.

As to the purpose of the book the preface says "How to be free from petty mundane distractions, how to be purified from the sin that separates, how to unify and concentrate the mind, how to discipline the self and bring it to perfection and to God—such urgent and practical questions are asked by all lovers of the Infinite. In *The Cloud of Unknowing* the answer will be found." The study is lucid as well as informing. It will do to one's heart good to read the book. But much discrimination would be required to avoid misunderstanding. Only a mystic who has been freed from his crudal shackle and orthodox bias can fully enter into any system of mysticism. The preface says about *The Cloud*: "Its basis of Trinitarian Christianity is not incidental to its system; it is its life, and its entire method depends upon it." Most truly. But we ask, why? Is it not a fact that the very scientific concept of Christian Trinity was borrowed by St. Augustine from Plotinus and bodily passed into Christianity?

This really forms the basis of Christian mysticism. But unfortunately in the book under review we miss the name of Plotinus though there are hundred other necessary and unnecessary names referred to. To omit the great Neo-platonist philosopher of Alexandria from any handbook of

mysticism is to play *Hamlet* with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

THE LIFE OF BENOYENDRA NATH SEN. *By Surendra Nath Dutt Naravithan Trust, 28 New Road, Alipour, Calcutta. Cloth Pp 336, Crown Sto., with two portraits. Price Rs. 3.*

This biography of Professor Benoyendra Nath Sen contains a fuller account of his life and noble work than his Bengali life noticed elsewhere. Nothing more need be said of it than what has been said of the Bengali life that it should be read by those who do not read Bengali, and that those who know both the languages should read both the works, in order to get acquainted with the high culture and idealism of one of those who constituted in their day what may be called the flower of Bengal.

R. C.

BENGALI

Badhu-Baran: By Shri Shanta Devi. Published by the Indian Press Limited Allahabad and to be had of the Indian Publishing House 22-1 Cornhill Street, Calcutta Price Rs. 1-8. Six Boards, Cloth back, pictorial cover. 310 pages Crown Sto.

This book contains sixteen stories by Shrimati Shanta Devi, which fully sustain her high reputation as a writer of stories full of deep insight into human nature. They show keen powers of observation of the social and domestic life of the Bengalis.

The first story, *Roddha-dhar* or the "Closed Door," awakens a sense of mystery in the reader and keeps it up till the end. There is plot interest in all the stories, and the plots range over a wide variety of situations. An atmosphere of pathos pervades them, while there is quiet humour in many a passage. The diction is graceful. The descriptions of Nature and of what may be called the handiwork of man are graphic and betray the sure touch of the artist.

X

RENUKANA AND ANUKANA: *By Shrimati Shantabala Devi. Published by Dr J. K. Sen, 44 Hanuman Road, New Delhi Price one rupee each*

These two books contain for the most part devotional poems which are the sincere and simple outpourings of a pious soul. There are poems of a different kind also. In one the authoress expresses her sorrow and shame at the sad plight of many Bengali women in Brindaban. In another she describes how her love of the Motherland has broadened by her long residence in Delhi, though it has not lessened her affection for Bengal. In still another she voices her feeling against those religious teachers and reformers who have inveighed against or assigned a lower place in society to the sex of the mothers of the race. All such poems cannot be separately referred to. But one more may be mentioned in which the authoress says that it is not only the dust of the

famous places of India which are holy to her, but also the dust of all other places as well.

Her poems will gain in quality if she strives after greater condensation and concentration and chooses pieces for publication carefully after self-criticism.

MAHATMA BINAYENDRANATH SENER JIBANI: *By Debendranath Basu. Nacavidhan Trust, 28 New Road, Alipour, Calcutta, Price Rs. 2. Cloth. Pp 230 Crown Sto. With two portraits.*

This is a biography of the late Professor Binayendranath Sen, whose mournful and untimely death took place at the early age of 45. Readers of this book will gain by coming into contact with the cultured and devout personality of Professor Sen. He was a sound scholar, a man of exemplary character and of high aspirations and untiring industry. He served the public, particularly the student community of Calcutta, through the Calcutta University Institute, with characteristic zeal and sound judgment. He was no less active and enthusiastic as a worker of the church of the New Dispensation.

R. C.

NAKSHATRA-CHENA: *By Rai Saheb Jagadananda Ray. Published by Indian Press Ltd of Allahabad To be had of Indian Publishing House, 22-1 Cornhill Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Professor Jagadananda Ray of Santiniketan has hitherto been the author of sixteen popular books of science in Bengali. This is his seventeenth work. It is a sort of guide to star-land, meant for children, but fit to be read by older persons also who do not know much of the starry sky above. The language of the book is simple and the treatment of the subject attractive. It contains twelve coloured charts of the sky for the twelve months of the year, showing the position of the constellation and the Milky Way, with explanatory matter. There are numerous other diagrams, in black and white. Mr. Ray has explained why different constellations are given names like Scorpio, Leo etc., and told the mythological stories relating to the heavenly bodies which are to be found in Hindu and Graeco-Roman mythology. The foundations of the Hindu almanac in scientific astronomy have also been lucidly brought out. Readers, young and old, are sure to derive pleasure and profit from this excellent work.

C.

CHOLERA CHIKITSA OR PRACTICAL TREATMENT OF CHOLERA ON HOMOEOPATHIC PRINCIPLES. *By Dr. Jnan Matra. Published by Akshaya Kumar Matra from 20, Mohendra Gossain Lane Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-12.*

The main portion of the book deals with homeopathic treatment of cholera. It also contains various other chapters under such headings as definition and synonyms, history, aetiology, epidemiology, symptomatology, pathology, prophylaxis, complication, diagnosis etc.

The author discusses the various forms of the disease which are manifested epidemically and

sporadically, describes and explains the homeopathic treatment of the disease in detail, and also gives a comparative study of important medicines. The chapter on prophylaxis is incomplete inasmuch as the author has nothing to say about hygienic principles, which are essentials in preventing the spread of the disease, and which a practitioner should be well acquainted with, when he is treating a case of cholera. The author has taken a bold step in pointing out that the knowledge of pathology, which homeopaths have so long given no importance to, should not be neglected in future.

The book is written in simple Bengali. It will no doubt be appreciated by the new practitioners and students for whom it is especially intended.

Dwarkanath Das

MARATHI

चानकालीन निवडक गोष्टी *Selected Stories from Jatak*.
Translated by Professor Joshi of Baroda College.
Price Rs. 1-12-0

One hundred and thirty-nine stories have been selected and translated. These stories depict the condition and customs of the then society. This translation is more accurate and readable than its English rendering though it contains some coined words. The introduction is learned as it deals with the times of the Jatakas, their relation with other folk literature, their historical importance and teaching. The author or the translator will be thanked by every reader.

श्रीमद्भवन् गीता (Gita by Messrs. Nalk and Ajquokar) Price Rs. 1, pages 250.

The publication contains nearly twenty commentaries on the first canto of the holy book which consists of 18 cantos dealing with ethics and philosophy. Shri. Shankaracharya and a few other philosophers have not at all explained this first canto, thinking it to be an introduction. The authors must be congratulated on all the troubles they took in collecting and printing in this volume these twenty explanatory notes, some of which are unpublished.

V. S. WAKASKAR

GUJARATI

(1) KURVASI NI KURVASI: By Bhavachand Meghani. Pp. 82 Price Annas 6. 3rd Edition.

(2) CHALO AND OTHER LOVE TALES: By Bhavachand Meghani. pp. 98 Price Rs. 1.

(3) SOMEbody'S DARLING AND OTHER SONGS, By the same author, pp. 56 Price Annas. 6.

(4) NARAYAN LALAN By Bhavachand Meghani, and Kinkalbhai Kothari. Pp. 96. Price Annas 4. All published by the Samashtra Sahitya Mandir, Raipur. 1931

We have already noticed (1) when it was first published and are so glad that a third edition has so soon been called for. It is brought out at a reduced price. The object of the Sahitya Mandir is to make available the folklore literature of Kathiawad and other patriotic literature at popular prices, and all these four books fulfil that test. *Upto* consists of very readable and passionate love tales, while *Somebody's Darling and other Songs* are galloping, emotion-exciting, patriotic songs written by Mr. Meghani in and outside the jail during the Civil Disobedience period. Although published only recently, they have already become popular. *Nana Lappotrais Life* (4) is a valuable contribution. It reads more like a story, a novel, than a biography and thus attracts all sorts of readers. It is worth perusal, at least for its simple and original style.

PARANAYAN: By Janna Devi. Published by the New Era School, Bombay. Thick Card-board Illustrated Cover. Pp. 11 & 11. Price Rs. 0-10-0 (1931)

The title of this small and attractive little volume means "Butterflies." It contains 40 songs on all sorts of subjects dear to small children. They are composed after considerable experience of the requirements of children by one who has lived with them, and the success of his undertaking was assured when he found the little ones singing them with great gusto. Publication was ventured only after this test was passed. We, therefore, hope that other juvenile institutions will also find them useful.

K. M. J.



The Geological Survey of India

By "GNOSTIC"

AT the back of the Indian Museum and within the Museum compound in Chowringhee Road, Calcutta, is situated a very old scientific department under the control of the Government of India—one of the oldest departments of its kind—namely, The Geological Survey of India. The nucleus of the department dates back to about 1818, when the East India Company had a geologist attached to the great Trigonometrical Survey. The very first geological report emanating from the Government was issued in 1850 when a publication entitled "Report of the Geological Survey of India for 1848-49" was published by Dr. John McClelland. In the next year Dr. Thomas Oldham, then Director of the Irish Survey, was appointed as the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and with his advent the work assumed importance. When he took over charge, there was one assistant, Mr. Theobald, already in service. The next five years saw the appointment of seven assistants, the best known of them being H. B. Medlicott and W. T. Blanford.

The re-organization of the department as a regular service really dates from 1856, when Dr. Oldham became Director with fifteen graded assistants and a palaeontologist under him. Though, during the succeeding years, the area of "British India" was considerably enlarged, and the sphere of activities of the Department with it, the strength of the Department was reduced by three assistants in 1866. To compensate for this, the Government decided to appoint two experts whose duty it was to concentrate on the investigation of economic minerals. But, owing to some reason or rather, the posts were filled up only in 1899, when Messrs. Stonier, Reader and Hatch joined.

By 1900 the Departmental activities had grown so much that already 30 volumes of "Records," 29 of "Memoirs" and 20 of "Palaeontologia Indica" were published. Much earlier than this, in 1879, two volumes of a *Manual of the Geology of India* by H. B. Medlicott and W. T. Blanford had appeared. A volume on economic geology by V. Ball and one on mineralogy by F. R. Mallet were published about 1887. The *Manual* was

so much in demand that it was soon out of print and a revised and re-written edition was published in 1894 by R. D. Oldham. In this book, which to this day is a valuable compendium of Indian geology, the subject is treated as an entity and not as separate bits as in the previous edition.

From the time of the re-organization of the Department, equal attention was paid to the investigation of economic minerals as well as to the mapping and correlation of the different formations of India. On the economic side several coalfields were surveyed and several deposits of useful minerals were discovered. On the scientific side there were several studies of fundamental importance. A good deal of excellent palaeontological work was accomplished by such celebrated men as Naething, Waagen, Stoliczka, von Kneff and others. In the present century, however, except for Viedenburg and Pilgrim there have been no palaeontologists of note to continue the excellent work of the last century.

The studies on the Siwalik system, the origin of the Gangetic alluvium and of the Gondwana system stand out prominently among the results achieved by the geologists of the last century. The existence of a glacial epoch in the Permian times was first established in this country and has later on been confirmed by researches in South Africa, Australia and Brazil. The report on the great Assam earthquake of 1897 is a classic of its character which incidentally afforded its author an opportunity for specializing deeply in seismology.

In the present century up to the outbreak of the war in 1914, the Department continued to progress. The war period necessitated the suspension of mapping and purely scientific work, and concentration of attention on economic studies mainly for discovering new sources of minerals or for increasing the output of existing mines.

The post-war period witnessed an enlargement of the cadre of the Department, rather by degrees, to the present one, consisting of a Director, six Superintendents, twenty-two Assistant Superintendents and six sub-Assistant Superintendents. The imple-

economic enquiries of this period include bauxite, aluminous refractories and a re-survey of the coalfields. Large stretches of country have been re-surveyed and mapped on modern sheets in almost every province.

The public seem to be unaware of the many-sided activities of this Department, though a summary of these is to be found in the annual report of the Director published every year in the "Records of the Geological Survey of India." Moreover, once in every five years a summary of the mineral production and resources of the country is published in a volume issued as "Quinquennial Report of the Mineral Production of India."

The Department is also of utility in other ways. It advises municipalities, cantonments and other public bodies on problems connected with water-supply, sites for wells, reservoirs, etc. The Railways and the Public Works Department frequently seek its help regarding sites for construction of bridges and other structures, alignment of roads and tunnels and materials for the construction of roads and buildings. It advises the public on the suitability or otherwise of mineral specimens and rocks sent to it for identification, so that these can be used to the best advantage. This work of the Department is done free of charge. Again, enquiries regarding sources of mineral materials are answered and every attempt is made to be of service to the public.

Attached to the Department is the Geological Section of the Indian Museum, wherein are exhibited minerals, rocks and fossils of importance, not only Indian but also foreign. A duplicate collection of minerals, rocks and fossils is also kept and replenished from time to time, for purposes of presentation to, or exchange with, education and research institutions. For several years now, a Drawing Department has been an integral part of the Survey, where all sketches and photographs for publication by the Office are prepared. Lastly, it must be mentioned that a well-equipped laboratory and a magnificent library, are attached to this Department, to which access is given by the Director to *bona-fide* students and scientists.

The activities of the Department are now of the same character as in the previous years. Whereas similar departments in other countries are being constantly enlarged and improved, we find here a conservatism hard to beat. The reports published by the

Geological Survey, whether of areal surveys or of economic enquires can scarcely be considered to be at the same standard as those published in other countries. They lack especially laboratory data, for instance chemical analyses. This means that the growth of laboratory facilities has not been keeping pace with the times. Again, the department suffers by trying to fit every officer into every sort of geological job, by which means specialization is effectively stopped.

In the present stage of development of this country there is a great need for extending the department and enabling it to perform the same functions as similar departments elsewhere. Instead, we hear that our zealous legislators are recommending a drastic curtailment of the department, if not its total abolition! Supposing that its activities are considerably reduced, it will then be nothing more than a glorified prospecting department. There might have been special reasons during the war for such a transformation, but now, in spite of the financial stringency, there seems to be none. Instead of the suggestion being a real measure of economy, it is likely to prove to be a considerable hindrance to future development. Men in scientific departments need to be thoroughly up-to-date, if they do not actually initiate and lead research. And research may be directed as much to economic problems as to purely academic problems. If activities are diverted to what may, for the time being, seem to be useful, it will be difficult later on to make up for lost time.

In the United States, for instance, the maintenance of a Bureau of mines has been of immense benefit to the mining industry. By its close co-operation with the Geological Survey it has enabled the U. S. to take the lead in the field of mining, metallurgy and investigation of ore deposits. In this country, however, the mining department is no more than an inspecting body and so the Geological Survey is the only department which can investigate the theoretical and practical aspects of the mineral industry. It is to be hoped therefore that the ill-advised step of closing or curtailing the activities of the scientific departments will not be seriously taken up, for this will only result in putting back the clock of progress for several years to come.

The Role of Indian Women

Dr. Parulekar from whose interesting series "Renascent India" we have quoted in these columns, continues his studies in *The Aryan Path*. In the latest number of that paper he writes about Indian women—and what he calls their old role in a new world.

Just as the present Indian revolution has attracted the world's attention to women, it has also created new problems in the country. As the social structure of centuries began disintegrating, the span of social contacts has widened. In the case of woman the change is specially great. So great that it is agitating people's minds: what is her attitude going to be towards men and the ancient culture of the country? The answer is given in two ways: The orthodox fundamentalist is dying if not dead, but his place is last taken by a new opportunist whose religion is on a par with the patriotic professions of the money maker. His first care is to ensure profit not assure himself of principles, and to speculate in real estate rather than on religion. But with the assurance of coming settlement his mind moves in the directions of reviving the old order. At the moment such men are giving women a sufficiently long rope in politics and in movements preliminary to political freedom. But after Swaraj is attained they would like to see women return to the house-keeping business. In their hearts they believe (though they dare not say so that the only way to save the home is to speak of it as the glorious preserve of the women in which domain men are too incompetent to interfere. On the other hand there are the extreme socialists whose opinions vary from the philosophic collectivism of Plato to the materialistic communism of Marx, these are the raw product of the new age ideas, and ambitions. According to them the ideal state and factory are bound to make home and family superfluous. Their goal is to raze home and education, prince and priest, capitalist as well as bourgeois culture in order to make workers feel less inferior in status. Between these two types of thinkers, the orthodox and the modernist, wait the majority of the people who wonder how woman is going to fare in future, and how she is going to behave.

Home is a laboratory where people learn to live in mutual confidence, and in security seasoned with love. Far from abolishing homes, India will need them the more, the more she progresses along industrial lines. It is a very difficult problem and very urgent in our times to translate in social conduct such judgment, mutual understanding, give and take or rather give without take if necessary, as prevail in a happy family. The spiritual qualities which the Indian woman has developed in homes are needed by society at large. Hampered with caste limitations and

do-not-do-this taboos she has had few opportunities to try out her "home-made" methods on society on any large scale. Now that she is free and her activity is widening beyond the traditional limits, the task ahead of her is to build a passage between home and society, so that the virtues of the one may be passed on to the other and society may rise to the consciousness of one family. The sacrifices of Indian womanhood may then help to build a civilization large enough to house a happy India in the midst of a peace-loving world.

"Marshal Foch and Karma Yoga"

Everybody knows that Marshal Foch was a very religious man. But *Prabuddha Bharata* would go further and claim him as a *Karma Yogi*.

There is nothing so incompatible as religion and military life. But history does not fail to supply instances of great generals who were withal deeply imbued with religious spirit. It is said by an intimate friend of Marshal Foch that faith and prayer played a great part in the formation of his character. Marshal Foch had an intense conviction that God as a supreme master controls the course of all events. When he was once praised for his military genius, he promptly protested and said, "No, no, genius has nothing to do with it, I have thought, planned and reflected. But when everything had been considered, I have never seen the way to solution. Finally, when the 'Yes' had to be given on which thousands of lives were going to depend, I felt myself to be blind instrument of Providence."

The idea that it was God who was working through him and he was simply a tool in the hands of God had been reiterated by him on more than one occasion. Yet he did not fail to exert himself to the utmost to snatch victory from his foes. Belief in God did not make him inert and idle. On this point he once said, "There is no need to confuse the miraculous with the providential. Strictly, it is not proper to speak of the miracle of Marne, or the miracle of the Yser—the miracle of victory. This would be to disparage the tremendous part played by our troops. As far as I am concerned, when at an historic moment a clear vision is given to a man and the event proves that this clear vision has determined movements of enormous consequence, in an important war, I hold that this clear view (such as I think I had at Marne at the Yser) comes from a providential influence in the hands of which man is an instrument, and that the triumphal decision is brought from on high by a will superior and divine."

This sounds like the talk of a Karma-Yogi who finds inaction in action, and fights the enemies

on the conviction of the truth of the saying, "Verily I myself have they been already slain because thou movest an apparent cause..."

Amongst those two or three books which enriched the religious life of the great Marshall, *Incarnation of Jesus Christ* was one.

Faiths Old and New

In the same paper there is a very interesting discussion how modern sceptics accept now scientific dogmas with unquestioning faith:

Children are not so much afraid of ghosts and hobgoblins as the modern people are of superstitions and orthodoxies. The modern mind revels in being able to free itself more and more from the shackles of superstitious traditions and old beliefs. But such is the irony of fate, it has simply substituted a fresh set of superstitions in place of those which it dreaded. If people will scrutinize the religious beliefs of their forefathers to see if they can stand the test of reason, they will swallow anything that comes from the political demagogues. If the people nowadays are trying to shake off all superstitions and meaningless customs of the society and the old generation, they are lending themselves to the influence of the superstitions of the print, superstitions of science and so on. They will not believe what is said in the scripture, though it may contain many things that are based on experience but they will take to be true all that comes out in the morning newspaper. If they will think it as derogatory to their self-respect as a rational being to believe anything said by an old teacher, hoary with experiences, they will be easily moved by the harangue of their party leaders. If they will throw aside the teachings of the Prophets of religion, they will enthrone instead Prophets of science. Any word from a scientist will be taken as a gospel truth. From the beginning of the present century Einstein has been ruling the field of science with his theory which is said to be intelligible to a number of persons, who can be counted on the fingers. Recently, at a meeting of the German Physical Society the Professor announces that all that he has said so long might not be true. With regard to this the *Manchester Guardian* says:

The present age is reputed to be sceptical and incredulous, but that is true only of its attitude to religious doctrine. To scientific and quasi-scientific theory it turns a gaping receptivity. On that side it revels in the incomprehensible. Professor Einstein's theory of relativity is understood by few, but it has been accepted in blind faith by the multitude. Now Einstein himself shakes the foundation of their faith... Einstein announced that "a certain modification of the general theory of relativity might be needed as a result of Dr. Freundlich's observations." To most of us the modification will be as elusive as the main theory, but we shall believe in it none the less, just as there are said to be people with an imperturbable faith in the Thirty-nine Articles." The fact is unless man realize the final Truth, he must stumble from error to error. There is, however, this difference between religion and science. Beliefs in religion affect life in a more vital way than those in science.

And science has shown greater capacity to shake off old worn-out theories than many religions have given examples of their power to free themselves from dogmas, even when found harmful.

Royalties and Insurance

We have never heard that Royalty was given to the habit of insuring themselves. But the frequency with which thrones are toppling down on all sides, it seems, makes the security that insurance offers a necessity for them. This, at any rate, is the argument of the editor of the *Insurance World*:

Kings and princes very seldom insure their lives or property, they are so sure of ending their days in luxury and comfort. The Zemindars of our country like to follow the footsteps of these great men and so they too, shun the insurance companies. But to-day that famous Shakespearean line has incurred a deeper and a more significant meaning and we find it to be too true that "Uneasy lies the head that wears the Crown." The world is marching rapidly towards democracy and King after King are being seen to be abdicating their thrones out of their own accord or being forced to do so by their people. No less than eight or nine Kings have lost their thrones since the day Russia the submissive revolted against the Imperialistic power and in spite of guards took the life of the Tzar of all Russians. Manoel of Portugal, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Otto of Hungary, Zita of Austria, Wilhelm of Germany, Amanullah of Afghanistan, Hussein of Hedjaz and Alfonso of Spain all had to give in to the tide of democracy in some shape or other and leave their country to be an exile in other lands.

Some of these Kings and Emperors are living a life of comminative comfort and luxury in London, Paris, Rome or Louvain or some one or other big city in Europe but when we think of the lives they lived as royalties, the pomp and grandeur they enjoyed, the palaces, castles, cars and horses they had at their disposal their present style dwindle almost into nothingness. In India we have seen great personages from the family of princes fleeing for their lives from their states, princes being forced to abdicate their *gubts* and to stay content with a *bhatta* or pension which to their expensive habits are but mere drops of rain to be sucked up by a parched earth soon. So in an age which refuses to believe in the myth of the divine rights of Kings and Princes, an age which is respectful of persons and not of personages, we ask these once high and mighties to climb down from their Olympian estates and insure their lives and thrones against loss. This may help them to ease their lives when overthrown by giant hands they spend their days in lorn seclusion and quiet. For some, the days need not be what they usually be, days dependent on the pity and charity of others.

Companies doing loss insurance business may not be loth to insure the thrones, the palaces with their paraphernalia and the jewels. As for lives, Kings and Princes and Zemindars, Rajas and Maharajahs whatever they be are human individuals and as such are prone to suffer from the common

frailty of man. So there cannot be any insurmountable reason for them not to guard themselves against the hazard of death. Even if it be that nihilistic tendency would run rampant over the earth, taking the lives of Kings as did once our PARASHURAM, yet there might be insurance companies willing to take the risk at a higher rate of premium. But the present day history tells us that there are not so many PARASHURAMS as there were in the days gone by.

As for the loss of their thrones, even if they find it difficult to effect any insurance against such calamity, they may demand of the state an unemployment insurance to guard against their being deprived of the very "uneasy" employment of wearing a crown.

Dreamers of a new kind of state dreaming of building the world anew may now give a fleeting thought to the question that one day their state insurance department may be facing the problem of paying the claim of a loss of throne or the loss of employment by a Prince.

Christianity and Women

The C. S. S. summarizes the precepts of Jesus about women

Jesus gave no specific teaching concerning women as some religious teachers have done. It was due to the fact that Jesus treated man and woman alike. He never countenanced a double standard. He gave the same appeal to all mankind, but the women responded more thoroughly to His teaching. But let us see His teaching that affects women. His brief words on marriage divorce and social sins give us an inkling of His attitude (Math 5: 27-32, Math 19: 2-22, Mark 10: 2-12, Luke 16: 18). "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife and they twain shall be one flesh. Wherefore they are no more twain but one flesh (Math 19: 5,6).

Whosoever shall put away his wife (saying for the cause of fornication) causeth her to commit adultery" (Math 5: 32). The words in brackets are omitted in some manuscripts. His ideals therefore for marriage were *monogamy*, one man and one woman, *equality* of status and worth, *union* that they become one and *indissolubility*. "What God hath joined let no man put asunder". Christ's ideals have put mutual love of wife and husband in the foreground. The marriage has been changed for the better by the high and honourable position accorded to women. The union of sexes has been purified by the absolute prohibition of extra-marital connection and the emphatic condemnation of divorce as essentially sinful.

His religious teaching has affected women in the fact that He has emphasised qualities that are reckoned feminine. He emphasised love (Math. 22: 37-40, Mark 12: 28-31, Luke 10: 27-28). He showed the utmost compassion. His parables teemed with instances of love working in human affairs. Another of the virtues He extolled was meekness (Math. 5: 3, 10-22 and 39). It is a virtue that all men admire in a woman and despise in a man. But not only did Jesus teach by word but much more by example. The difference between a man and meekness is that one is a momentary emotion and the other is a permanent character. A man is a lion and a woman is a dove.

the joy set before Him endured the Cross despising the shame. (Heb 12: 2). Then His lofty ideals of purity are peculiarly what man requires of women only (Math 5: 27-29, Mark 7: 20-23, Math. 15: 18-20, Math 5: 8). Finally He emphasised service and humility and by His matchless example made His precepts real (Math. 18: 30-33, 11-12, Mark 9: 34-36, Luke 14: 7-11).

Essentials of Sikhism

Sikhism has always been known as one of the marliest and noblest of creeds. Dr. Mohan Singh writes in *The Khalsa Review* about the essentials of that creed. He says:

In so far as therefore, Gurm Govind Singh, the founder of Sikhism emphasised the virtue of uncontaminated and Divine bravery and the conditions of its attainment namely, simplicity of life and manners, and practical recognition of the brotherhood of man, so far has he supplied us of the twentieth century the best weapon that for the further progress of our mesent civilization, we need badly making use of. *Sikhism, in this light, is a universal invitation to all individuals of whatever country or race to hold aloft the banner of Bravery.* Its trumpet call to them is "Be brave, for Bravery is the most cardinal of all virtues. Only the brave can be the successful instruments of the fulfilment of His Divine plans. But you can't be brave, you can never fight to success with another, if the cause that you espouse is bad, is evil, is contaminated by the diseases of hatred, violence, untruth, selfishness and lust. You can't be brave if you lead lives of comfort and luxury, if you look down on men of darker colours, rougher manners, weaker constitution, lesser powers and of different beliefs. You can't be really brave unless you think yourself immortal, your ideals eternal, your father in Heaven as the sole ultimate Judge and Righter of wrongs and your duty on earth as the fearless peaceful championship of all causes that stand for Him and for the prevalence of his laws of equal and common liberty, equal and common opportunities, equal and common rights, equal and common privileges, equal and common worship. Shall we heed that call? Shall we accept this Gospel that goes away with exclusivism, exploitation and grabbing, and provides you the opportunity to come on a common platform where you have not to confront the terrors of caste and Kith and kin?"

Superstition

Mrs E. V. Davis contributes a very interesting study on superstitions to *The Indian*.

Owing to the rapid advance of knowledge, the West is comparatively free from superstitions that are of a harmful nature. Traces of belief in sorcery and witchcraft are still visible here and there. Two or three hundred years ago, burning of witches was very common. You have proof of it in the literature of the time and in the records written of how a black poor old woman was re-

phant alive for witchcraft. As late as fifty years ago in England, a story is related of a family where six children died in succession, their feet having mortified and dropped off. The neighbourhood said it was the result of witchcraft. Investigations later on showed that it was due to the imprudent use of some pernicious food.

Leaving this dismal side of superstitions, let us turn our attention to the more trivial side, the silly superstitions which do not do any particular harm to anybody, but which can be described as social diversions, perhaps superstitions that have their roots in the past and are thereby interesting. Let us take the ordinary superstition about No. 13 which is very common in the West. The following incident may be a surprise to many of you here. When the s.s. "Mauretania" was due to sail from New York to England on Friday, the 13th of a month, the passengers were so upset about it that the sailing was actually postponed until just after mid-night, so that they could avoid "the ill-luck" of setting out on such an ill-omened date. The London North-Eastern Railway abolished No. 13 from its sleeping car-service. The Savoy Hotel, London has no No. 13 on its bed room door, whereas another hotel got over the difficulty by starting with No. 14. Well, dreadful things do happen on Friday and on a 13th, but they happen on other days as well. Those who are superstitious about No. 13 have only to think of the "Thirteen Clubs" that are run in London and New York. The members meet once a year to show its contempt for superstitions. They meet on Friday the 13th of the month, guests sit 13 at each table. A rumor is broken every time the members are seated, waters come in to the music of the funeral march, ices are served in the form of a skull reposing in a coffin. The diners even count up to 13 as a chant. Still this club goes on as merrily as any other club.

Belief in omens, good and bad, is also a very widespread superstition. "When great disasters are about to befall a nation or state, it often happens that there is some warning," says Herodotus. The first day that Julius Caesar sat on the throne and wore a purple robe an ox was sacrificed and it was found that it had no heart. Soon after this Caesar was assassinated. The owl's cry as a bad omen is accepted both in the East and the West. In India some times people desert their homes if an owl sits on them and cry. Shakespeare and other writers also refer often to this bad omen. The reason is obvious, the cry is dismal, it is heard only at night when everything else is silent. In India, you get a string of these bad and good omens such as a black cat, a widow, a snake, one Brahmin, empty pot, as bad omens, and two Brahmins, milk, cow, honey, etc., as good omens. So strong is the belief with some people that they would go back and start after sometime on their errand. Some of these of course are easily explainable, why a full pot should be more welcome than an empty pot, why honey is preferable to a snake; but I have not been able to find out why on earth two Brahmins are to be preferred to one. "Black cat" superstition is common in the West also. It is because of its association with witchcraft. Witches are sometimes represented as holding black cats. The brain of a black cat is supposed to be one of the chief ingredients of the recipe of a witch. Thus the poor cat also has to pay the penalty for its

colour. Perhaps a consolation—that not only human beings that have to suffer for a black skin! Cats have been suffering for centuries! But there is a ray of hope! In some countries, if a black cat comes into the house, it is a sign of good luck. The reason may be because the Egyptians revered the black cat. Thousands of mummies of black cats were unearthed in Egypt lately.

Breaking of a mirror is another of the bad omens. The origin probably is this. You could read in a mirror or similar substance the will of the gods, so to break it accidentally is an effort on the part of the gods to prevent people from seeing their future if it is sad, i.e., they break it only if the future is sad. But luck is said to last seven years, because the Romans believed that every seven years saw an important change in human life! Napoleon was so possessed of this superstition that when he accidentally broke the glass on Josephine's picture, he would not rest or sleep till the messenger whom he had sent to find out about her welfare came back.

To spill salt is a very bad omen. Judas, at the last supper spilt salt, it seems. The real origin of belief is to be found in the great respect with which salt was regarded in early days. Homer called it salt divine, Plato said it was a thing valued by the Gods. In Greece and Rome, it was offered sometimes in the sacrifice instead of animals. For some time salt was given as part of your reward in return for services rendered. So that the word "salary" is derived from "Salarium or salt." From this came the expression "to earn one's salt," eat one's salt, etc. It is based on common sense that no meal is complete without salt. Therefore, to spill it, is surely a sign of bad luck.

Sneezing is a bad omen both in the East and the West. To many of us it is certainly bad omen because often it is followed by a bad cold! But some regard it very seriously indeed. In India some believe it is a sign of an evil spirit, probably it originated from the savage idea that souls and evil spirits go in and out of the body, that you sneeze when other evil spirits enter your body and probably tickle it. It is a custom with many in the West to say "God bless you" when you sneeze. It may be to save you from this evil spirit or it may be they believe in the following story. Before Jacob's time, i.e., long ago, people sneezed once only and died. But Jacob interceded on behalf of men and got a relaxation of this law on condition that a prayer followed a sneeze. God consented and hence "God Bless You." Now a-days, I assume many of us would choose this form of death—one sneeze—in preference to many others that are coming into fashion day by day!!

Further quite independent of all education and training, we sometimes find that there is the superstitious mind. Dr. Johnson believed something bad would happen to him if he did not touch every post as he passed along the road. Rockefeller, himself the wealthy philanthropist, it is said, carried an eagle stone in his pocket which was tied with a ribbon. He believed that this stone and the ribbon brought him all the luck, and to any special friend, he would cut and give a piece of this ribbon. Another reason why we still observe certain superstitions, is because as they exist now, some of them are just pastimes and like some festivals they provide opportunities for a better social life.

Performance of certain rites, as long as they are not harmful, *e. g.* to bring rain and increase crops though they may be useless in themselves gratify the desire to do something and to feel as if something was being done. So they allay anxiety and give hope and confidence.

Voluntary Organization and Welfare Work

The report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India has naturally focussed attention on labour questions in India. Mr P. O. Philip writes in *The National Christian Council Review* on the place of voluntary organizations in welfare work

Before leaving the subject of welfare, it is necessary to consider one point and that is the place of voluntary organizations in welfare work. There are obvious difficulties in the way of giving outside workers access to the interiors of mills and other work-places and therefore it may be necessary for voluntary organizations which seek to do welfare work to confine their activities to improving the conditions outside the factories. As a matter of fact, whatever welfare work by voluntary bodies has come into existence in India in the past has been mostly along these lines, with little or no co-ordination with any welfare work that may be done inside the factories. For reasons which we cannot understand the Commission have thought it not necessary to discuss the subject of the place of voluntary organizations in welfare work. In all the recommendations of the Commission for improving the condition of labour, the parties usually referred to as being concerned in the matter are the employers, the municipalities and the local Governments. It is but right that the main burden of the responsibility for removing evils, and bringing about better conditions should be laid upon these parties; but the general public through voluntary social service organizations can help these three parties in several ways. The Commission would have done well to examine the nature of the service so far rendered by voluntary social service organizations and to lay down the most fruitful lines of co-operation between such organizations on the one hand, and the employers, local bodies and Governments on the other, in the light of the valuable experience of Western countries in this matter. We consider this as a serious omission in the otherwise admirable Report of the Commission. For arousing public opinion on existing evils in the industrial system and thus preparing the ground for necessary legislation, for producing the atmosphere in which ameliorative regulations can be worked, for supplying men and women of the right outlook and spirit of service to work successfully the schemes of welfare and improvement which it is proposed to initiate and strengthen, the help and co-operation of voluntary organizations are indispensable. Even if all the legislative measures recommended by the Commission are put on the statute book we can conceive the possibility of their being quite unable to change labour conditions in India, unless the forces of reform and regeneration lying dormant and unsuspected in the community are actively mobilised for bringing a better social order into existence.

This creative work is beyond official bodies however efficient they may be. It can be done only by voluntary organizations founded on the high ideals of service to humanity and deriving their inspiration and strength from faith in God and in the possibilities of human personality.

Ideals of the English Universities

Dr Isaiah Peter describes the ideals of the English Universities in *The Young Men of India Burma and Ceylon*:

The first thing that struck me in the Universities of England is the direct and indirect emphasis upon religion. To start with religious ideals at the outset may be an anathema to many. The older Universities—Oxford and Cambridge—were originally founded for the training of the clergy. Attendance at the chapel every day is compulsory at Eton and Harrow. It is, however, strange that these public school boys who are so keen on attending the church seem to neglect it later. There is a chapel attached to every college in the older Universities. In modern Universities as in King's College, London, is a foundation with a theological faculty. In colleges where there are no chapels, religious activities are maintained by arrangements with local churches and other religious bodies.

Outside critics do not usually accept the spiritual and religious basis of English education. Dr Norwood, Headmaster of Harrow, speaking of English Secondary Schools contends that most boys have a definite desire for "right conduct, a desire, as the boy would say to live decently, and to do something that may be of real use in the world." The relation of religion and ethics to the system of education imparted in our Universities is a problem that has to be fearlessly faced by educationists and politicians. I am aware of the Benares Hindu University and the Muslim University of Aligarh. I am equally aware of the religious instruction imparted by missionary institutions in the country. Barring these there are many colleges where no attempt has been made to emphasize the spiritual basis of education. The only notable exception is the experimental university of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore—the "Visva-Bharati."

The chief ideal of the English Universities is character-building. This is chiefly achieved by the residential system which characterizes the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In this respect they are the pride of England and the envy of the world. The advantage of the residential system is that students are in very close and intimate contact with one another and with their tutors. This intimate contact between personalities together with social and athletic activities provides the best training ground for character-building.

Another feature that struck me as an essential factor of university life in England is the athletic ideal. This is a very prominent feature of English Public Schools and Oxford and Cambridge. Even in the other universities sport occupies the same important part in university life though the opportunities are limited. It is most unfortunate that an exaggerated importance is attached to sport. The Oxford and Cambridge Boat-race is as important as the Derby. The exaggerated importance

in the saying attributed to one Duke in Wellington that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton.

The Muslims and Indian Nationalism

Sardar M. V. Kabe writing in *Frontier* on the Hindu-Muslim problem offers the following remarks on the position of the Muslims in the Indian nation:

In India the Muslims are a closely-knit, well-organised and intensely fanatical non-regional nation. It has occupied the entire continent of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from the Arabian Sea to the borders of Burma. Wherever the Muslims go they carry with them their *Masjid* burial ground *Madrassah* and the daily practice of turning to the west in remembrance of Mecca five times a day. From personal appearance, dress or customs to every thing else they are exactly the reverse of the Hindus. Their language too is odd andish, its script too is written from the opposite side. This nation has in no single country a larger number among its fold than in India or China. It has no racial patriotism except for the holy places in Arabia and Iraq. Its intense devotion to the doctrines taught by Mohammed makes it aggressive for their spread.

On the other hand the rest of the population which at least has no patriotism for any other country than India is divided amongst numerous castes and sub-castes and creeds, with only a few things common to all. It is the latter characteristics which make it a nation. European writers are fond of pointing out that India is a continent like Europe and, therefore, can never come before the world as one country with a unitary Government. They would divide India into innumerable States just as it may suit the fancies or claims of the people in power. They forget that the divisions so much apparent are but gradations in an aristocratically divided nation. The only divisions that count are political divisions created by past events and happenings.

The only obstacle therefore, to the welding of India into a nation are the Muslims. Neither the depressed classes who will be lifted by enlightened Indian opinion, especially when it will have the control of the administration and Government, nor the Christians who possess regional patriotism, are an obstacle. The fact that Turkey, Iraq, Egypt, and the Hedjaz, not to speak of such older States as Afghanistan or Persia, have developed regional patriotism, or at the hope that the Indian Muslims too may give up Pan-Islamism. Under the strong, even tyrannical, rule of the Bolsheviks in Soviet Russia, and perhaps the nationalist military Government of China, the Muslims in those nations have been moulded and absorbed into them. Perhaps when India acquires a National Government, what has happened to Islam elsewhere may happen here. What to do till then is a problem that staggers imagination and baffles prophecy.

Much store can be laid by the educated, and hence enlightened, youth in the country. There is ground for hoping that the young Muslims

are more on the side of the cause of the non-sectarian-minded far-sighted leaders in the country than by those of Pan-Islamic leaders. But the appeal of the bigots is devoutly responded to by the masses. Any hold on the people that the former acquire might lead to a loss of the hold of the latter. At present whether these proposals be in the general interests of all the inhabitants of the country or not, the idea simply makes no appeal to the masses, excites their wrath and invites their opposition. Such being the case, the state of affairs can only be mended by a strong rule of the majority, which is sure to lead to revolution, with all its attendant horrors, or by in course of time, an internal revolution affected by world causes, or by a peaceful penetration under a Swarajya Government. But never under foreign domination can the pace be accelerated. Therefore the first objective to gain is the attainment of self-government.

Labour Legislation in India

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das contributes an article on labour legislation in India to *The Indian Textile Journal*. In the conclusion to this article he sums the whole situation as follows:

(1) The commercial rivalry of Lancashire textile industries against the rising Indian cotton mill industry, which characterised their almost monopolistic market combined with the philanthropic movement both in England and India to ameliorate the labour conditions of workers especially of women and children.

(2) The financial interest of British planters and other British industrialists in India, as well as of the newly rising Indian capitalists, who protested against encroachment on the right of individual enterprise and on the security of investment.

(3) National awakening among the people who resented any other interference in their internal affairs, but who nevertheless wanted to advance the social and industrial welfare of the country as a whole as opposed to the interest of the capitalists.

(4) The rising consciousness among the workers, who under the guidance of their leaders had been actively engaged in improving their conditions by organisation and legislation.

(5) The International Labour Organization which has not only set up new ideals for labour legislation, but has also brought together divergent interests, both national and international, of labour, capital, and Governments, to achieve definite results for the equalization and improvement of labour conditions all over the world. It must have been noticed that most of the recent legislative measures in India, including the amendments of the older Acts have been based on the provisions of the Conventions and Recommendations of the International Labour Conference.

In undertaking the enactment of labour legislation the Government has been guided by three fundamental principles:—

(1) Non-interference with the growth of modern industries of which the country is badly in need.

Since the war the Government has, however, decided to give encouragement to all national industries.

(2) Protection of workers, especially of women and children. This has naturally been the most important principle of labour legislation. It began with provision for the control of labour contracts in plantations, and the regulation of child labour in factories, and has gradually developed into such measures as are required by the changing social and industrial conditions of the people, especially the wage workers.

(3) Fulfilment of international obligations. As a member of the International Labour Organization, the Government of India has not only ratified eleven Conventions but has also given effect to the principles of these Conventions, as well as those of several recommendations, in the national labour legislation.

This survey of Indian labour legislation also indicates the nature of the outstanding problems which may roughly be classified under two headings, namely, the legislative and the constitutional. The legislative problems relate to the adoption of regulative measures with a view to:—

(1) consolidating divergent provisions of different labour Acts in various industries;

(2) extending the scope of the law to a large number of industries and to a larger class of workers,

(3) improving labour law in the light of the higher needs of the workers, and in conformity with the rising sense of social justice.

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Root and Branch Reform

In a thought-provoking article under the above caption, appearing in the *Morning Star* Swami Gambhirananda inveighs against the past social movement as disregarding the individual altogether, and as bent on bringing about an artificial society where individuals are always to be sacrificed at its behest. He says:

We speak of social movements, as if society is an organism, all whose parts can move together towards a supposed goal. As a matter of fact, nothing is farther from the truth. Society as a whole never moves. It is only this part or that moving according to the urge of some real or imaginary interest. History shows that, no movement has so far been universal or has touched even a great portion of society. Such a movement is always partial and very often meets with opposition from other parts. Evidently interests are at variance, and none can say which is the best at any time. The decision ultimately depends

on the force that can be commanded by either party, and the prevailing moods in other parts of the world. The last world war seemed to be such a universal movement, but Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front" has rudely silenced the enthusiasts of all nations, and has violently shaken the self-complacency of arm-chair political philosophers. The war-to-end-war has been a gigantic scheme for the capture of the wealth of the world. Those who had their eyes open were astounded by the scramble for spoils that went underneath all the rhetoric speeches and moral sermons of the sponsors of that vast catastrophe. Remarque has conclusively shown how simple folk are hoodwinked or compelled to join hands with designing politicians against all their sense of humanity, morality, right, duty and justice. And the worst part of the ugly affair is that the people in power are really so ignorant that they do not even know what is of lasting good to themselves, but are entirely led by a blind and voluptuous hankering for immediate gain. With high-sounding profession of moral duty they enter battle with senseless indecency and bring ruin on the whole nation. Confidence in "bosses" is rudely shaken. People now do not take them at their words but seek an ulterior motive behind their professions, the presumption being always against them. A change is necessary. But which is the way?

The various reform movements that ought to be afoot to counteract this perilous idea are found wanting. A new orientation of the outlook of the leaders is required. The writer proceeds to say:

Thinkers at present are, however, taking a different view and a different line of action. They believe that the approach must be made from within. Men's ideas must be changed. It is there that the battering ram must be laid. But they are not agreed as to what new ideas should be inculcated. They seem to be prescribing remedies as exigencies of the case demand without any thorough diagnosis. They do not look at man as an individual but only take the needs of society into consideration. In other words, they are more eager to make the world better than to advance each individual unit. Idle visionaries as they are, they forget that society apart from its component parts is an idle fancy of an over-imaginative brain. The real problem is how to make the individual a real man. Given that he can fit into any good society and make it better environment cannot be neglected and to that extent the influence of society in the make up of an individual has any meaning. But that is not the deciding factor. The emphasis must be on the individual and social movements must proceed with that distinct end in view.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

We Talk Too Much

Mr. Jay Macksey contributes the following diagnosis of the present age to *America*.

This is the talkative age. Not of course in the sense of eloquence, for eloquence is dead and from its grave has sprung wise-cracking. Perhaps the talkies, the radio, and paradoxically, the speakeasy have contributed to the impression; but whatever the cause, men have become wordy, unreasonably. Not that they are given to long speeches, but rather that their tongues have loosened and the springs of speech are bubbling more volubly than ever before.

Perhaps this is another evidence of the current effeminization of men. Certainly women are greatly to blame for the situation. Yet to make women the scapegoat is far from my purpose, rather what I lament is that it is man who has fallen from his high estate,—man, the deliberator. Weighing the influence of women as an aggravating circumstance, and so dismissing it, the present-day loquacity of men can be ascribed in great part to the obsession to get publicity. Ideals in judging manhood seem to have changed, as far as the open market is concerned. Manhood apparently in every walk of life today is measured by what are called "contact possibilities." We know the patter. A man is elected or promoted to a position demanding ability not because he is a specialist in the work, but because he is a good contact maker, a social cam. He belongs to several civic clubs, can swing a machine, refrain from trumping his partner's ace, and has a line of small talk. Thus a heavy premium is put upon superficial qualifications and real merit is submerged. It is the day of the facile talker. The tongue wagger has displaced genius with the result that falsity and hypocrisy are more countenanced.

With or without loquacity the republic will of course survive. Yet loquacity is an evil. One has but to be thrown in occasionally with one or other of the figures that make up this composite picture, to be convinced.

America Needs Gandhi

This is the heading under which the editor of *The Christian Register* writes as follows:

America needs a Mahatma Gandhi. We do not mean to deliver it from its political evils; but to call it back from a complex and automatic civilization to the practice and enjoyment of the genuine arts of peace and a harmonious prosperity which is the only prosperity that does a nation much good. Much may be said in support of this machine age: it makes for speed, efficiency

comfort, a life crowded with twice the possessions and thrills of the fathers. But, also, it shatters nerves, drives the individual harder and faster and immensely complicates and confuses the process of living. A writer who was peculiarly observing of the signs of the times remarked a few years ago, with a gentle touch of humour, that he feared the effect of too much application of electricity to the affairs of the human race, meaning, probably, that humanity would be so overloaded with luxuries and labour-saving devices that life would cease to be natural and might defeat itself.

Even nature is being turned into playthings and a means to promote the commercial instinct. Engineering genius, with almost unlimited wealth to support it, has turned what were formerly impassable mountain barriers into a magnificent scenic country to be seen from the luxury of automobiles and parlour cars. Rivers, lakes, and ocean courses are used for racing purposes by college crews, speed-bow enthusiasts and yacht-clubs. Forests, once impenetrable, have wide, smooth roads, and are playgrounds for automobile tourists. For several years, on the way to our summer home, we have been passing a waste country of underbrush, rocks and scrub-trees. The last time we passed that way we discovered that the land was being cleared for a great airport.

Mr. Gandhi is exerting a tremendous influence, not only on the people of India, but on the philosophy of the world. Extravagant statements are made of his power. He certainly remains true to his apostleship. When expecting to go to London, for a round-table conference on Indian affairs, he did not plan to go, as he might, in a first-class cabin free of charge. He selected the steerage. He was going to take along his own provisions in the form of grapes, dates, and the milk of two goats. He had also planned to take a spinning wheel and a copy of "Civil Disobedience," a work of the non-conformist, Thoreau, whom Gandhi greatly admires. The fact of changed plans does not invalidate simplicity of preparation.

We more than half suspect that the influence of this extraordinary man on his time is due as much to his philosophy of the simple life which he so consistently practises, as to his political doctrines. So we ask: Would not America benefit from a similar example?

What a Russian Thought about America

Boris Pilnyak, the Russian novelist, has been visiting the United States recently, and expressing his views rather freely. The

following summary of his opinions appears in *The New Republic*.

He saw strange contrasts, splendid and terrible things. At a literary banquet tendered him upon his arrival he found his American hosts drinking quor copiously, although the country had long ago been declared bone-dry. He developed a spontaneous liking for our widely distributed grain alcohol, which looks like vodka (At the same function in his honour he saw the two most famous American novelists, Sinclair Lewis and Theodore Dreiser engage in an altercation which included one brisk slap in the face.) He saw police everywhere in our great cities preserving order upon the streets and skillfully directing our groaning traffic; but he saw also, in our tabloids, the pictures of gangsters who shot each other down with impunity, sometimes slaying or wounding children in the vicinity. Gangster killing, he remarked, was "perfectly legitimate in this country, a feature of American life" like prohibition drinking ("Let's think we're sitting here and not drinking," lifting his glass and smiling sardonically.) He visited Hollywood, wonder city, home of the most modern of the arts, but vouchsafed that art "never spent a night in Hollywood." Asked to collaborate in the preparation of a motion picture upon a Russian subject, he advised against the use of a certain incident which was impossible in Russia today, but was told that it made "good movie." He asked himself, "So why do they need me?" as he pocketed a generous fee for useless services and drove off upon a tour of the country in a Ford. Passing the Grand Canyon he judged it instantly to be a "fake." The middle-sized towns he stopped at he dubbed "provincial city-villages." In New York, however, he found a city of the "twenty-first century." He saw our depression, also, and remarked that Russia could dispense with this, as with our cooking. He saw everywhere a great industrial machinery of marvellous technical perfection, which his own countrymen are straining to duplicate, but this machinery worked at half-pressure, as if seized with deadly decay, whereas in Russia, machinery labours and clanks full blast. So what was the use of the marvellous American machinery? Or the vast, rich farm area which glutted the country with so much food that from seven to ten million Americans faced hunger? In Russia, at least people did not go hungry because there was too much food around the place.

On the whole, Pilnyak thought, "America has taken the most vital and flashy things from European culture and developed them to the last possible limits." But because America's activities seemed bewildered, apathetic, decadent, whereas Russia was working with might and main to carry out a great rational plan for social betterment, he proposed merrily to transport to his own energized land "the beautiful women, the healthy men"—for many of whom there was no work here—and above all "the technical improvements," which, at a time like this, seem to go to waste. No doubt our great captains of industry, our Fourth of July orators and all the rest who believe with Mr. Hoover that civilization has reached with us its absolute climax will find it an odd sensation to be pitied by a Russian. But it is equally certain that the experience is good for them.

The Stages of Nationalism

Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes is a well-known American historian. Recently he has published a history of modern nationalism under the title *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*. It is a study of the main stages in the development of nationalism and is reviewed at length by Professor John Herman Randall in *World Unity Magazine*. Its main conclusion are summarized as follows:

"It seems a long way from Rousseau, Herder, and Mazzini to Maurras, Hitler, and Mussolini, and the route appears to be circuitous. The former preached against the very things which the latter are championing. Yet the latter appear to be a lineal projection of the former. Present-day nationalism could hardly be what it is without the pioneering work of humanitarian nationalists, and the nationalism that is exclusive and intolerant has been propagated primarily by popular agencies which were created and fostered by nationalists who were liberal." In France and Germany it has taken a century and a half to make the circuit from Rousseau and Herder to Maurras and Hitler, in Italy it required less than a century to get from Mazzini to Mussolini. In Eastern Europe the speed of the cycle is rapidly accelerated. What of the new nationalities of the Orient? "They start with States not strictly national, ruled despotically and inefficiently, and suffering peculiarly from economic exploitation by 'progressive' nationalist States. What humanitarian or liberal what person enamoured of modern European usage, can withhold sympathy from these Asiatic and African peoples as they start off on the path of nationalism? But what realist can be sure that that path will not eventually lead in Asia whither it has led in Europe?"

Nationalism begins in the 18th century. Before that time the social loyalties of men were not attached to the national state, for no such state was in existence. To read nationalism back even into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is, thinks Professor Hayes, an anachronism. It was the humanitarians of the Enlightenment who first revived tribalism. Bolingbroke the Tory patriot, Rousseau the democrat, and Herder the enthusiast for old ballads and songs, are the examples. Such humanitarian nationalism, generous and internationally-minded, filled the emotional void left by the waning of personal religion. Men sceptical about Christian mythology had no doubts as to the national state.

Then came the Revolution, and a new and finer sentiment arose. This Jacobin nationalism started with devotion to Rousseau, but circumstances gave it teeth. Opposition demanded victory, and victory needed "organization." The crusade to free nations oppressed by tyrants became the campaign to conquer those who would not be free. Intolerance, aggression, militarism, fanaticism, and proselyting zeal were its marks. The Jacobins created the characteristic instruments for nationalist propaganda:—The citizen army, the public school, the common language, the popular journal, the patriotic society. They were bitterly anti-clerical and "secular," brooking no rival religion. And

though Barère and Carnot are the best theorists of this Jacobin nationalism, Napoleon was its most successful practical exponent.

The period before 1848 saw another type—liberal nationalism, middle class in character, devoted to *laissez-faire*, and yearning mightily to free oppressed nationalities in Austria and Italy. Professor Hayes regards Bentham as the prototype, and finds him the first exponent of internationalism in the modern sense. Later liberal nationalists, like Guizot, Welcher, and Mazzini, added a strong dash of romanticism to the compromise between Jacobinism and traditionalism. In theory pacifists and internationalists, envisaging a humanity made up of a harmonious symphony of nationalities, they were driven by the struggle of 1848-1870 to rely in practice more and more on blood and non. "Here was the tragedy of liberal nationalism. Its logic and its fine intentions were not of themselves sufficient to insure its triumph. It needs must grasp the sword and slay its adversaries. The sword, therefore, it repeatedly grasped, and its adversaries it slaughtered in vast numbers. Revolt followed revolt, and war followed war."

Finally, there is what Professor Hayes calls "integral nationalism" following the definition of Maurras: "The exclusive pursuit of national policies, the absolute maintenance of national integrity, and the steady increase of national power—for a nation declines when it loses military might." This contemporary nationalism, seen at its purest in Fascist Italy and in Communist Russia, is the nationalism of nationalities that have successfully gained unification and independence. Along of the varieties, it makes no pretense at an internationalism. Its doctrines Professor Hayes traces to men who, like Comte and Paine, were not nationalists themselves at all, but whose collectivistic criticism of democracy the integral nationalists have appropriated. It is Maurice Barrès and Charles Maurras, of *L'Action Française*, whose theories best express the practice of integral nationalism in its intolerance, its anti-liberalism, its prostituting of the Church to its own ends, its militaristic reliance on force. But it is the Fascists who have carried out its methods with the most exquisite perfection to a Caesarian dictatorship, and the Russian Bolsheviks, "whose extreme nationalism," Professor Hayes thinks, "is likely to be remembered when the details of their economic experiments shall have been forgotten." The success of such integral nationalism is attributed to the militarist spirit engendered by "wars of liberation," to the feeling of superiority engendered by success, and to the effective functioning of the instruments of nationalist propaganda created by Jacobin and liberal nationalists.

Oriental Emigration to the United States

The studies on the colour bar continue in *The Spectator*, this time the subject being the colour bar in the Pacific. This particular problem rises from the question of Oriental emigration to the U. S. A., whose causes and character are discussed by Hon. Hugh Wyndham.

The influx of Orientals was not entirely due to a pull from America. There was also a push from Asia which may be attributed to its congested state, as compared, for example, with the unpopulated condition of Australia. Although it is at least doubtful whether emigration is any real remedy for over-population, and also whether Asia can be correctly described as congested, yet the psychological effect on a thickly populated country like Japan of large apparently under-populated countries like Australia, which are protected by rigid and discriminatory exclusion laws, cannot be ignored. Nevertheless the Japanese are not in favour of any mass emigration of their people to any country. Their disagreement with the United States arises not because there is restriction, but because the present means of restriction are unsatisfactory. They do not object to the dictation test by which immigration is controlled in Australia and in New Zealand, nor to the 'gentleman's agreement' by which their access to Canada is limited to one hundred and fifty annually. If they were brought under the United States immigration law and if the law of 1924, by which they are specially excluded, were repealed, the number of Japanese allowed in annually would be one hundred and fifty and of Chinese one hundred. This is surely not an unreasonable sacrifice for the Western States of the United States to make in the cause of international good will. But the Californians at present think otherwise and assert that Japanese exclusion rests, not on any theory of their inferiority, but on a belief that they are racially different from Europeans and physically unassimilable by them. It is for this reason that they have been ineligible for naturalization since the year 1790 and that the second generation Oriental, though a citizen of the United States, is still socially relegated to the coloured side of the bar.

Soviet China

Readers of this journal are familiar, through the writings of one of our valued contributors, with some aspects, at any rate, of the communist movement in China. But it appears from an article published in *The New Republic* that communists in China are better organized than we thought. The writer in *The New Republic* says:

Yet there is a Soviet government functioning in the interior region of China, a government without a central seat, without central officials, yet one whose rule and principles are accepted by a territory as as large as France and a population estimated at nearly 50,000,000. Only once before has it broken into the American newspapers. That was when, last year, Yochow was taken and when, for a brief period, Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province, was in its hands. Yet regularly accredited Communist delegates from all sections of this great piece of territory last year gathered in Shanghai under the very noses of Chiang Kai-shek's ubiquitous police and secret agents, despite even the watchfulness of the International Settlement's secret political agents, who regularly

feed to Chiang Kai-shek's firing squads the Reds found inside the Settlement's boundaries.

Several thousand villages are under this Soviet rule, and not a landlord sits in its councils. For the slogan "land to the peasants" has been carried out all the region it controls. Non-resident landowners no longer exploit the endless labours of the farmers who wrestle with the soil of southern Kiangsi and Fukien, all of Hunan and great parts of Hupeh. Agitation in Nanking and Shanghai for a concentration of all government energies on a campaign to "clean up the Reds" and to forget all internal political differences is led by these new expropriated landholders, most of whom for years had their residence either in Hankow, Kinkiang, Nanking or Shanghai and used the services of hordes of collectors, who were in fact small private armies, actually to collect the incomes on which they lived in luxury in those cities.

This movement still unclarified, still haphazard, still moulded largely by the personalities of individual leaders, has the semblance of an ideology, and its central thesis is that land belongs to those who work it, as does all its produce. It had its beginnings, in the form it has now assumed, with the emergence of two young military men, Generals Ho Lung and Yeh Ting, after the debacle of the Hankow government. These two officers were subordinate commanders of brigades, their small forces were in southern Kiangsi, when they had word of the events at Hankow. These events meant the end of what they were fighting for. They therefore set up as independent leaders. For four years they have now been "Red bandits" in the eyes of Nanking, for four years they have controlled a vast region with their small but enthusiastic "Red armies," and everywhere they have set up peasant rule helped in the expropriation of lands and in the extirpation of mandarins, magistrates and rich merchants.

Clothes and Fashions

The *Scribners* Magazine for September has an extremely entertaining article about clothes and fashions. The writer says

Average Woman has probably never paused to consider why she wears clothes at all. When faced with the question she is prone to hedge a little around the word modesty and retreat under the protection theory. She doesn't know that Patagonia is the only country in the world where people dress just to keep warm, that there are tribes of Eskimos flitting over the snow in their bare skins.

Modesty is a term so relative that what is modest in New York at 10 P. M. is considered highly immodest at 10 A. M. A high neck and long sleeves are positively indecent at a formal dinner-party.

Fashion in clothes is just what the majority of people happen to be wearing in one place at one moment, and Average Woman, basically, is all bothered about clothes because she either wants to get her man, or keep him, or because she wants to be just a little different, and may be a little better, than Mrs. Brown who lives next door. (Not forgetting how impressed Mr. Brown may be.) One may, with anthropological and

psychological soundness, allow Average Woman a slight touch of pure love of decoration, detached from any other motive, and shared with other monkeys.

If, in spite of these facts of life, Average Woman, with her warlike tendencies, wishes to suppress all arbiters of fashion she should get it straight in her mind just who these frightful people are. Getting rid of them will be a big job. She will have to kill, among others, Best and Co., Greta Garbo, the spirit of Diaghileff, the Duke of Westminster, all the rich ladies who have nothing to do but buy clothes, all the poor young girls with good figures, and several dozen designers of all nationalities.

Those are the particular "they" who decide about fashion and style. Of the details which make up a mode, there are almost as many creators as there are details. An idea comes, lasts a month, or a season, dies, and is replaced. Now we wear silver foxes with no heads and no tails around our necks, like necklaces. Last year we wore them with heads and tails. Next year we may wear them around our tummies with extra tails all across the front. Last year the turners simply showed silver foxes as they had been worn for years. This year Schiaparelli, Franco-Italian designer, made them into necklaces. Next year the extra tails will have to be disposed of somehow.

Biology and Our Environment

Professor Julian Huxley writes in the *Harper's Monthly Magazine* on the applications of biology to the problems of human life.

Biology is just reaching a stage of development at which it will soon be applied on a large scale in practical affairs.

The most obvious way in which biological science can be made practical is in its effect upon the environment of man. Not only can it influence this or that particular kind of animal or plant, encouraging one, destroying another, remodelling a third, but it must be called in to adjust the balance of nature.

The balance of nature is a very elaborate and very delicate system of checks and counterchecks. It is continually being altered as climates change as new organisms evolve, as animals or plants permeate to new areas. But in the past the alterations have for the most part been slow, whereas with the arrival of man, and especially of civilized man their speed has been multiplied many fold from the evolutionary time-scale, where change is measured by periods of ten or a hundred thousand years, they have been transferred to the human time-scale in which centuries, and even decades count.

Everywhere man is altering the balance of nature. He is facilitating the spread of plants and animals into new regions, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unconsciously. He is covering huge areas with new kinds of plants, or with houses, factories, slagheaps, and other products of his civilization. He exterminates some species on a large scale, but favours the multiplication of others. In brief, he has done more in five thousand years to

alter the biological aspect of the planet than nature has done in five million years.

Many of these changes which he has brought about have had unforeseen consequences. Who would have thought that the throwing away of a piece of Canadian water-weed would have caused half the waterways of Britain to be blocked for a decade, or that the provision of pot cacti for lonely settler's wives would have led to eastern Australia being overrun with forests of prickly pear? Who would have prophesied that the cutting down of forests on the Adriatic coasts or in parts of Central Africa could have reduced the land to a semi-desert, with the very soil washed away from the bare rock? Who would have thought that improved communications would have changed history by the spreading of disease-sleeping sickness into East Africa, measles into Oceania, very possibly malaria into ancient Greece?

These are spectacular examples: but examples on a smaller scale are everywhere to be found. We may make a nature sanctuary for rare birds, prescribing absolute security for all species, and we may find that some common and hardy kind of bird will multiply beyond measure and oust the rare kinds in which we were particularly interested. We see, owing to some little change brought about by civilization, the startling spread in hordes over the English countryside. We improve the yielding capacities of our cattle, and find that now they exhaust the pastures which sufficed for less exigent stock. We gaily set about killing the carnivores that molest our domestic animals, the hawks that eat our fowls and game birds, and find that in so doing we are also removing the brake that restrains the multiplication of mice and other little rodents that gnaw away the farmer's profits.

In brief, our human activities are everywhere altering nature and its balance, whether we realize it or no, and whether we want to or no. If we do not wish the alterations to be chaotic, disorderly, and often harmful we must do our best to control them, and constitute new balances to suit our purposes.

The Blessings of Poverty

That all Americans are rich is a proposition which hardly needs over-emphasizing. Yet it would not be admitted by a native. Writes an American in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

The American traveller in Europe constantly encounters the flattering notion that all Americans are rich. This is of course not quite true. That we all mean to be rich would be nearer the truth: and that all of us hope to be rich would be truer still.

But this is not to be. It must be evident by this time, by reason of the low prices of what used to be called securities and the high prices of what are still known as commodities, that the only hope for the most of us lies in the rediscovery of the beauties of poverty. We have been apostates from her. We must be reconverted. What the times demand is a new Saint Francis to preach this gospel to a distracted world. I do not put myself forward as such a preacher. The most I would aspire to is acting perhaps as his Forerunner.

This leads him to reflect on the advantages of poverty.

The best approach to the advantages of poverty is doubtless by way of the drawbacks of wealth. Who has not observed the agony endured by wealthy persons who see 50, 65, or even 75 per cent of their comfortable incomes wrung from them by a socialistic tax? — as the very stronghold of poverty. smart under any greater sense of wrong? Indeed an ingenious Englishman has recently shown that that mythical being, the man with an unlimited income would under modern conditions have literally nothing to live on, since he would have to pay an unlimited income tax.

Consider the rich man. Keen, rapacious individuals interested in promoting investment and speculation haunt his pathway with designs upon his purse. Meantime charitable people are gathered in groups out in suburban drawing-rooms or high up in metropolitan office buildings plotting how to approach him. He is a hunted thing, a focus of attack for the inventor and the promoter, the swindler and the philanthropist. No wonder that instead of living in care-free accessibility like you or me he has to be hedged about with mahogany rails, glass partitions, secretaries, clerks, and telephone operators. For he dare not even answer the telephone. He might by so doing be suddenly precipitated into the undesirable presence of one of his natural enemies above mentioned. He cannot know the thrill of curiosity, sometimes almost pleasurable, with which you and I hook the receiver.

The richman has to ride perilously along the crowded street among ponderous trucks and reckless taxis while we walk safely on the solid pavement or ride securely with sixty or eighty of our peers in the intimate social contact of a spacious modern street car, with a coachman and footman (democratically designated as motorman and conductor) to anticipate our every wish. Having sat all the morning in a swivel chair in his office or an easy chair at his club, he now sits on luxurious cushions, the very thing he ought not to do, for it is precisely this continued sedentary life that precipitates him inevitably into the arms of the doctor. — It is far better for him if he were with us in the street car, hanging athletically on to a strap and now and then swaying pleasantly out of the perpendicular. But that expeditions and economical redneck exercise is for ever closed to him, like answering the telephone.

And this is only a small part of the problems that face the rich man. Consider his distractions. How many problems are simplified through limitation! Your purse is limited: then so are your problems. You do not have to decide whether you will go to the North Cape or make the Alaska trip or go to Lake George or Palm Beach or Coronado or a dozen other places. If you could really go anywhere absolutely regardless, how hard it would be to choose! And thus hardship the rich actually experience.

The "National" Government

In the British Press, "National Government" is hailed with delight or regarded with suspicion according to the political views of the paper. *The New Statesman and Nation* has a note on it:

On Sunday last prayers were offered in the Abbey for the National Government: the *Times* is full of patriotic letters renouncing expenditure and holding up to obloquy those who oppose the policy of "economy" or demand the right to consider what it means. Ernest gentlemen are beginning to economize in all directions: we have even met with one who had cut down his supply of newspapers and who then found it necessary each day to send his chauffeur with a large car into the nearest town to buy the *Daily Herald*. Every effort is being made to suggest that, as at the beginning of the war, there is only one thing to be done and only one way of doing it. Mr MacDonald indeed says that it is the war again, and no doubt he finds himself just in that atmosphere of concentrated patriotism in which he so steadily refused to immerse himself in 1914. It he paused to consider he would see that the analogy is exactly the reverse of the truth. In war the whole machinery of production is set at work in order to supply one insatiable demand. To-day the opposite is to take place. Activity is to be slowed down, wheels are to be stopped, in order that we may spend less, consume less and work less. Economy sounds well until particular economies are examined and their results gauged. There are already signs that the little devil doubt is putting in an appearance.

The *Manchester Guardian*, at first delighted with the formation of the new Government, is, as one might expect, among the first to look ahead. It urges that, since "the National Government bids fair to be the most unpopular of modern times," it must dissolve as quickly as possible lest the Labour opposition gathers an overwhelming strength. Now just what does this mean? Once the new Government has carried out its economies, by hypothesis it will have become unpopular; it dissolves before carrying out its task, why should it ever have existed? But one can well understand the anxiety of the *Manchester Guardian* that the Liberals, who are to support this Government, should not be too deeply implicated in a policy which makes nonsense of everything that the *Manchester Guardian* itself and that advanced Liberalism as a whole has championed for twenty years. It has too much sanity to believe that the National Government will be in a position to carry out the economies that are really desirable or to believe that the economies that are foreshadowed can be anything but disastrous.

War Films

The *Literary Digest* publishes a symposium of opinions on war films culled from a French paper.

Should the War Film be considered as actual propaganda against war or publicity for war?

What value has it as pacifist propaganda?

These questions were sent out to a number of French intellectuals by *La Revue du Cinema* (Paris) being actuated hitherto by "the lively and varied reactions with the large war films have evoked in different countries and on different public."

Out of the number, Paul Morand is perhaps of the names most familiar in America, through his frequent visits here and his brilliant book on "New York." He simply answers:

"When a war film is good, it can only create the desire to make war."

On the same premise, Andre Maurois reaches the opposite conclusion:

"I believe that war films are an excellent propaganda against war, providing they are true."

"War in itself is so ugly and so terrible that I do not believe it possible to see a representation of such life without wishing never to live it. The difficulty is not to give a war film the character of a great adventure, a characteristic which war does not have."

Henri Barousse was one of the first war fictionists, and he disparages war films because they can not show war causes:

"If one were to show war as it is, such films would undoubtedly be deterrent, but the question is: Can one show war in all of its actuality? I doubt it."

"All means employed to wage against war are inefficacious if one does not throw light on the profound causes of war. Since we have wars, many people say that war is barbaric, absurd, and abominable. Recriminations of this type do nothing against war, but, on the contrary, nullify serious attempt. Propaganda which attempts to inform the public on the evils of war can only be successful if it makes them realize that the question must be placed on a social plane. As long as the regime rests in the hands of the wealthy, war will be an in-vitable consequence."

War films have less of pacifistic tendency than one might believe. They excite the nationalistic spirit and incite the spectator to the idea of vengeance and reprisals. We must look at them from this point of view.

"Remarque has said that the Americans made a film against Germany out of his book. If one showed war impartially as it is in all its reality such films would never be passed by the censor."

Albert Crémieux believes that films are of no consequence either for or against.

"A war film has no more pacifist value than a war book. The book and the film can not show the war to those who have not been at war. If one really wanted to make a film against war one would have to show a caricature of war."

Decline in Immigration to the U. S. A.

The World Tomorrow draws attention to the decline in immigration to the U. S. A. and explains its significance.

For the first time in history, more emigrants left America during the fiscal year which ended

June 30th than landed upon our shores. The net loss during this period was 10,237, while the incomers totalled only 97,139 the smallest number of arrivals since 1844. The Bureau of Immigration further announces that the number of immigrants for the current year will probably fall to 50,000.

To understand the significance of these figures we need to keep in mind the fact that prior to the world war the United States was receiving a million immigrants annually. For a full century America was a land of refuge for multitudes of Europeans who fled from political oppression and economic privation. That freedom and opportunity awaited all comers was the proud boast of American orators and publicists. The contrast in political and economic conditions here and abroad was cited as proof of our superiority.

This turn of the immigration tide is another link in the chain of evidence that this country has now come of age industrially. As long as the United States was a pioneer land with vast territories of virgin soil to be cultivated, railways to be constructed, mines to be opened and factories to be erected and operated, there was a shortage of labour and immigrants were welcomed, indeed they were diligently sought by labour agents. And it might be pointed out in passing that one reason why there is now so little unemployment in the land of the Soviets is found in the fact that Russia is still in the pioneer stage awaiting development. But with the passing of the frontier, the transformation of the United States into an urban and industrial civilization, the marvellous advances in technological science, and the slump in world trade, the labour market became glutted and the stream of immigration has been shut off. Hardly a question has been raised in this country concerning the effects of our new policy upon the peoples of Europe. Once more idealism has been submerged by economic forces.

Within a few days of the publication of these immigration figures, the Wickersham Commission released its report on the deportation of aliens by the Department of Labour. That foreign born residents and children of foreign born parents are more criminally inclined than are native born citizens is widely believed by old-fashioned Americans. Yet the Wickersham report says: "the strong likelihood appears that the foreign born in the United States can be definitely exonerated from the charge that they have been responsible for a disproportionate share of the crime current in the country."

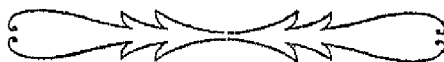
Spread of Fascism

The writer draws attention in *Unity* to the spread of Fascism in Europe and the dangers that may result from it

There was a time when fascists disclaimed any interest in the spread of their movement outside of Italy. But that time has passed. A veritable flood of Fascism, openly fostered from Rome, has swept northward and eastward over Europe, even stirring up a lot of talk in France and England about the need for dictators. The marriage of the Italian princess into the Bulgarian royal family was the signal for a Fascist parade in Bulgaria, led by the Italian minister. The Austrian Heimwehr, who have been proved by recent voting to be a small minority in popular esteem, have none the less held fraternal meetings with Italian Fascists on the border, and have even been in part responsible for the amelioration of Italian tyranny in the Austrian Tyrol, together these worthies have drunk to the Day when by violence and dictatorship they shall be able to advance their national greatness and in the case of some, their personal fortunes.

That Count Bethlen of Hungary and Premier Mussolini have long maintained a secret agreement as to joint diplomatic purpose, is known to every one. How this affects the peace of Europe may be gathered from the famous case when machine guns were found illegally shipped from Italy to Hungary labelled as "agricultural machinery"—no doubt for their usefulness in mowing down. In the midst of the recent German financial crisis, a hurried secret visit was paid by Bethlen to Mussolini; and Bethlen has imitated Fascist methods in order to maintain his government in power, jailing the opposition and intimidating the electorate. In Poland the same practice has been followed to retain Pilsudski and his minions in power; sixty-eight opposition leaders were imprisoned during the last electoral farce.

No greater example of the injurious effects of Fascism in international affairs could be cited than the experience of Germany. Just as Bethlen toys with the hope of a Hapsburg restoration through young Otto, so Hitler locks arms with Germany's erstwhile Crown Prince and is hailed by the Kaiser's fourth son as "God's gift to Germany". The German people, I am convinced, care little for Hitler and his works, but they have used him as a threat to France



Public Opinion and Foreign Policy in India

By VISHNUGUPTA

I—The Foreign Relations Bill

THE most audacious thing about the Foreign Relations Bill are not its provisions—dangerously wide and vague as they are—but the arguments with which it has been sought to impose the character of a universally recognized international obligation on the measure. Ever since the bill was introduced hints have been appearing in the officially inspired press that the bill was nothing more than an attempt to bring the Indian law in conformity with the law and practice of nearly all the civilized countries of the world and that its sole object was to give to the Government of India, through the municipal law of the country, some power to discharge one of its most elementary duties towards foreign States.

These contentions, first thrown out in the papers, have been repeated from the official benches and in even more formal pronouncements. The statement of objects and reasons attached to the bill, for example, says :

It is a recognized principle of international law that States in their relations with other States are responsible for acts committed by persons within their jurisdiction. In accordance with this principle most modern systems of law have made provision for the punishment of libels against the heads of foreign States. The English common law punishes such libels on the ground that they imperil the peaceful relations of His Majesty with foreign States. Under the existing law of British India, however powers are lacking to enable Government to discharge this international responsibility and of late a certain section of the Indian press has embarked upon a campaign of propaganda against the present ruler of an adjoining and friendly State and has given utterance to the inflammatory appeals of a rival claimant in a manner scarcely consistent with Government's obligations of neutrality and non-interference in the internal affairs of a neighbouring country, the independence and integrity of which His Majesty's Government have by treaty undertaken to respect. The existing Government in at least one other friendly adjoining country has also been made an object of attack.

The bill is intended to bring the Indian law into line with the English common law...

The Government thus stand officially and unequivocally committed to two proposi-

tions : that the bill they have brought forward only embodies the principles and practice of English common law and that it seeks nothing more than to give them power to discharge an undisputed international obligation. This view is so clearly stated that they cannot afford to evade a challenge on both these points. This is extremely unfortunate because, so far at any rate as the bill they are now considering in a Select Committee is concerned, both these contentions are untrue. This measure is called for by no recognized canon of international intercourse. It is not only a dangerous and absolutely uncalled for innovation on the theory and practice of international law of today and the municipal law and practice of all civilized States, but also utterly at variance with even the summing up of the position in international law unsatisfactory as it is, given by the Government themselves.

To demonstrate this is not difficult. But it will involve the recapitulation of certain well-known principles and facts of international law and diplomatic history, which however superfluous for the initiated, is not perhaps wholly unnecessary for the lay reader.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATES

To understand the real nature of the Foreign Relations Bill and its relation to international law and practice, it is necessary above all to have a clear idea of what State responsibility means. Mr. Howell has stated in the statement of objects and reasons of the bill that "it is a recognized principle of international law that States in their relations with other States are responsible for acts committed by persons within their jurisdiction." Like all generalizations which aim at summing up an intricate question in a neat sentence, this statement suffers from the inaccuracy of over-simplification. As it stands, it might mean anything or nothing. As a matter of fact, three hundred years of theory and

practices have set certain definite limitations to the responsibility of States in respect of the activities of individuals, without which the mere affirmation of the responsibility of States is of no importance whatever. It was Grotius who first stated that "a Civil Community, like any other community, is not bound by the act of an individual member thereof, without some act of its own, or some omission." The idea of *culpa* was the corner-stone of Grotius's theory of State responsibility. He held that a State cannot be held responsible without a fault of its own, but may become an accomplice through its own fault in two ways: *patientia* and *receptus*. A State might become responsible through its own act or through its failure to prevent the act of another. The theory of State responsibility, thus enunciated by Grotius, is still followed by writers and judges, though it has been modified and extended in many respects by the investigations of modern German and Italian scholars. The pioneer in this field was Triepel, but the scholars whose work has set up State responsibility as an institute of international law, are the Italian, Anzilotti and the Germans, Schoen and Strupp. And very recently, the Expert Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law of the League of Nations has sought to give a concrete form to the positive international law on the question.

State responsibility may be considered as arising out of any of the four following categories of relations: (1) State or State Agent to State; (2) State or State Agent to alien; (3) Individual to foreign State; (4) individual to alien. Of these it is with the third that we are at present concerned, and with regard to this, the position, as defined by modern theory and practice, may be summed up as follows.

An individual may violate international law and thereby occasion injury to foreign States or its nationals, but his act need not necessarily be attributed to the State within which he is found nor engage the responsibility of the State. The State is never responsible for the act of an individual as such. It cannot be regarded as an absolute guarantor of the proper conduct of all persons within its bounds. Before its responsibility can be engaged, it is necessary to show that it has violated an international duty recognized by the

customary and positive law of nations in a clear and definite form.

Now, what are these duties recognized by the customary and positive law of nations which engage the responsibility of States in respect of the activities of individuals? They are not anything and everything that an important State may claim of another, nor what an officious State may be prepared to render to one of its specially favoured allies. These duties are only those which are recognized by the common will and the universal practice of the Community of Nations and which, through that recognition and practice, have acquired a juridical character. They are to be sharply distinguished from services of a political nature which States render to one another from considerations of policy or expediency. These *legal* duties are defined by Eagleton as follows:

"§ 25. The individual may do harm either to a foreign State itself or to an alien. In the former case a public claim is constituted, that is, a claim by a foreign State in its own behalf. An important group of such acts is that which includes attacks on insults directed against the State in the person of its head, its ambassadors or other public representatives, its flag or other emblem. The especial protection to diplomatic agents is well known; and in the Cerna episode, Italy took the murder of General Tellini, an Italian commissioned by the Conference of Ambassadors to aid in the delimitation of the Greco-Albanian frontier, as an insult to herself, and collected heavy damages from Greece. States have often interposed for the reparation of injuries done to their consular representatives abroad.

A State owes at all times a duty to protect other States against injurious acts by individuals from within its jurisdiction. Raids by Indians and other marauders from and into the United States have caused frequent discussions with Canada and Mexico. Reclamations may originate in the preparation of hostile enterprises within one State against another, and the *Alabama* case is a famous illustration of the reparation which may

¹ This interpretation has received the sanction of the League Expert Committee on the Progressive Codification of International Law, in the Report of the Sub-Committee, appointed by this Committee, in the 'Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Questions which appear ripe for International Regulation (Questionnaires nos 1 to 7) adopted by the Committee at its Third Session in March-April 1927], as also of the Institut de Droit International, which lays down in a draft resolution that "l'Etat n'est responsable, en ce qui concerne les faits dommageables commis par des particuliers, que lorsque le dommage résulte du fait qu'il aurait omis de prendre les mesures auxquelles, d'après les circonstances, il convenait normalement de recourir pour prévenir ou réprimer de tels faits. (Procès-verbal du 31 Août. 1927. Projet de résolution, article 3.)

be required from a State for failing to observe international obligations."

Oppenheim also says:

"It is a consequence of the vicarious responsibility of States for acts of private persons that by the criminal law of every civilized State punishment is severe for certain offences committed by private persons against foreign States, such as violation of ambassadors' privileges libel on heads of foreign States and on foreign envoys and other injurious acts. In every case that arises the offender must be prosecuted and the law enforced by the courts of justice."

It will thus be seen that the responsibilities of States in respect of the activities of individuals are strictly delimited. They are restricted, in the first place, by the consideration that a State is not responsible for the activities of individuals as such, but only for its own negligence in not fulfilling certain international duties imposed upon it by the law of nations, and, secondly, by the fact that these duties do not include the prevention of any and every act of individuals that a foreign State may consider potentially injurious to its interests, but only the prevention and bringing to justice of actual acts of injury done to a foreign Power by individuals by the commitment of a group of internationally injurious acts specifically recognized as such by international law. These acts are—aggression on the territory of a foreign State, injury to the property and life of its nationals, libel on its head, etc.

MUNICIPAL LAW REGARDING INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS

We must now pass on to consider one or two of the domestic measures through which some of the civilized States discharge these international obligations of theirs. To take Great Britain first. There exists no statute in Great Britain to enforce international obligations except the Foreign Enlistment Act, which applies principally in the case of war and acts of aggression. In peace, the liberty of the press and opinion is restricted only by the English law of libels. This gives protection not only to one British subject against another, but also to heads of foreign States and foreign ambassadors and dignitaries who may have been libelled in Great Britain. The principle of the English

criminal law on this point is thus summarized by Stephen in his *Digest*:

Everyone is guilty of a misdemeanour who publishes any libel tending to degrade, revile, or expose to hatred and contempt any foreign prince or potentate, ambassador or other foreign dignitary with the intent to disturb peace and friendship between the United Kingdom and the country to which any such person belongs."

while Halsbury says:

A libel on a foreign ambassador is a common law misdemeanour punishable as tending to interrupt the pacific relations between this country and the nation which he represents†

There are no laws in England about offences against foreign Powers except these. It should also be added that there have been only four cases in British history of offences of this description, viz.:

(1) *Rex v. D'Eon* (1764) for the defamation of the French ambassador;§

(2) Lord George Gordon's case (1757) for defaming the French Queen and the French Ambassador;*

(3) *Rex v. Vint* (1799) for libelling the Emperor of Russia;††

(4) *Rex v. Peltier* (1803) for libelling Napoleon §§

In addition to the British law, it may of interest to quote two more laws, the provisions of both of which were cited in *The Statesman* for September 13, 1931. One of these is the Canadian law, the other Persian. The provisions of the Canadian criminal code, which substantially embody the British law on the subject, run as follows.

(A) Who without lawful justification publishes any libel tending to degrade, revile or expose to hatred and contempt in the estimation of the People of any Foreign State, any prince or person exercising sovereign authority over such State or (B) who wilfully and knowingly publishes any false news or tale whereby injury or mischief is likely to be occasioned to any public interest;

is guilty of an indictable offence.

The Persian law is also on the same lines. Part of Article 81 of the Persian Penal Code runs as follows:

Whoever in any way openly slanders the Head of a Foreign State or the Diplomatic Representative of a Foreign State in Persia will be condemned to correctional imprisonment for a period of three months to two years, subject to

* *The Responsibility of States in International Law* by Clyde Eagleton 1928

† *International Law—A Treatise*. By L. Oppenheim, Vol. I—Peace. 4th edition, edited by Arnold D. McNair. c. d. c. 1928. pp. 303-304

§ Stephen's *Digest of English Criminal Law*. 7th edition, 1926. article 135.

† *Laws of England*. Vol. IX, article 1068, p. 528.
§ Blackstone's *Report*, p. 510 * 22 *State Trials*, p. 213. †† 27 *State Trials*, p. 627. §§ 28 *State Trials*, p. 629.

the condition that the Foreign State accords reciprocal treatment in such matters to Persia.

We have now to turn to the proposed Indian law to see whether it is in conformity with measures in force in other countries and whether it only intends, as has been clearly stated in the statement of objects and reasons of the bill, "to bring the Indian law into line with the English common law." The proposed bill is worded as follows.

Whereas it is expedient to provide against the publication of statements likely to promote unfriendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Governments of foreign States, It is hereby enacted as follows:—

2. Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report with intent to promote, or which is likely to promote, or whereof the maker, publisher or circulator is likely to promote, unfriendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of any foreign State shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

The first thing that comes into one's mind after reading this draft legislation is a feeling of stupefaction at the incredible stupidity or disingenuousness which has represented this measure as applying the principle of English common law to India, and the second is a feeling of hopeless impotence before the encroachments of the Executive in this country. The clause 2, as it stands, can only have one effect: the stifling of all expression of opinion on the foreign policy of the British Empire in India, except such as may be permitted by the Government of India. The severity of the law might perhaps be mitigated in practice by the judgement of those who are empowered by the bill to lodge a complaint under it. But that is no judicial protection. Besides, once a complaint is lodged, justifiably or unjustifiably, there is absolutely no criterion left to the judge to decide whether a person is guilty or not. The question whether a particular statement is likely to promote unfriendly relations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of a foreign State is a question of fact. It will necessarily vary according to the circumstances of the case. A statement which may promote unfriendliness with one foreign State may not do so with another. Whether it will do so in a particular case will depend on an infinite variety of circumstances, including the domestic

political situation of a foreign State, of which the judge can take no cognizance at all. The measure will thus have the effect of subordinating the domestic government of one country to the necessities of the domestic situation in another. Such a law, so far from being called for by international law, is absolutely at variance with one of its fundamental principles—the principle of full national sovereignty.

THE PRACTICE OF CIVILIZED NATIONS

It will perhaps be argued that conditions in England and other countries of the world are so different from the conditions in India that there can be no real comparison between them. In order to remove that erroneous impression I have given in the second part of this article fifteen cases selected from British history, in which serious diplomatic representations were made by foreign Governments or heads of foreign States regarding articles published in the British Press, which, in their opinion, were endangering the friendly relations subsisting between them and Great Britain. In every one of these cases the British Government either evaded a direct answer or gave the reply that they were powerless to control the Press in England. It will be seen from the documents quoted below, that the part played by the English Press, in fomenting international dissensions, was far from negligible. In certain cases, the attacks were so personal that they clearly came within the purview of the English law of libel which protects foreign princes and dignitaries. Why in spite of that no legal proceedings were at all instituted against the offending newspapers must ever remain a puzzle to the Press Law governed journalists in India.

The cases given cover only the period from 1898 to 1910. But I have before me a mass of notes giving particulars of innumerable recent delinquencies, and on the table at which I am writing, lies a pile of foreign papers, the editors of all of which I could easily send for some years' correction to a gaol, if only I possessed jurisdiction over them and the over-developed sense of international duty of the Government of India. But I will not make this article an interminable one by giving more than one or two citations from them. The first example that I shall give is concerned with attacks on the ministers of the Soviet Government by

placed English men and published in well-known English papers. It should be remembered that at the time the British Government was bound to the Soviet Government by the following agreement:

That each party refrains from hostile action or undertaking against the other and from conducting outside of its own borders any official propaganda direct or indirect against the institutions of the British Empire or the Russian Soviet Republic respectively.

This did not, however, prevent English Cabinet Ministers from indulging in extremely vivid characterization of the leaders of the Soviet regime, both on the platform and in the press. Some of the too purple patches in these attacks were quoted by M. Litvinov, the Deputy Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the U. S. S. R., in his note of Feb. 26, 1927 to Mr. Peters, the British representative in Moscow. Referring to the complaints of the British Government regarding attacks on British policy in the Russian Press, M. Litvinov says:

I could quote a multitude of examples of the wide use and, unfortunately, of the extremely immoderate abuse of the right to carry on propaganda within the confines of Great Britain against the U. S. S. R. on the part of the members of the British Government. I shall confine myself to a few examples. Speaking in Watford on the 20th June, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead, speaking of Moscow and Soviet Government, declared they were "a band of murderers and robbers" (*Morning Post* of the 22nd June 1925). In another place, in Bolton, to be precise, Mr. Churchill talked of the Soviet Government as "the dark conspirators of the Moscow Kremlin." (*Daily Telegraph* of the 22nd June, 1926). Similar outbursts may be found in the utterances of the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson-Hicks, of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Amery, of the Secretary of State for Air, Sir Samuel Hoare, of the Secretary of State for War, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, and others, not to mention those holding similar opinions in the Conservative Party, like A. T. Cook, who at the conference of the Conservative Party at Scarborough, on the 17th October, 1926, called the Soviet Government "a group of international blood-suckers" (*Morning Post* of the 18th October, 1926), like Commander Locker-Lampson, Sir William Davison and others. The press of the governing Conservative Party abounds in still more violent attacks on the U. S. S. R. It is impossible, moreover, not to observe that the representatives of Great Britain in Moscow, who enjoy the same privileges as the diplomatic representatives of other countries, have never been subjected by the Soviet Press to the insults and defamations to which the representatives of the Soviet Government in London have been subjected on the part of the English Conservative Press.*

Though these were clear violations of recognized international obligations, it will perhaps be objected that at the time the British Government was not particularly anxious to gain the friendship of the Soviet Government and therefore calling the heads of the Soviet regime murderers and robbers constituted no danger to the friendship between the two States. But a legal obligation is surely a legal obligation and has it any relation to the political aspects of the case? In any case, no such justification can be pleaded in the case of the attacks in the British Press against the Fascist regime in Italy. Ever since the Fascist Party came into power, Italians dissatisfied with that regime have been carrying on an active propaganda against it in the liberal British Press by giving lurid descriptions [it does not matter whether true or false] of Fascist tyranny. By every criterion of the Government of India, the activities of men like Professor Salvemini, and the help they got from the British Press in giving publicity to their views in England, constituted an unwarranted interference with the internal government of Italy, inasmuch as they were plain incitements to a section of the people of Italy to resist the government established by law in that country. They were highly resented by Italians. We find, for example, Commandatore Luigi Villari writing in *The National Review* for April 1927:

But from time to time, and more particularly within the last few months, a new campaign against Italy has been started of a more serious nature as far as its aims and effects are concerned. The Government and people of this country—as indeed of all other civilized countries—are rightly anxious that the peace of the world should not be broken. In view of this natural and reasonable attitude, a number of journalists and journals have for some time been trying to present Italy in a lurid light by affirming in numerous articles, communiqués, news paragraphs etc. plentifully adorned with headlines, that she is preparing for immediate war against someone or other, that she is armed to the teeth, and that at any moment, the fell blow may fall.

In the list of the offending papers figure the names of such famous newspapers as *The Daily Chronicle*, *The Daily Sketch*, *The Daily News*, *The Referee*, and the *Evening Standard*, the writer of the article in the last paper being no less a person than the present Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. The effect which that article produced in

* A Selection of Papers dealing with the relations between His Majesty's Government and the

Soviet Government, 1921-1927. Cmd. 2895 of 1927. p. 64

Italy is described by an Italian correspondent of the *Evening Standard* for March 3, 1927 :

Italy now knows what to expect if Mr. MacDonald is returned to power, and consequently such an event would be looked upon in Italy as nothing short of a disaster. You are justly complaining that a certain foreign power has been impermissibly interfering in your domestic affairs; yet one of your foremost statesmen does not hesitate to create a direct suzerainty to another Great Power to become vitally interested in your internal politics.

This was surely a case of promoting unfriendly relations between two great Powers. Since no judicial action was taken on such an offence it could easily be imagined that such cases as Sir Michael O'Dwyer's attack on King Amanullah at the time of the civil wars in Afghanistan should pass absolutely unnoticed.

CONCLUSION

It must have become evident to the reader from what has gone before that the Foreign Relations Bill was justified neither by the doctrines of international law nor by the practice of civilized nations. Its springs are, in fact, not legal but political, and it is rendered imperative by circumstances peculiar to India. British foreign policy, so far as it concerns India, has of necessity to recognize the fact that there is a potential threat to the unity of the Empire in the nationalist aspirations of India. Its efforts are, therefore, to a partial extent at any rate, directed to counterbalancing those aspirations, or at least towards seeing that no foreign influence complicates the internal situation. It is, therefore, to that extent anti-Indian, and this being so it cannot simply afford to have freedom of opinion about its foreign relations.

The same fact makes it vitally interested in the domestic politics of the adjoining countries. It is a well-known fact that in undeveloped and partially modernized countries such as surround India, the will of the monarch is often the will of the State. A change in the occupant of the throne in these countries, therefore, very often means a break in the continuity of policy. This gives ample motive to foreign Powers to become directly interested in the question of succession in such countries, for the change of a ruler there might very possibly mean the substitution of a hostile for a benovolent

policy. To take steps to protect such a prince from attacks directed against him is only the next step in the reasoning. It may not be a duty imposed by international law, but, politically speaking, its need is not any the less urgent.

That some such "political" motive lies at the root of the Foreign Relations Bill is evident from the confused reasoning of Government and pro-Government speakers in the Assembly, who were absolutely incapable of making a distinction between the legal and the political aspects of the question. In moving the consideration of the bill on September 21, Mr. Howell is reported to have said that he wanted the House to visualize the effect of unrestrained criticism, which he added would lead to civil war in an adjoining country, while another European speaker, Mr. Brooke Elliott, quoted at some length an article in the *London Times* to the effect that the Afghan Government was sufficiently preoccupied with internal affairs to be embarrassed by the requirements of foreign relations [this is apparently the news telegram and the leader which appeared in *The Times* for Aug. 22], and suggested that "it was India's duty to help its neighbour to pass with the minimum of embarrassment through a difficult phase of its national life." Mr. Brooke Elliott is obviously a personage whose knowledge of international law is not equal to his anxiety to be of help to Afghanistan and the Government of India. Otherwise, he would perhaps have known that to take the embarrassment of foreign relations off the shoulders of a neighbouring country is not a duty enjoined by international law; a nation could render such a service to another if it liked, but its non-performance could not be visited with a measure like the Foreign Relations Bill.

Yet, we are grateful to Mr. Brooke Elliott for the light he has thrown on the real complexion of the bill. It is, according to him, a measure designed to help Afghanistan. I should go a step further and call it a law of sedition enforced on behalf and in the interest of a foreign country by the Government of India on its own nationals. It is an unprecedented and unexpectedly generous measure. But who would dream of calling it the fulfilment of an international duty?

II.—The British Press and Foreign States

As explained in the body of the article (p. 452), it is intended to give in this section a selection of cases from British history in which serious diplomatic representations were made by foreign Governments or Heads of foreign States regarding articles published in the British Press about them, which, in their opinion, were endangering the friendly relations subsisting between them and Great Britain and in every one of which the British Government evaded a direct answer or gave the reply that they were powerless to control the Press in England. The cases given cover only the period from 1898 to 1910, and it is unnecessary to add that they are only a selection from a very large number of similar instances. The documents from which extracts have been quoted below are all official despatches preserved in the British Foreign Office and published in the official collection, *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, edited by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley. In the foot-notes the letters *B D* stand for this collection, the Roman numeral which follows indicating the volume of the series.

FIFTEEN CASES

1. In 1898 *Punch* published a cartoon of Emperor William II as Emperor of China which was very much resented in Germany. The Emperor had a talk on this subject with Lt.-Colonel J. M. Grierson, the British Military Attaché in Berlin, and on Jan. 12, 1898, Lt.-Colonel Grierson reported as follows to the British Ambassador:

He then asked if I had seen the picture of himself in *Punch* as Emperor of China, and said that the Empress had seen it first and was furious at it, but that he did not mind and thought it rather a good joke. "But," he said, "your people do not realize how monarchs are looked upon on the continent, and while those personal attacks are made upon me you cannot expect the German Press to remain quiet."

2. Some days later there was a conversation between the Emperor and Sir E. Lascelles, the British Ambassador in Berlin, on the subject of the personal attacks on the former in the British Press, and on Feb. 1, 1898, Sir E. Lascelles wrote about this to the

Marquess of Salisbury. He stated that the Emperor had said to him that

On the last occasion of his visiting England HE HAD BEEN ASSAILED BY THE PRESS DIRECTLY AND PERSONALLY, and since then the personal attacks against him had become so violent that it had become impossible for him to return to England. He had therefore been compelled to change his tactics and to do his best to turn German interests alone.

The reply of the British Ambassador to this remonstrance was characteristic. He wrote.

I replied that if His Majesty would allow me to speak perfectly openly I would venture to suggest that he paid too much importance to the utterances of the press, which in England WAS PERFECTLY FREE AND ENTIRELY INDEPENDENT OF ANY SORT OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL OR INFLUENCE.

The British Ambassador further reports.

On my observing that the tone of the Press on both sides had become more moderate of late, His Majesty said that this was so, but considering the effect which had been produced in Germany by the personal attacks upon him, in which, until quite recently, the English Press had indulged, and which were far worse than anything even in the Chauvinist French Press, he feared that a good deal more patience would be required before the friendly footing upon which the two countries formerly stood could be restored.*

3. In 1898 came the Fashoda Affair which almost led to a war between France and England. The tension was very seriously aggravated by the tone of the Press on both sides. On Oct. 11, 1898, M. Delcassé, the French Foreign Minister, spoke to the British Ambassador in Paris about this subject and the latter reported to the Foreign Office as follows:

I found M. De'cassé very serious this afternoon, and, for the first time, he became excited during our conversation.

He himself owned to being annoyed by the articles in the London Press on the Parliamentary Paper on the Upper Nile, and especially by one in the *Globe*, the résumé of which, as given by the Havas Agency, he read to me. He said that the language of the English papers rendered his position very difficult, and the international situation much more dangerous. He contrasted the moderation of the Paris Press with the excited language of the London dailies, and said that IF THE PROVOCATION WAS CONTINUED ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE CHANNEL IT WOULD ELICIT

* *B. D.*, I. p. 43, no. 62.

* *B. D.*, I. pp. 43-44, no. 63.

RISING DIFFICULTY IN THE LANCET-VALLEY OF LEASE DIFFICULT.

The British Ambassador admitted that the tone of the French Press "had become singularly moderate" but did not offer any observations on the English Press.

4. In March 1900 extremely provocative articles were published in *The Times* regarding Germany. Sir E. Lascelles, the British Ambassador in Berlin, sent the following telegram to the Marquess of Salisbury on this subject on March 16:

Following is . . . of a telegram just received from . . .

"The tone of recent articles in the *Times* exceeds all bounds and after insulting us they have gone so far as to publish a report that crew of my brother's flagship on their departure from Portsmouth had cheered the Boers. I have had matters investigated at once and have ascertained that our men were escorted to their boats by four blue-jackets, who gave them three farewell cheers, to which our sailors cordially responded. The report is consequently an *outrage*. It is a matter of great regret that in reply to hard work which I have undertaken at home the ENGLISH PRESS SHOULD HAVE INCULCATED THEIR PENS WITH FRESH VENOM AGAINST GERMANY. DISASTER MAY COME OF IT, IF THIS IS NOT STOPPED AT ONCE." (The italics are the Emperor's own.)

I have replied that I have forwarded His Majesty's telegram to your Lordship, who I do not doubt will deplore the tone of the *Times* as deeply as I do, but that I understood your Lordship had already explained to Count Metternich that HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT EXERCISE NO CONTROL OVER THE *TIMES*, and I ventured to observe that it would be a matter of some difficulty for Her Majesty's Government to attempt at a moment of great national excitement to influence the Press without running the risk of increasing their violence.

To this telegram Lord Salisbury sent the following reply on March 18, 1900:

I approve of your language to the Emperor which if necessary you can repeat from me. THE INCIDENTS REFERRED TO ARE MOST UNFORTUNATE BUT THE VAGARIES OF THE NEWSPAPERS ARE ENTIRELY BEYOND MY CONTROL.

5. In the same year there was a complaint from the Russian Government about the attitude of the English Press towards that country. On May 30, Sir Charles S. Scott, the British Ambassador, wrote to Lord Salisbury:

Count Mouraviëff today referred to the *Times* article as a fresh instance of the mischievous

influence of the Press in encouraging international suspicion.

In replying as above Sir Charles admitted that:

It is I think, regrettable that the *Times* on the unsupported authority of its Peking correspondent should have given an interpretation to this concession which is at variance with that received from official sources.

6. Three years later Count Lamsdorf again complained about the British Press to the British Ambassador, and on May 14, 1903, Sir Charles S. Scott again wrote to the Foreign Office:

Count Lamsdorf complained especially of the London *Times* which he said, seemed to be inspired by IRRECONCILABLE HATRED AND SUSPICION OF RUSSIA.

I said that it was certainly very disagreeable to be constantly the subject of odious and unjust charges in the public Press, and we could sympathize with him as during the late War in South Africa there appeared to be no charge or suspicion too monstrous to be credited against our Government and troops by the foreign Press, and THE ONLY THING TO BE DONE WAS TO REMAIN CALM AND HOPE THAT TIME WOULD DO JUSTICE.

7. In the same year a telegram published in the *Times* led to a serious misunderstanding with the Spanish Government. We find Lord Lansdowne, the British Foreign Secretary, writing to the British Ambassador in Paris on April 8, 1903:

During my interview with the French Ambassador today, I took the opportunity of saying that our Ambassador at Madrid reported to us that the Spanish Government were seriously uneasy with regard to the outlook in Morocco. They were apparently convinced that Great Britain and France arrived at an understanding for a partition of territory or spheres of influence in that country, and nothing would convince them to the contrary. His Excellency observed that these suspicions were largely due to the unfortunate telegram published some weeks ago in the *Times*. All we could do, His Excellency thought, was to repeat assurances.

8. After the Dogger Bank incident, feelings ran very high between Great Britain and Russia, and a war was very narrowly averted. While the negotiations for an amicable settlement were in progress, Emperor Nicholas said to Sir Charles Hardinge, the British Ambassador at St Petersburg, that he had complaints to make about the attitude of the British Press which "had been threatening and over hasty." To this Sir Charles Hardinge replied.

* B. D., I. pp. 178-79, no. 209.

† B. D., I. p. 254, no. 314.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 255, no. 316.

* B. D., III. p. 33, no. 41.

† B. D., III. p. 204, no. 231.

§ B. D., III. p. 288, no. 346.

With the attitude of some of the organs of the English Press had, I admitted, been somewhat unnecessarily defiant in tone, it must be remembered and taken into account that the whole of the British nation had been stirred from its very depths by the news of the tragedy in the North Sea. As His Majesty knew, ANY CONTROL OF THE ENGLISH PRESS WAS QUITE BEYOND THE POWER OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT...

To this the Emperor Nicholas replied by saying that:

the Press had now become a tyranny which in foreign politics was capable of great mischief and from which it was difficult to escape.†

9. The German navy, which was one of the main factors of the growing hostility between Great Britain and Germany towards the beginning of the present century was the subject of much pointed attention on the part of the British Press. In 1904 a British paper suggested that the British navy should fall upon the German fleet before it had grown too strong and destroy it just as it had destroyed the Danish fleet in 1807. Sir Frank Lascelles, the British Ambassador, had a talk on this subject with Prince von Bülow, the Imperial Chancellor, and reported to the Foreign Office on Dec. 23, 1904:

...the constant attacks in the English Press, which had met with no official disapproval and the new scheme for the reorganization of the Navy had given rise to the belief, which had become very prevalent in Germany, that England had the intention of attacking her...

...Count Metternich's statement had given great satisfaction to the Emperor, who had become suspicious in consequence of his attention having been drawn to a recent article in the *Army and Navy Gazette* and a suggestion in *Family Tree* that England should treat the German fleet in 1904 as she treated the Danish fleet in 1808 (*sic*).

I said that the two papers he mentioned were without any practical importance and I thought it a pity that the Emperor should have paid any attention to them.§

10. About the same time the British Ambassador in Berlin had a long discussion with Herr von Holstein of the German Foreign Office about the tone of the British Press, and he wrote to Lord Lansdowne on Dec. 30, 1904:

Herr von Holstein replied that Germany had certainly a right to be suspicious. For a long time past a regular campaign had been carried on

by the English Press against her, and as His Majesty's Government had taken no sort of measures to check the campaign it could only be supposed that they did not disapprove of it. I replied that I believed that on occasions attempts had been made to induce some of the newspapers to adopt a different tone, but very rarely with success, and I had every reason to believe that HIS MAJESTY'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT DELIBERATELY AVOIDED ANY INTERFERENCE WITH THE PRESS. Herr von Holstein said that he feared in that case THEY DID NOT FULLY REALIZE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. In the present instance a situation had been created by the action of the Press which was fraught with the gravest of all dangers, *viz.*, that of two great nations being involved in war, for if any untoward incident had arisen which gave rise to an acrimonious discussion between the two Governments it would have been almost impossible to have settled it owing to the atmosphere which the Press campaign had created.*

11. This subject again came up for discussion between the two Governments about six months later. While giving an account of a conversation he had had with the Imperial Chancellor, Sir Frank Lascelles wrote to Lord Lansdowne on June 12, 1905:

He [von Bülow] regretted that this state of things should exist and that the English Press should continue its hostility against Germany. I was aware of the sensitiveness of the Emperor to English opinion, and hardly a day passed without His Majesty sending him [Bülow] a sheaf of English papers to read.

I [Sir F. Lascelles] said that it was a pity that His Majesty read the English papers at all. Unfortunately His Majesty believed that IT WAS IN THE POWER OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO INFLUENCE THE PRESS, AND I HAD HOWEVER NOT BEEN ABLE TO PERSUADE HIS MAJESTY OF THE ERROR OF HIS BELIEF.†

About the same time Lord Lansdowne also wrote to Sir Frank Lascelles on the subject. He stated:

...So far as I was able to follow the argument of these personages, the strained relations which were believed to exist between Great Britain and Germany were due, in the first place, to the attitude of the English Press, and in the second...

With regard to the ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS, His Excellency [Count Metternich, the German Ambassador in London] who knew this country so well, must, I thought, be well aware that HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT WAS IN NO WAY ANSWERABLE FOR THE LANGUAGE OF OUR NEWSPAPERS.§

12. At the time of the Bosnian Crisis of 1908, the British Press generally took up a very strong anti-Austrian attitude. This led to very strong diplomatic representations on

* Sir C. Hardinge to the Marquess of Lansdowne, dtd. Oct. 31, 1900. *B. D.*, IV. pp. 25-26, no 24.

† *Ibid.*

§ *B. D.*, III. p. 58, no. 65 (a). In estimating the practical importance of these suggestions it should not be forgotten that two or three years later no less a person than Lord Fisher put forward an official suggestion that Great Britain should "Copenhagen" the German fleet.

* *B. D.*, III. p. 58, no. 65 (b).

† *B. D.*, III. p. 79, no. 97.

§ *B. D.*, III. p. 82, no. 99.

the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government to the British Government. On Nov. 5, 1908 we find Sir W. E. Goschen writing to Sir Edward Grey:

He [Baron von Aehrenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister] replied that there was no change at present but that if important English newspapers like the *Daily Telegraph* and others went on preaching territorial compensation for Serbia, he could not answer for what would happen. I [Sir W. E. Goschen] replied that I shared his opinion that some of the articles published had been somewhat injudicious.*

The dispute did not end with this. About a month later Sir Edward Grey wrote to the British *Chargé d'Affaires* in Vienna:

Count Mensdorff spoke of the harm which was being done by the Press and by a number of English people who were in Belgrade.... In Montenegro, though it was admitted that the British Government had given a warning that nothing beyond diplomatic support was to be expected, articles in the *Daily Telegraph* and other newspapers were being pointed to as showing that British sympathy would go beyond this and it was urged that the *Daily Telegraph* was in touch with the English Government. ...

I TOLD HIM WE WERE NO MORE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LEADING ARTICLES IN the *Daily Telegraph* than we were for the appearance of the German Emperor's interview in it. This paper was not connected with the Government in any way†

At the same time Baron von Aehrenthal also spoke to the British representative in Vienna. The latter reported the conversation on Dec. 11, 1908 to Sir Edward Grey. He wrote:

He [Baron von Aehrenthal] added most solemnly that the attacks which had been made upon Austria by a whole section of the British Press, and the encouragement which it had given to Turkey and Serbia to resist Austria, were likely, if continued much longer, to definitely put an end to the traditional good feeling which had so long existed between Austria and Great Britain and lead perhaps to very serious consequences. He felt sure that if the British Government fully realized the danger, they would make an effort to give a better direction to those newspapers which were, he assured me, a real menace to the maintenance of the peace of Europe. I told him IT WAS ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FOR A LIBERAL GOVERNMENT TO INTERFERE WITH THE FREE EXPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE NEWSPAPERS.§

13. It appears that the hostility of the British Press was not confined to Austrian policy alone, but that it also took the form of personal attacks on Emperor Francis Joseph. On Jan. 18, 1909, Sir Fairfax Cartright wrote from Vienna:

Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs remarked to me that he possessed a whole dossier of extracts from English newspapers inimical to Austria, and many of these contained most offensive remarks with regard to his Emperor.*

And Sir Edward Grey also wrote to Sir F. Cartright on Jan 22.

Count Mensdorff called here on the 19th instant and showed Sir Charles Hardinge an article published some weeks ago in a magazine which the latter saw for the first time, called *Near East, CONTAINING A DISGRACEFUL ATTACK UPON THE EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH.*

Sir Charles Hardinge said that he was very sorry that such a scandalous article should have been written of a sovereign whom everybody in England respected and admired. The paper was both new and obscure. Had it been pointed out to him at the time he would gladly have seen whether something could not be done to prevent its recurrence.†

With this the matter dropped.

* 14. During all these years the hostility between England and Germany was growing, and an increasing part in promoting it was played by the British Press. This question forms the subject of almost endless remonstrances on the part of the German Government. To one of these in 1908, the British Government authorized their Ambassador in Berlin to communicate the following reply:

His Majesty's Government regret as much as any one that the newspaper Press should at times be utilized as the vehicle for international recriminations. BUT EVEN IF THEY HAD THE POWER TO INTERFERE—WHICH IT IS OF COURSE WELL KNOWN THEY HAVE NOT—they WOULD NOT FEEL CALLED UPON TO RESTRAIN THE PUBLIC BUT COURTEOUS EXPRESSION OF VIEWS which reflect the actual situation.§

15. To a similar remonstrance on the part of the Imperial Chancellor in 1910, the British Ambassador gave an almost identical answer. We find Sir W. E. Goschen writing to Sir Edward Grey on Dec 2, 1910

His Excellency [the Imperial Chancellor] said that at all events THE PRESS HAD CERTAINLY LED THE PEOPLE TO REGARD GERMANY AS AN ENEMY and that HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT HAD NEVER TAKEN THE SLIGHTEST STEP TO PUT A STOP TO THAT MISCHIEVOUS CAMPAIGN. I told His Excellency THAT TO MUZZLE THE PRESS IN ENGLAND WAS A MATTER OF IMPOSSIBILITY.**

* B. D., V. p. 485, no. 430.

† B. D., V. p. 523, no. 480.

§ B. D. V p. 527 no. 484.

* B. D., V. p. 567, no. 519.

† B. D., V. p. 572, no. 526.

§ Memorandum dtd. Feb. 19, 1908 B.D. VI p. 185, no. 85 (enclosure)

** B.D. VI pp 553-59 no 417

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Agent in Fiji

The *Fiji Samachar* urges the Government of India in the following note to appoint their agent in those islands

We consider it necessary that the Government of India should renew the question of appointment of an Agent of the Government of India in Fiji, under the terms of Section 7 of the Indian Emigration Act VII of 1922. Functions of such an officer are defined in Rules 56 of the Indian Emigration rules 1923, from which it will be observed that the duties of an Agent are not only confined to looking after the interests of the Indians but also extend to keeping the Government of India correctly informed regarding the welfare and status of the Indian community generally. The Government of India cannot divest themselves of the responsibility for the welfare of Indians in any Crown Colony particularly so long as they have not received common and equal rights with other classes of His Majesty's subjects.

The appointment of the Secretary for Indian Affairs as a servant of the Colonial Government, even with a seat in the Legislative Council does not serve the purpose for which the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India was advocated. A servant is a servant. He cannot act as a Political Agent, nor can he freely watch the interests of the Indian community or keep the Government of India supplied with correct information regarding the state of affairs of the Indian community in Fiji. Moreover, the appointment made over four years ago has not to our mind helped the Indian community very much. The promised Committee to enquire into the economic conditions of Indians in Fiji was to be appointed six months after he resided in the Colony, but it has not as yet been done.

We draw the attention of the Government of India towards the urgent need of their Agent in Fiji and ask them to re-open negotiations for such an appointment, as early as possible.

We need not say that the suggestion has our whole hearted support.

The Honourable Mr. Veerasamy's Work in the Federal Council

The Indians of Singapore while congratulating Mr. Veerasamy on his renomination as the Indian member of the Federal Council in the F. M. S. observes :

Within the limited sphere of the Federal Council Mr. Veerasamy has done excellent work, earning the approbation of both the Government and the public. The all he interests of the

poorer classes shall be those nearest my heart' observed Mr. Veerasamy at a function held in his honour soon after his nomination three years ago. And we are glad to record the opinion that during his term of office he has consistently lived up to that noble ideal. We now recall that his maiden speech in the Federal Council was on the condition of the Indian labourers in Malaya. Other questions raised by him in the Council include the grievances of the employees in the Federated Malay States Railways; grievances of the Government Survey Department staff; regulation of toddy drinking; validity of Hindu marriages; workmen's compensation; banishment law in the F. M. S.; land settlement scheme for Indian labourers; the Women's and Girl's Protection Bill; and the Kuala Lumpur Hospital scheme. We may add that whilst primarily an Indian member he is not sectarian or rigidly communal in his outlook. He rightly considers that he also represents in Council those larger and wider interests of this land which concern not one particular community alone but all who go to form the population of the country. Nobody appealed to Mr. Veerasamy in vain whatever grievance he might have had. By his sterling character and suavity of manner, Mr. Veerasamy has won for himself the confidence of the members of all communities in Malaya. He is a shining example of a purely Malayan product.

We trust that Mr. Veerasamy will do every thing he can to help his poorer countrymen in the F. M. S. during his second term as he has already done in the first.

A suggestion to visitors from Colonies

Every year a number of educated Indians come to India from the colonies but most of them spend their time in sightseeing and other enjoyment and return to their colonies without doing any work here. Some of these people at least can utilize their sojourn in the motherland in a much more useful manner. They can meet groups of journalists, students and teachers in social parties and give them an idea of the condition of our people in their colony. They can also visit important institutions in India and learn something which may prove useful to them. It will not be a difficult thing to get introductory letters for this purpose. A little care and forethought on their part can make their stay in India advantageous to themselves, the respect ve colonies and the motherland

The Struggle in Kenya

Just after the publication of our notes in the last number of this journal we received a lengthy article on the Indian question in Kenya from Mr. R. B. Pandya of Mombasa. We are sorry we cannot reproduce here important portions of this article for want of space. Mr. Pandya is enthusiastic about the chances of success of a movement of non-payment of taxes in Kenya. We wish we could share his optimism. What we have been able to gather from the East African papers and letters about the situation in that unfortunate colony is this that Indian leaders there have been quarrelling among themselves for leadership, the masses are disgusted with their thoughtless activities and that there is no chance of any sustained

political work being carried on by them. Our impression may be wrong and we shall be only delighted if it proves to be so. In the meantime will Mr. Pandya or any of his compatriots of Kenya enlighten us on the following points:

1. Has the East African Indian National Congress got any resources to carry on the agitation?

2. How many of the leaders are prepared to sacrifice their all for this cause?

3. What is the probable number of people prepared to go to jail?

If we mean business we ought to do everything very thoughtfully and it is much better to acknowledge our weakness and try to remove it than giving utterance to sentiments behind which there is no strength and no determination.

The Indian Military College Committee, 1931

By NIRAD C CHAUDHURI

I

I hope I shall not be thought too vain or too presumptuous if I began these observations of mine on the work of the Indian Military College Committee, 1931 with a few excerpts from my own note-books and letters. I am doing so not because I am so enamoured of my foresight that I must lay proofs of it before the public, but simply because I want to see my thoughts just as they were taking shape, before they had the time to be tinged by the wisdom that is born of the event. Under the date, April 30, 1931, I find:

"It will be a stiff uphill job, and I am sure it will require the best efforts of the acutest and the most energetic minds we have in our country to carry through any real project of Indianization in the teeth of the opposition of the whole body of British military officers in India and England. I feel certain that they will leave no obstructionist tactics unplayed to delay Indianization or neutralize its effects. It was only the other day that I was reading an account in *The Asiatic Review* of Sir William Birdwood's

command in India. In it the writer, a former employee of the A. H. Q. staff, says that Birdwood was decidedly opposed to the setting up of an Indian Sandhurst and he left India with his mind unchanged on the question. And in another Anglo-Indian paper, I read the opinion of a military correspondent that 'the normal service opinion in the matter has generally remained constant, that a military college in Indian environment will not produce the quality nor attract enough of the type of officers who come successfully through Sandhurst'. Whatever that may mean, this passage is a very valuable index to the state of mind of the British officers in India, and I am sure the present C-in-C and the principal staff officers at the A.H.Q. are no better. Only, the political pressure from the Labour Government compels them to make a gesture, which they will lose no time in retracting if there is a change of government or change of mind in high quarters."

I had then put down some of the points I thought essential to any sound scheme of training Indians for the military profession. I wrote

"There are certain points which, I feel, are essential to any scheme of training Indian officers. They are neither very original nor very profound, and I dare say our leaders who have to see to this question have already formulated them. Yet I'll put them down for what they are worth. The most important things to see to in a scheme of Indianization are, to my mind, the following: (1) Recruitment of the cadets from all over India without any tenderness for the theory of the martial races; (2) the posting of the trained Indian officers to units of all arms of the Indian Army; (3) making military education reasonably inexpensive; (4) giving the candidates a kind of education which will not denationalize them nor tear them up from their social environment; (5) provision of preparatory military training in schools and colleges in something like an O.T.C."

"It is particularly important to insist on a suitable kind of education. The officials here, both civilians and the military, will do their best to confine recruiting to the most wealthy classes and convert the cadet into imitation, polo-playing English subalterns, weaned away from their habits and traditions, which will make them as ineffective or offensive as the majority of the Indian members of the services. What is more, the ideal of an imitation Englishman will never attract the best manhood of India. There will be plenty of people, of course, who will join the army for the sake of the money or the prestige. But from the military point of view they will hardly be the candidates who are most desirable."

A few days later, on May 4 to be more precise, I wrote in my note-book.

"Educational qualifications required from the candidates for admission into the Military College.—This, I believe, will be one of the controversial questions. Would these candidates have to be trained in a preliminary cadet school from a comparatively early age (13 or 14), or would they be recruited directly from the universities and schools? The military authorities will be all for more cadet schools of the Debra Dun type. In that case, a very large number of cadet schools will have to be established in India, which I am afraid will be financially impossible. There are no such preliminary schools in Great Britain, Germany or the United States. [I learnt later that

in the U. S. A. there are some public schools which lay special emphasis on military training, both from the professional and the educational point of view, though none of them train exclusively for West Point or Annapolis]. In all these countries the selection of cadets for the military academies are made from the students who have passed through the ordinary educational institutions. This would be preferable from the Indian point of view as it will stimulate the military spirit of the country and place general education and military education in direct contact. But considering what the system of education in our schools and colleges is, I am afraid there would be a good many justifiable objections against this course. One more strong reason why the universities of India should now think of overhauling their curricula and their system of teaching. But it will not be a thing which one could put through in course of a single day.

"My own feeling is that the idea of special cadet schools should not be encouraged. It will create a conflict between the general educational system of the country and specialized education, and will widen the gulf between the people and the army. Instead of this, as a compromise proposal (until we can reform the whole system) a certain number of schools and intermediate colleges should be chosen all over India and be asked to overhaul their methods to a certain extent so that cadets for the M. C. might be chosen from among their students."

The following remarks of mine are dated May 15, 1931.

"Yes, I know the question before the Indian Sandhurst Committee will be very much restricted. The Indian members will not perhaps be allowed to bring forward the question of the pace of Indianization nor the question whether the grant of regular commissions in the Indian Army should be extended to university candidates as in England. Yet, the first point will necessarily arise in connection with the scope of the college and the requirements it is intended to fulfil. It seems to me to be very provoking that the R. T. C. should leave the entire question of pace to the military authorities. . .

"I believe the most controversial questions will be (1) the consideration of efficiency; and (2) the lack of candidates of the "suitable" type. A part of the objection on these lines is mere camouflage for political suspicion and racial arrogance.

but part of it is genuine. The English have their own notions of efficiency, derived from their national and public school ideals. They comprise some really good and valuable traits and some purely external ideas of good form, and the English set as much store by the external paraphernalia as they do by the intrinsic qualities. Now, you can have, or at least develop, some of the valuable English traits in Indian boys, but you cannot make them swallow the code of good form without making them snobs. The Indian character is more serious and idealistic. Our men will make officers of the French and German types—more professional, more intellectual—rather than the average subaltern, to take an extreme example, of some of the fashionable regiments in England. Every system of military training must be suited to the national character. It must try to bring out its strongest points and remedy its defects. It's no use trying to impose an alien ideal on a people who cannot sympathize with it."

I hope I shall be permitted to quote myself once again. I had that I wrote on May 25, the day on which the Indian Military College Committee met:

"The Committee begins its sittings today. I am sure we shall be able to see how the land lies in a day or two. The C-in-C assured the Council of State that the days before the Skeen Committee were gone, and we were to see the beginning of a new day. I should like very much to know what sort of a new sun is it that we are going to witness the rise of, and what are the plans he has got ready for the more rapid Indianization of the Army. I don't mean to scoff at his efforts or at those of his military colleagues. In their own light, they are quite right. . . .

"Coming now to the pace of Indianization, I believe the military authorities will argue, on the lines of the speech of the C-in-C in the Council of State, that it is extremely risky to make experiments with the Army and that the consideration of efficiency was far more imperative in military matters than it was in the case of civil administration. Now, no Indian who wishes well of his country should consent to any step that will lower the efficiency of the army. But that is quite different from setting up an inhuman standard. The British have, as a matter of fact, taken a good many risks in England and their officers have not always been what they are perhaps now, nor are all of them

equally efficient. We would not consent to have one standard applied in England and another in India. . . .

"There is, besides, another consideration which puts the question of efficiency on quite a different footing in India. England has experienced nothing like a deliberate and organized effort to demoralize her people. The Government which has done this in India is morally bound to make some reparation. We must insist on that point too."

"I am quite confident that if an impossible standard is not set up, we shall not meet with any paucity of candidates of the suitable type. But in order to make the application of that standard equitable, I believe it would be necessary to ask the military authorities for a definition of what they mean by suitable type. We must not leave any loopholes for mere freaks and an Englishman's prejudice against all foreigners to prejudice the life chance of a young Indian. Xenophobia is a very marked English trait. We must be on our guard against it."

II

This is the background of thought against which I, and not only I, but innumerable Indians who, like me, have thought and felt about the army, but have not been permitted to acquire a first-hand knowledge about it, and so cannot lay claim to be experts, must inevitably place the Report of the Indian Military College Committee, which was published on May 19. That Report has not had, to use a phrase current in journalistic circles, a good press in India. There is hardly an Indian paper which has not condemned it in downright terms. But in all this criticism, strong as it is, no clear line of distinction has been drawn between two standpoints from which adverse comment might be directed on the Report. These are—first, the bearing of the report on the question of the Indianization of the Army and, secondly, the soundness of the scheme evolved by the Committee, as a system of military education for India. It is perhaps superfluous to observe that, under both these heads, the recommendations of the Committee or the major premises on which they are based, fall far short of what Indian opinion was led to expect as a result of the discussions at the Round Table Conference, though, naturally, their reactionary complexion is

more pronounced in the case of the first question than in the case of the second.

It is my intention to confine myself to the educational aspect of the report in the present article, reserving the question of Indianization for future treatment. At the same time, I should like to emphasize as strongly as I can that the two sides of the problem cannot be considered apart from one another. A system of military education in India can have only one ideal—to make India self-reliant in defence. That does not mean, however, that we can devise a system of military education in the abstract, divorced from the actual needs of the situation. The military education of Indians in the past has been hampered by the fact that they have not been allowed to participate in the defence of their country. It will be hampered in the future as long as this ban is not effectively raised.

In recent years this ban has been partially—indeed very partially—raised. It would perhaps have been substantially so today or at any rate we should have known exactly where we stood, had not the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference, out of a mistaken regard for the spirit of conciliation, adopted a formula for Indianization which was disconcerting in its vagueness. At the first session of the Round Table Conference, as is well known, Mr. Jinnah pressed for a precise indication of the pace of Indianization. For obvious reasons the authorities could not and would not give any such assurance, and in reply to the proposal of Dr. Moonje "that immediate steps be taken to arrange for all recruitment henceforth for the commissioned ranks of the Army, Navy and Air Force to be made in India from amongst Indians," Mr. Thomas said :

First of all, I should like to say this to Dr. Moonje and I say it as one who has had many years' experience in negotiations. I am indifferent to the wording of a resolution. I attach infinitely more importance to the spirit behind the declaration than to anything else.

The result of Mr. Thomas' appeal was a resolution which, as a promise binding the Government to any concrete plan of Indianization, was absolutely innocuous. The military authorities were not slow to take advantage of this nebulous situation. They tried on the one hand to rush through a scheme of Indianization which was utterly unacceptable to Indian opinion, and at the same time attempted to restrict the scope and the

usefulness of the new college by forcing on it a lower standard of requirements derived from that scheme.

The six dissentient members of the Military College Committee have shown courage by refusing to submit to this military dictation. In order to do so they have all had to criticize their own terms of reference, a procedure which was not perhaps, from a too strict point of view, permissible. But the terms of reference in this case were so unwarrantably narrowed down that there was no alternative left but to challenge them. The Commander-in-Chief has not refrained from making a point out of this in his emphatic covering minute to the minutes of dissent. But that characteristic little note, with all its over-consciousness of relevancy and expertness, will hardly convince anybody who is not already convinced.

I must now leave this subject of Indianization to deal with the specific problem of military education. Two undoubted gains have come to India out of the discussions of the Round Table Conference and the work of the Military College Committee. One of these is the definite establishment of a military college in India and the other, the acceleration of the pace of Indianization to the intake of about sixty cadets a year. In dwelling upon the inadequacy of both these concessions from the point of view of a thoroughgoing programme of Indianization, it should not be forgotten that the proposal for establishing a military college in India in some form or other has been before the Government for something like forty-five years and that it has always been turned down by reactionary military opinion, while the quickening of the pace of Indianization to about sixty candidates a year, inadequate as it will be by itself ever to bring about complete Indianization of the Army, will perhaps, if care is taken to adopt a sound system of education, create that small band of pioneers who are one day to put an end to the military helplessness of India. The question then is whether the start that is going to be made is the small but sound beginning of a better future. A sound, though small beginning, is surely preferable to no beginning at all.

Here it is, however, that doubts begin to assail anybody who reads the report of the Military College Committee with care. By the terms of its reference it

is only concerned with drawing up a scheme for a military college capable of turning out about sixty Indian King's commissioned officers a year, in addition to training a certain number (about 20) to be more precise of cadets for service in the Indian States Forces. Matter-of-fact and conservative as this scheme is, it has yet provoked dissents on questions of fundamental principle from six of the non-official members, and this in addition to their strong protest against the unimaginative policy of Indianization which underlies it. This disagreement has been most pronounced with regard to the principle of selection of the candidates to the proposed Military College. On this point the report says :

We found great difficulty in reaching a substantial measure of agreement as to the proportions of the 60 vacancies which should be allotted to open competition and nomination respectively. Most of us consider it essential to reserve a large number of vacancies for the classes that furnish recruits to the army, in order to encourage those classes generally, to ensure to them their due representation in the King's Commissioned ranks, and to offer adequate prospects of promotion to the rank and file...

The majority therefore recommended that half the vacancies, *i. e.*, 30 a year, should be reserved for the cadets from the ranks of the Indian Army, 24 for open competition, the remaining six being filled up by the Commander-in-Chief by nomination from those candidates who have qualified at the entrance examination but failed to secure a place in open competition. Four non-official members have disagreed with the views of the majority on this point, and have recommended that a much higher proportion of the vacancies be allocated to open competition. But while in doing so Mr. Mukarji would prefer at least 30 vacancies to be reserved for open competition, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, Dr. B. S. Moonje, and General Rajwade would reserve 48 out of the 60 vacancies for open competition and only 12 for Army cadets and nomination, or Army cadets alone.

All the members who disagreed with the recommendations of the majority on the question of nomination, were keenly aware that here they were dealing with a point which went into the very heart of the matter. Those who have not the advantage of living in this country or who look at the whole thing only from the common-sense point of view will never understand

the controversy which has raged in India over this issue. In England and elsewhere, as Dr. Moonje puts it, the question is not given this "aspect of mutual contrariety" The normal course there is to use nomination as a subsidiary or supplementary test. But not so in India. Nomination must be maintained here as the keystone of the whole system if the military organization, based on invidious distinctions among various classes of Indians which the British have established in India, is, not absolutely to go to pieces. This controversy is, in fact, like all the controversies which centre round any proposal to give greater facilities to Indians to co-operate in the defence of their country, as old as Lord Roberts. Opposing a suggestion to give higher military instruction to Indians as far back as 1887, Lord Roberts wrote :

"In India the least warlike races possess the highest intellectual capacities. The Gurkhas and Pathans, and to a less extent the Sikhs, are notoriously as averse to mental exertion as they are fond of manly sports—as apt to fight as they are slow to learn. Once make education the chief criterion of fitness to command, and you place the desirable candidates at a disadvantage possibly overwhelming.

This is simply the theory of the martial races stated at its crudest. I am glad to see that all the dissentient members of the Indian Military College Committee have more or less emphatically repudiated the implications of that theory, and in dealing with this question, two of the members of the Committee, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and Major-General G. R. R. Rajwade, have referred to my work in connection with this subject in terms, which, however undeserved, I must always remember with pleasure and gratitude. But so far as official opinion is concerned, the theory stands and is allowed to do infinite harm to the prospect of creating a national army in India even in the distant future. It is curious that the Government never perceives how inconsistent it is in this matter. In dealing with the case of the candidates who are to be selected by open competition, the Government spokesmen have, rightly as I think, dwelt on the importance of a high educational standard. At the same time, they have also, not with a heart-broken accent as I think, dwelt on the shortcomings of the general educational system of the country. If this educational qualification be so essential for an efficient officer

why insisted upon only a minority of forty per cent and dispensed with altogether in the case of the rest? The point is very forcibly brought out in the minute of dissent of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and General Rajwade.

The importance of general education they say, among the qualifications of officers is now being more and more largely recognized. Even in England, where the system of purchase once prevailed, selection by competition has become the rule and selection by nomination, the exception. Though a certain number of commissions are given to men from the ranks, the number of such commissions is very limited and the proportion of the vacancies filled up by nomination to those filled up by competition is very small.

The representatives of the enlisted classes on our committee have pleaded for a large majority of the commissions being given to the members of these classes by the system of nomination. The grounds on which they base their advocacy are that it would not be possible for the Victoria's commissioned officers and the non-commissioned officers and the private to reach the standard of general education prescribed for competition and that the boys belonging to these classes start their education at a comparatively late age and would not be able to satisfy the age requirement for entry into the military colleges. The argument necessarily proceeds upon the admission of backwardness in general educational arrangements. No one would wish to deny opportunities for promotion to men of capacity in the ranks provided they come up to the required level of fitness in point of education. There is no objection to the concession of special educational facilities to the sons of soldiers and officers who may be in need of help. Nor would any one be disposed to raise any objection to some relaxation of the upper limit of age for the grant of King's commissions. In spite of the educational progress which is claimed to have been made in the Punjab and among the enlisted classes of this province during recent years, it cannot be denied that their education has not sufficiently advanced to enable them to compete in the entrance examination. It is because the enlisted classes cannot come in by the open door of competition that they plead for entry by the back-door of nomination.

Here we have indeed the key to the whole puzzle. The Government is so anxious to maintain the existing inequalities and distinctions which serve to perpetuate the military inefficiency of the Indian nation, that they would require the non-enlisted classes to undergo a fairly stiff educational test, and in the case of the favoured classes insist on none at all.

This is not the only way in which the non-enlisted classes are placed at a disadvantage in comparison with the enlisted classes. The latter will have, as we have

already seen, a decided advantage over the candidates of the former class in the educational test. As a matter of fact, the concession originally made to their claims was considerably raised by the Government during the sittings of the Committee at the insistence of their spokesmen. But this is not all. The Indian Army cadets are also to get their education free. The cost of the education at the proposed military college for the whole course for the guardian of the cadet will be about Rs 4,600. This figure is criticized very ably on its own merits by Mr. Moonje in his dissenting minute. But besides being too high a figure for the ordinary middle-class parent to afford, it places the non-enlisted classes at a still greater disadvantage in comparison with the enlisted classes. It is, of course, true, as the report states, that the army cadets will be selected from among men who are serving in the ranks and belong in the main to a class with limited means. But there are other men all over India with the same limited means, who would be very glad to serve in the ranks of the army and share its privileges if only they were allowed to do so. Mr. Mukerji very pertinently makes this point in his minute.

The suggested high proportion of nominated candidates from among Indian Army cadets he says, can hardly be justified as long as the ranks of the Indian Army are not thrown open to all classes. The objective ought to be the creation of a national army for the defence of the country and for this purpose all the available talent should be made use of. After all, to a considerable extent the difference between the enlisted and non-enlisted classes is an artificial one. It is not that the so-called non-enlisted classes do not wish to enter the army but the fact is that they are definitely debarred from doing so.

III

It is unnecessary to go into further details of the disagreements. Enough has been said to prove that the divergence of opinion between the Government spokesmen and most of the dissenting members is not concerned with details but touch fundamentals. What the latter are preoccupied with is the problem of creating a national army, while the military advisers of the Government would have nothing more than a partial concession to Indian opinion in the matter of giving Indians opportunities for an army career. A few "jobs" for men who deserve the

favour, without any disturbance of the existing organization and spirit, or a new orientation of the military policy and a new leaven in the mass—this is, to put it bluntly, the issue between the official spokesmen and the dissenting members. The difference being thus over first principles, the dissenting members could not but enter into a discussion of these principles and the basis of facts on which they rested. This has drawn upon them the remark of the Commander-in-Chief that the greater part of the material contained in the dissenting minutes “consists either of criticisms of the terms of reference to the Committee, as laid down by the Government of India under instructions from His Majesty’s Government, or of dissertations upon matters which have nothing to do with the details of the establishment of a military college” in India. This sneer is as ungenerous as it is unintelligent. I do not know whether Sir Philip Chetwode has ever read Roman history. If he has, he probably remembers the story of Brennus the Gaul, who during the course of a negotiation with the Romans threw his sword into the scales and shouted out, *‘Vae Victis!’* Woe to the vanquished! This is a method of persuasion which is only permissible to happy victors. A vanquished nation has of necessity to employ a less summary procedure. If we possessed the facilities for pronouncing *obiter dicta* and converting them into axioms by simply shouting them from house tops, or the cable monopoly of the British in the world, we would certainly not have gone through the laborious process of reading through countless documents and making excerpts from them. But being a less fortunate people we have to employ more arduous methods. And if this draws upon us the displeasure of the mighty, this is a misfortune which can only be endured with fortitude.

The difference between the Indian position and the Government position is thus fundamental, and this being so the dissentient Indian members of the Committee could not avoid a discussion of these considerations. Nowhere is this fundamental conflict of ideals more perceptible than in the attitude of the Government towards the problem of creating a favourable background for the military profession in India. Everyone who has tried to familiarize himself with the problems of military education or read the admirable reports of the commissions appointed at various times by the British

Government to study the problem of military education in Great Britain, knows very well that military education does not consist simply of training a small number of cadets in a military college. It has a far wider national background. As Lord Haldane writes

“...To raise a great corps of officers who have voluntarily selected the career of an officer as an exclusive and absorbing profession has been possible in Germany and in France. But it has only become possible there after generations of effort and under pressure of a long-standing tradition, extending from decade to decade, under which a nation armed for the defence of its land frontiers, has expended money and its spirit in creating such an officer caste.”

This is so true that all nations of the West recognize three stages in the military education of a people: the first, or the preliminary education, which is imparted through the general educational system of the country and aims only at developing physique and character; the second, the intermediate stage given to cadets at one or more military colleges, specifically designed to provide officers for the army, and the third, or the post-graduate stage which is exclusively professional. The O. T. C. in England, the R. O. T. C. in the United States, the Balilla in Fascist Italy do not aim so much at supplying the army with officers as to create the psychological and the physical background necessary for the creation of an officer caste. In France this preliminary training begins at the age of 17 and is given by athletic clubs, schools and colleges. In the U. S. A. which was, till recently, one of the relatively backward military countries of the world, strenuous and widespread efforts are being made in universities and schools to give elementary military instruction to the youth of the country. It is stated that in the last year there were 142,000 boys receiving this instruction in 318 institutions in the United States.

There is, besides, an intimate relation in these countries between the army and the universities. In Great Britain, for example, the universities are recognized as sources from which a supply of officers may be drawn not only for the Regular Army and the Royal Air Force, but for the Reserve of officers and for the Territorial Army. In the years immediately preceding the last war the University of Cambridge, to take only

one instance, contributed a considerable number of candidates for commissions in the Army, and a system of military instruction was organized there under the direction of a Board of Military Studies, in direct communication with the War Office. The system was re-established after the war under the auspices of the War Office and the Air Ministry. It is the intention of the Army Council to increase the number of candidates for commissions from the universities, and new regulations have possibly been issued by them by this time. The army and the universities in England are brought closer together by the fact that military and naval officers often join the universities for post-graduate courses.

Nothing of the kind exists, or can even be hoped for in India. While other countries always make it a point that there should be close relations between its civilian and military population, so that, if need arises, the peace time armies may be rapidly expanded by drawing upon all the available man-power resources of the country, the Government of India maintains its army as an island of manhood in an ocean of military incompetence. This fundamental conservatism of outlook which was so apparent in the turning down of repeated proposals in the legislatures, to give compulsory physical training to the youth of the country, has also stamped its cloven hoof on the majority report of the Military College Committee. It shows not the

slightest consciousness of the wider aspects of the problem before it. The military authorities in India have secured through it what they wanted: the restriction of the number of Indians to be admitted to their co-fraternity to a negligible fraction of the total number of commissioned officers in the army, and the careful sterilization of the men to be taken in, through the Dehra Dun School, through nomination, through the "interview and record" test, through the course of training to be given in the college, and through the power to remove unsuitable candidates to a degree of innocuousness which will never become a danger to the "spirit" and the "tradition" of the army.

It may be asked, what becomes then of the new orientation of military policy in India and the national army, for which Sir Abdur Rahim, Rai Bahadur Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, Mr. S. N. Mukarji, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and Major-General G. R. R. Rajwade have so unanimously and eloquently called for in their minutes? I do not want to be unreasonably cynical about anything or anybody. But on one point, at any rate, I cannot help having a feeling of quiet certainty—and that is, at that question, the A. H. Q. is smiling upon us from its Olympian heights and saying as the Chief Priests did to Judas, over-anxious to save his soul, "What *is that* to us? See thou to *that*."



NOTES

Salaries in India

The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* for September 1, 1921 published an article from its special correspondent in India on the exorbitant salaries paid to the higher officials in India. He is definitely of opinion that there exists a case for reducing these salaries to less inflated level. He says.

There are three arguments generally brought forward in defence of the present rate of salaries paid to higher officials. The first is that attempts to lower standards have been made and have failed. The same is said about any other reform, but actually there is no relevant evidence on this subject at all. We can, however, venture to predict that a raising of the lower wages and a corresponding levelling down of the higher ones would mean a decrease in the corruption of the lower courts, and of the continual leakage of information from the offices which deal with confidential matters.

The next point is the expensiveness of life in India. As far as this is due to the standard of living, the only reply is that at Bombay, Calcutta, Simla, Delhi, and elsewhere nearly all the Europeans and some of the Indian officials have fallen into an entirely artificial way of living. Middle-aged officials spend far too much time entertaining and being entertained at those melancholy travesties of hospitality the "bara khana." This life is made unnecessarily expensive, and there is too much drinking—too much for health and too much for efficiency. Those who lead a less conventional life find little difficulty in saving most of their salaries. The writer remembers living next to two senior officials, one a bachelor, the other a "grass widower." Their combined income was Rs. 10,000 a month, but they certainly did not spend Rs. 500. The only European official who has any real need of his salary is the man with a large family, but these are only a fraction of the total, and their case could be met by generous family allowances. The "family" argument has been used to bolster up a standard of salaries which will be entirely unsuited for the highly Indianized services of the new Federal Government. Mr. Gandhi may not have made out his case for the Rs. 500 a month limit, but he is abundantly justified in insisting upon a completely different outlook upon the kind of life which officials should lead and the income necessary to support them.

Lord Irwin on Mahatma Gandhi and the Missionaries

On July 21 a meeting arranged by the Conference of British Missionary Societies

and presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury was held at the Central Hall, Westminster, at which Lord Irwin said.

People here have been lately disturbed by remarks made by Mr. Gandhi on the subject of missions. From such knowledge as I possess of Mr. Gandhi I can only say this. It would require overwhelming proof to convince me that he, who whatever else may be thought of him, is one of the greatest social reformers India has known, had failed to recognize that the real work of Christian missions was poles asunder from proselytizing as commonly understood. I am sure that he knows as we do that it springs only from the irresistible impulse of men who, knowing themselves to possess the treasure beyond price, long to share it with their fellows, and are impelled by the value they attach to each in man's soul to give themselves in lifting the fallen, ministering to the oppressed, and bringing self-respect to those who have lost or never before known its meaning. Truly it is by the spirit of service that these men and women are inspired.

Lord Irwin on Commerce and Bayonets

In course of the same speech Lord Irwin said that British goods could not be forced on India at the point of the bayonet. His argument was:

After all the greatest interest is a contented India within the British Empire, and you will never secure that on a permanent basis if you give to India ground to suppose that in the policy she pursues Great Britain is influenced by her own self-interest rather than by the interest of India. Take trade, in regard to which it is sometimes said that Government should take direct action in support of British interests. Leaving aside the question of how far the diminution of our export trade to India is due to general economic conditions—and I believe the effect of these is far greater than that of any propaganda against foreign cloth—it is surely evident that trade can only flourish and develop when you have willing buyers as well as willing sellers, and that, in other words, it must rest on the basis of goodwill. Cotton goods on a bayonet cannot be forced upon Indian buyers. On the other hand, if Great Britain is prepared without reserve to show that she is only concerned to secure the true interests of India, she will find India very much more willing to meet her in devising practical means by which the partnership may operate to the mutual advantage of both parties.

NOTES

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Colonel Ghosh

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B. Seymour Sewell

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Lt. Colonel R. B. Seymour

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Besides his work in Zoology, Colonel Sewell has since the publication of his paper on human *Astragali*, taken keen interest in Anthropology and in collaboration with Dr. B. S. Guha studied and restored the human remains excavated by the Archaeological Survey at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Nal and Nekran a highly technical and delicate work not understood in India before. As a result of Colonel Sewell's strong representation the entire task of excavating human remains in the field and their scientific treatment and restoration in the laboratory, has been entrusted to the Anthropological Section of the Zoological Survey. Colonel Sewell's work in this connection cannot be too highly commended.

Colonel Sewell was elected as the President of the Indian Science Congress in 1931 and was acting as the President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal up till the time of his departure. He received the Sc. D. of Cambridge in 1929.

With this journal he was long associated as one of its most distinguished reviewers, and in 1928 he contributed an important paper on the teaching of Zoology in India.

The Foreign Policy of the Government of India

The Foreign Relations Bill, which forms the subject of an article in this issue, suggests cynical reflections. In moving the consideration of the bill on September 21, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Mr. E. B. Howell, is reported to have said that in dealing with this measure he stood at some advantage, as the House was debarred, by its rules, from discussing the foreign and political relations of the Government of India. This, however, has not prevented him from making an elaborate effort to enlist public opinion in favour of a measure which is in itself one of the most unequivocal defiances of that public opinion.

In this attempt of his, Mr. Howell has been ably seconded by the European section of the Press in India. Between them they have regaled us for the past fortnight or so with copious dissertations on international law which would have been highly edifying had they not been so perfectly comical. In the peroration to his speech in the Assembly Mr. Howell appealed to the House and the journalists outside to think internationally and support his bill. In the

glow and warmth of that loudly applauded moment he was not perhaps aware that he was giving an absolutely superfluous counsel. For of what crisis of their national existence could it be said of the people of India that in it they had been allowed to think too nationally?

A writer on international law has complained that States, like individuals, have always shown themselves more concerned about their rights than about their duties. The reproach is certainly not deserved by the Government of India. Situations which in less long-suffering countries lead inevitably and irresistably to war, here produce not the faintest echo of a rattle of the sabre which weighs so heavily on the poor millions who pay for it. Overlooking of international humiliations or condonations of deliberate and persistent denial of elementary rights under international law, the merest suspicion of which would overthrow any government in any other country of the world, pass as the order of the day in India. Limitless patience, where the interests of its professed nationals are concerned, is, in fact, of the very essence of British Indian diplomacy. Here you have none of those blustering notes sent to foreign Powers simply because your nationals have been insulted by them. Contingencies which provoke such amiable international acts as the despatching of cruisers, landing of marines, gun-boat policies and forcing on of capitulations among the kicking family of naughty children who form the live Comity of Nations, raise not even a diplomatic flutter here. The diplomacy of the Government of India is the diplomacy of the blessed meek for whom is the Kingdom of Heaven. It belongs to that happy world in which you will be able to turn the other cheek and not be made to suffer the consequences of your complaisance.

"Keep Your Hands—and Boots—Off the Indian"

We do not know if any of our readers have read, or even heard the name of the *Indian Military Almanac*, a little book edited by the General Staff, India, and meant for British soldiers and officers. Most of it is matter-of-fact and rather colourless information such as may be of use to the hurriedly educated defenders of India. But part of it is as bright as the brightest news paragraph

society paper. Here for example, is again, the old story. Atkins says he should keep his hands—and boots—off the Indian :

If this pamphlet had been written for angels, it would not be necessary to say anything about the results of assaults on Indians. Unfortunately, however, we are all very human and so we must produce a selfish argument, which will perhaps deter some when all others fail. It is seldom indeed that an Indian is beaten without some unpleasant result for the beater. Sometimes the damage can be repaired by the application of more or less "baksheesh" ; at others, admonishment or a few days C. B. [confinement in barrack, that is] may be the worst result. But you are lucky if you get off so easily, for one never knows how these cases may end. Quite a slight blow or kick, even a push, none of which would do any permanent damage to a healthy English man, will often cause serious harm to an Indian. Many of them suffer from enlarged spleens and other diseases and any violence, however slight, is likely to set up serious internal troubles which sometimes even end in death. Remember that if once the case gets into the law courts, there will probably be a lot of false evidence and exaggeration from witnesses on the other side, and it will almost certainly go hard with you. Though you may have only meant to administer a mild hiding, there can be no doubt that you are responsible for the damage done and you will have to suffer in consequence.

Looking at matters in another way, to beat a man who has neither the strength nor, in most cases, the pluck to stand up to you, is not an achievement to be proud of, it savours of bullying. So, for every reason, keep your hands—and boots—off the Indian

"It does not matter a brass button"

Equally, if not more, edifying is the bit which gives a little tip about how Tommy is to behave with Indian women. It runs :

The female portion of the population in many out-of-the-way tracts hold weird ideas about the white man, which would be annoying if they were not so ridiculous. Women working in the fields will throw down their baskets and run for dear life to the shelter of their village or some convenient strip of thick jungle if they see a European a hundred yards away. We must not however blame them for that. They have probably never seen a man wearing a helmet or a *topi* in their lives before and they have nothing to go on except fairy tales which folk who know no more than their audience, have drilled into their ears. Let us make allowance for their ignorance and show them by our conduct that, to most Britons at any rate, it does not matter a brass button whether they stay or run away

"The British Soldier is not a Toorkh"

Unencroachment on space always makes tyrants of editors, and in this matter—we would request our readers to believe us

when we say that—they are no less stingy with themselves than they are with others. Yet it is difficult to tear oneself away from so characteristic a masterpiece of military literature and not wish to share one's pleasure with others. We would, therefore, have one more little bit, and since we have to think about space also, close with it for the present. Here is the peroration of the sermon to the newly arrived Tommy :

Everyone of us who travels about India, can do much by ordinary courtesy and fair play to remove the false impression about the character of the British soldier, which many ignorant folk hold who have never met him ; a character which, as the writer has pointed out elsewhere, is largely drawn from India's past experience of invasion, and that experience has to be forgotten. India has to learn that the British soldier is not a "Toorkh" but a gentleman : so let us make her lesson an easy one.

Insurance in India

Insurance is an old old institution. Much older than what we find in books of Economic History. The ancient kings of India incorporated fire, marine, burglary, crop and accident insurance among their multifarious duties. For we find in *Matsya-Dharmasutra* : "The king is to restore to all castes whatever loss is sustained through theft." Similarly the *Shastras* make it binding upon kings to give food and seed to cultivators when the latter are in distress : as well as to make good all losses sustained by Merchants at Sea. In the *Ramayana* we find the King is taken to task on account of the untimely death of a Brahmin boy !

State Insurance had ceased to exist after the end of the Golden Age. But it is being born again under modern socialistic stimulus. It may even so happen that in the world of tomorrow all insurance will be socialized and the present day companies will be merged into one great institution. But the proper realization of this ideal in India will depend on the growth of Insurance and its continued good health. It is necessary that Indians generally come to realize the necessity for effecting life, fire, burglary, accident and other insurance. As things stand now India is very backward in insurance. *The Indian Insurance Year Book* for 1930, published by the Actuary to the Government of India, gives us a comparative table showing how much people insure for in the various countries of the world.

Country	Per head insurance of the Total Population Rs.
America	2,000
Canada	1,300
New Zealand	900
Great Britain	600
Austria	600
Norway	450
Sweden	420
Netherlands	390
Denmark	330
India	5

Even when we take into account the relative poverty of India and her backwardness in industry, the almost negligible figure of per head insurance in India seems inexplicable. It is only when we take into account the fact that practically 95 per cent of our population are illiterate and 80 per cent live in widely scattered microscopic villages that we discover a reason for this backwardness. Whenever we look at any shortcoming of India we find that the absence of compulsory education in India is somehow or other closely connected with it. Yet no genuine efforts are being made to remove this great and Key Want! The Governmental document quoted above also gives us much valuable information on other matters connected with Indian insurance. For instance, we learn that out of a total of 257 insurance companies in India 149 are Foreign and only 108 are Indian in capital and management. Out of these 108 Indian companies, 71 companies do only life business and no fire, marine, or other insurance. The total life assurance business in force in India at the end of 1929 was 656 thousand policies assuring a total of Rs. 142 crores. Of this the annual premium income amounted to 7½ crores. The Indian share of this business was 472 thousand policies assuring 78 crores and yielding an annual premium income of 4 crores. These left 3½ crores of life premiums to the foreign companies. When we add to these figures the premium income of insurance other than life we find the Indian companies earning a total premium income of 4½ crores and the foreign companies 5½ crores.

So that although the Indian insurance companies are very well managed and go-ahead concerns, the exploitation of India by foreigners through this important institution is not negligible by any means. We have also to remember that quite a

good proportion of the premium income earned by Indian companies goes into the foreigners' coffer through re-insurance.

A. C.

Indian Sugar Industry

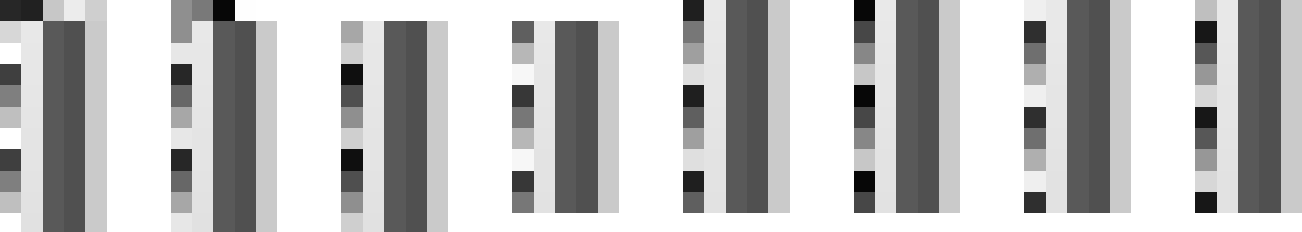
India consumes every year 1,325,230 tons of sugar. Of this she is now producing 299,088 tons or less than one-fourth. India has everything in favour of building up a great sugar industry; raw materials, a ready market and state aid in the shape of a more than 100 per cent protective duty (Rs. 6 per cwt., or one anna nine pies per seer). Still the industry is growing slowly in India. This is due to lack of organized capital readily available for an industry which is only beginning to be the fashion. In India the force of custom is strong. An industry has to establish itself more through custom than by showing profit. Cotton, jute, tea, oil mills, rice mills, tanneries, etc., they all attract general attention and capital after passing the peak of profit yielding capacity. Sometimes industries go on attracting capital even after they have become unprofitable. This is characteristic of our slow moving methods of living.

Sugar is one of the big items of Indian trade (import) and yields the Government a very large revenue. Its manufacture and the cultivation of its raw material (sugar-cane) gives occupation to numerous Indians. It is a necessary article of consumption and has a growing and steady market. Since 1921-22, sugar has been produced as follows in the main factories of India:

Year	Tons
1921-22	28,250
1922-23	23,620
1923-24	39,150
1924-25	33,720
1925-26	52,390
1926-27	59,540
1927-28	67,950
1928-29	68,600
1929-30	89,800

The technique of sugar extraction has also improved during these years; for whereas in 1925-26 only 8.07 per cent of sugar was extracted from sugar-cane, in 1929-30 the percentage came up to 9.07. The acreage of sugar-cane rose from 50,604 acres in 1923-24 to 549,025 acres in 1929-30.

Java is the main exporter of sugar to India and Calcutta its biggest market. It



It would not be difficult for Indians to capture more and more of this business for themselves. It should be taken up by all Indian capitalists and workers as a national opportunity rather than as a mere business proposition. For it is only nation-wide enthusiasm that can build up a great thing. It is a shame for an agricultural country to have to depend for a staple article of food on foreign countries. The more shameful it is when this dependence is a source of taxation and exploitation.

A. C.

Anglo-Indian Estimate of Gandhiji's Visit

Anglo-Indians as a species are antagonistic to Mahatma Gandhi; but they have on occasions, condescended to sit up and take notice of him due to a sense of enlightened self-interest. Occasionally they have even talked nicely of "that fellow Gandhi" in the hope that he might, seeing that one good turn deserves another, advise his fanatical followers to buy more British goods. But all talk of Gandhi has an element of hidden sarcasm and patronage in it: for are not all sub-assistant proof-readers of the Anglo-Indian Press wiser than Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Hindu from Gujarat? Most of these papers are slowly developing an idea that they have been extremely generous in allowing the "Seditious Fakir" to go to London and plead his case. But they all hope that it will be a lesson to the little man who thought he could force the hands of the mighty British, by spinning coarse yarn and by urging his followers to fight nitro-glycerine with non-violence. One Anglo-Indian paper, the *Commerce* of Calcutta, writes:

If Mr. Gandhi had continued to preach in London the philosophy that has made him famous in the Orient, he would have found an unresponsive, unresponsive, uncongenial soil under the "hard grey weather," under the "bold, bright, blue, black, boisterous and blustering beauty" of the British heavens, where hard men are born and hard men live—where hard men are perpetually engaged in the hard struggle for existence under the hard law that permits only the fittest to survive,—a hard law of nature that turns a scowling face upon the philosophy of blue skies and of easy living.

It is refreshing to hear how the Indians live an easy life and the British have to face a hard struggle for existence. It no doubt is hard live to live on the spoils of the entire world. It is also hard life to have free medicine, free education,

free housing (for the aged and the poor) and free salaries (for the unemployed). As to the hard struggle that enables only the "fittest" to survive: was it Huxley who said that survival of the fittest did not always mean survival of the best? A highly cultured Oxford Don, who probably has contributed much to the progress and happiness of mankind, can easily be waylaid by a ruffian with a bludgeon and despoiled. This would not prove the eternal superiority of the rough over the man of learning. Men who are "hard" all over are, of course, difficult to convince.

That Gandhiji preached universal peace whilst some of his countrymen, *e.g.*, Hindus and Moslems, were flying at one another, appeared specially objectionable to the paper quoted from above. Therefore the following advice is given to Mr. Gandhi.

While thus preaching peace he might also have spoken with reassuring advantages, about the terrorist activities in Bengal the campaign of murder, the general spirit of lawlessness in the province, the Chittagong raids, the Jhacca and Dalhousie Square assassinations and so forth,...

Probably Mr. Gandhi has talked of peaceful things with a special emphasis and that is why he had not stressed the activities of those persons who committed the above condemnable acts of violence. Correspondingly, it might be said, that he has not condemned either the perpetrators of such atrocities as the killing of hundreds of innocent men at Jallianwallahbag, the suffocating to death of numerous Moplah prisoners, the cracking open of hundreds of skulls in hundreds of *latih* charges all over India, the Midnapore outrages, the shooting down of untried prisoners at Hajo, the systematic and callous abetment of violence through inaction at Dacca, Cawnpore and Chittagong, etc., etc. Mr. Gandhi has not also mentioned how Lala Lajpat Rai died in the Panjab. Sir Rogers "much might be said on both sides" is a sound motto for men living in glass houses. The Anglo-Indian journalists should cultivate truthfulness and wisdom instead of the "hardness" which they so admire in the fur away workers of England while gorging ten course dinners and consuming costly spirits under the blue skies of India. All level-headed Bengalees deplore and condemn violence. The number of such persons are far far in excess of those who believe in violence. Yet there is violence. Why? Is it hopeless desperation, a spirit of revenge, mere infectious neurosis or what? The

Anglo-Indians should appoint a Commission of impartial psychologists to enquire into the causes that have turned unwarlike and well-to-do Bengal into a land of desperate and devilish. It could not be just explained away as due to sheer cursedness or to press propaganda.

A. C.

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, has retired on pension from the 30th September last. Mr Chanda entered



Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda

the field of Archaeological research as one of the founders and the first Honorary Secretary of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi in 1910. From Rajshahi he published two valuable works, *Gandara-janata* (1912) in the Bengali language and *The Indoguyan Races* (1916) in English. The ethnological views proposed in the latter volume have been adopted by such distinguished authorities as the late Professor Giuffrida-taggeri of Naples. The activities of the Varendra Research Society attracted the

attention of the Archaeological Department and Mr Chanda was appointed a scholar of the Department in 1917 to receive training in excavation work. This ultimately led to his appointment as the Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, in May 1921. During his tenure of office as Superintendent Mr Chanda has re-arranged the great collection of Archaeological specimens in the Indian Museum chronologically and artistically, and has enriched the collection by the acquisition of a very large number of typical specimens. His notes on the acquisitions contributed to the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey year after year are very interesting. Mr Chanda has also carried out re-arrangement of specimens in the Sarnath Museum of Archaeology and in the Cuttack Museum of Archaeology at Mathura on the plan adopted in the Indian Museum. He has contributed six important monographs to the series of Monographs of the Archaeological Survey of India including *Archaeology and Vaishnav Tradition* (No. 7), *Beginnings of Art in Eastern India* (No. 30), *Survival of the Prehistoric Circulation in the Indus Valley* (No. 41) and *Reproduction in Orissa* (No. 41).

The Round Table Conference

The presence of Mahatma Gandhi seems to have clarified to a certain extent the extremely nebulous state of affairs at the Conference. The issues are not clearly defined as yet, since the Mahatma's request to the Government to "lay their cards on the table" has not yet been complied with and, we are afraid, will not be complied with unless the greater majority of the delegates show a united front. As things stand, the chances of unity amongst the delegates are very remote indeed, since the personnel has been very carefully chosen to prevent such an eventuality. The only hope lies in the Mahatma's magnetic personality.

In his speech delivered on the 17th of September before the Federal Structure Committee, Gandhiji declared that he was oppressed with a feeling of unreality at the composition of the Committee because the delegates were nominated by the Government and not chosen by the nation. He further declared that several important interests were not represented at all on the Committee.

Every thoughtful person in this country

would agree with Gandhi on the facts of the above circumstance, but as regards the causation we must say that we have reasons to believe that the entire blame cannot be laid on the shoulders of Indian officialdom. This statement we make with a feeling of regret and without the least sense of rancour or partisanship.

Gandhi's statement of the Congress case—which, in its broad outlines, is identical with that of the Indian nation—has been made with characteristic straightforwardness and clarity.

"A partnership as between two absolute peoples," can be but the only agreement to which any self-respecting nation may subscribe and hardly any objection can be raised against the Mahatma's aspiration towards becoming "a citizen, not in the Empire, but in the Commonwealth—the partnership, possibly an indissoluble partnership, but not a partnership superimposed by one nation over another," provided the principle of self-determination in all matters, internal or external, is kept undiluted and absolute in all dealings between the partners.

The proposal for a scrutiny of accounts and for adjustments on the basis of the audit is also unexceptionable since no fresh partnership can be lasting unless previous accounts between outgoing partners are satisfactorily examined and settled. This has special reference to the Congress demand for an impartial examination of India's public debt issues, which we think was fully justified

The Swaraj Scheme

The broad principles underlying the Congress scheme as laid down by Gandhi are as follows.

India is one and indivisible. An All-India Federation was possible only on the basis of tolerance and mutual accommodation between British India and Indian India.

Full adult franchise, without sex disqualification, should be immediately given, there should be no literacy or property test. Indirect election is recommended. For example, 500,000 villages of India to elect their representatives and these to elect their representatives to the Central Legislature. This in Gandhi's opinion would make elections cheap and expeditious.

No bi-cameral legislature as it was super-

fluous, expensive, and did not conduce to harmony.

No representation of special interests.

No nomination. If experts are required they should give their opinion and retire.

This is an excellent scheme if all the items are kept intact in the main. But it is evident that if any substantial alteration, or any addition, is made that would limit the scope of any item. Then a wholesale revision of the plan would be necessary.

The Communal Question

The communal question is still to the forefront, according to plan, and showing no signs of settlement. We say according to plan deliberately, because in the choice of delegates rank communalists of a particular group have been given weight out of all proportion to their standing in the country, while their opponents have either been almost totally excluded or given very feeble representation. The only chance of failure of this excellent piece of strategy lies in the Mahatma's powers of persuasion, but we feel very doubtful of the "blank cheque" move. This has been tried in Bengal and has led to only more intensified communalism. However, we can only wait and hope that reason will prevail on the obdurate ones in the end, and the latest news about the Mahatma's par-parlers with Maulana Shaukat Ali carry a small ray of hope. And at this stage all Nationalists, Hindus or Muslims, must intensely feel the loss of the late Maulana Mahomed Ali, as, once convinced, that fiery patriot would have carried all before him.

The Main Issue

So far the "debating society" has succeeded in shrouding the main issue almost to the point of obscurity. Gandhi's exposure has helped to dispel some amount of darkness. But unless the Government places its cards on the table we cannot be certain about the real motive behind the calling of this Conference.

Conferences, declarations, proclamations, there have been many but in each instance we have been fooled into accepting the shadow for the substance and we must not forget that diplomacy, like cinematography, has progressed a great deal in recent years in perfecting the art of imparting an illusive tone of reality to the shadow.

Orissa as a Separate Province

A resolution issued from the Reforms Office announces the constitution of the Orissa Boundary Committee. It reads

The constitution of a separate province of Orissa was not made the subject of separate investigation by the Round Table Conference or of any of its Sub-Committees, but the matter was not overlooked. Some discussion took place at a late stage in the Committee of the whole Conference, in which, though claims of Orissa were not expressly endorsed, no delegates spoke against them. In these circumstances and having regard to the previous history of the case the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of State, have decided to appoint a committee to examine and report on the administrative, financial and other consequences of setting up a separate administration for the Oriya-speaking people, and to make recommendations regarding its boundaries in the event of separation. The Government of India, after careful consideration, have decided that this enquiry should be entrusted to a small body of men with an impartial outlook on the problem involved, and that with them should be associated three persons, drawn from the areas most interested. The latter will share freely in the proceedings of the Committee, but will take no part in drafting or signing of the report. In pursuance of these decisions the Governor-General-in-Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State, has been pleased to constitute the Committee as follows:—
Chairman—Sir Samuel O'Donnell; Members—The Hon. Mr. H. M. Moha, Member of the Council of State and Mr. T. R. Phoolan M. L. A.

The following gentlemen have been selected, on the advice of the local Governments concerned, as associate members:—The Raja of Parlakimedi, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha and Rao Bahadur C. V. S. Narasinha Raju. Mr. B. C. Mukherji, I. C. S., will act as the Secretary to the Committee. The Committee's headquarters will be at Cuttack. The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows:—If a separate Province of Orissa were to be created (1) what should be the boundary of such province? (2) What would be the Administrative, Financial and other consequences in such a province? And (3) what would be the Administrative, Financial and other consequences in the adjoining territories of British India.

It is very strange that amongst the "three persons drawn from the areas most interested" no Bengali has been chosen. The conclusions can only be either that Bengal is not affected in this investigation or that Bengali opinion does not matter. The first conclusion cannot hold, as Midnapore, Singhbhum and possibly Manbhum with its very numerous Bengali population is affected, hence the second one must be correct.

The basis of such an enquiry can only be linguistic. History or cultural affinity cannot be used in such matters. If different periods of history are used as the basis

of provincial demarcation then the United Provinces should be included in Behar, Gujarat in Rajputana, Orissa in Central Provinces, Berar in the Nizam's Dominions, part of the Nizam's territory in Bombay, the Central Provinces partly in Orissa and partly in Bombay, with a slice to Rajputana, Darjeeling to Sikkim and Afghanistan to India. Culturally the chaos would be still worse, as every province would then be split into bits.

The question of self-determination being non-existent at the present day in Bengal, we have not suggested a general referendum in the areas affected.

In case this investigation now proceeding regarding the formation of the Orissa Province is carried on with the *bonafide* intention to determine the actual geographic boundaries of the present-day Oriya people, no one has anything to say beyond giving his or her ideas regarding the procedure to be adopted. But in the past such things have been done on a punitive political basis and the chief sufferer has been Bengal. Apart from Lord Curzon's attempt at breaking up Bengal, we have had the detaching of Manbhum without any reason, rhyme or justification, the apportioning of Cachar and Sylhet to Assam and certain portions of North Bengal to Behar.

In the case of Midnapore we find the following facts in the Mr. Sashmal's brochure, "Midnapore Partition."

"After the first bomb case, when the District Administration Committee reported that Midnapore was too unwieldy for one district officer, the idea went forth that it should be torn into two and Lord Carmichael actually announced in 1913 after his visit to Cuttack that the headquarters of the *new district town of Hitler* would be located at Khargpur." According to Mr. Sashmal, this plan miscarried owing to the intervention of Lord Reading and the Secretary of State.

Then, after the last Civil Disobedience movement during which Midnapore went through trials which were unsurpassed, if at all equalled, by those suffered by any other part of India we have this proposal for the formation of an Orissa province, and furthermore, on the investigation committee unofficial Bengal is unrepresented!

We have no desire to stand in the way of our Oriya brethren if they consider the formation of an Oriya province beneficial to their cause, but this should not be done at

the t of the neighb ur , e eu though it should be favoured by officialdom and so be east of achievement.

Further comments are unnecessary at this stage

Retrenchment and the Cause of Science

In a recent newspaper interview regarding the emphasis laid by General Smuts on the human value of science, Sir C. V. Raman is reported to have said:

The most interesting part of the address is that in which General Smuts stresses the human value of science, and ranks it with art and religion in its cultural and ethical importance. It would be entirely correct to say that the position of any community in the world of to-day is ultimately determined by the extent to which it supports science and scientific research. General Smuts address comes as a welcome support to the plea I put forward recently against the drastic retrenchments in the grants for scientific research which I understand are under contemplation by the Government of India.

There is reason to fear that there exists little appreciation in the higher administrative circles at the present time of the enormous importance to India of her continued progress in scientific research. The retrenchments under contemplation, I understand on good authority, include the throwing out of employ of many of the brilliant and highly qualified young Indians now engaged under the Medical Research Fund Association, also in such services as the departments of Zoology, Geology, Agriculture and . . . I in research institutes aided by . . . It is no exaggeration to say that such a step, if carried out, would be an absolute disaster to the scientific future of India, and put back her position in the world of science to what it was fifty years ago. I hope my words of warning will not go unheeded by the Government and by our legislators and publicists.

From what reports we have received, Prof. Raman's warning, although of great potency and weight, will fall on deaf ears. What matters it if Indian culture and science suffer, the favoured and entrenched ones must be maintained while the expenses have to be brought down.

Chittagong and Hijli

Two tragic events have happened in India since we wrote our notes for the last issue, two events about which it is difficult to write with calmness and impossible to do so without sorrow. They are Chittagong and Hijli. On the afternoon of August 30, Khan Bahadur Asanullah, a Police Inspector at Chittagong, was shot dead on

a football field while witnessing a match in the night, following this murder. there were extensive searches and arrests in Chittagong, these being confined exclusively to Hindu houses. Next day, at noon, large mobs of Muhammadans attacked Hindu shops and houses, looted and set fire to them. The loot, arson and attacks continued unchecked till the afternoon, the damage done to property being estimated at one crore of rupees. On the same day and that following, schools, hostels, and houses of respectable Hindus in the mofussil were raided by the police, and the inmates were assaulted and beaten.

Hardly had the public recovered from the shock of these events, when, on September 15 news reached Calcutta that there had been shooting and charges by the police on the detainees in Hijli Camp, a detention camp where about one hundred and seventy detainees were kept as prisoners under the Bengal Ordinance and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. As a result of this shooting, two men were killed and about two dozens wounded. A Government communiqué stated that the shooting was the result of an attack on the sentries by the detainees. Unofficial information, however, categorically denied this statement. The bodies of the two dead detainees were allowed to be brought down to Calcutta, and taken down to the burning ghat in solemn procession, but distinguished non-officials who asked for permission to visit the camp and ascertain what had really happened were not granted the permission they sought by the Government.

We shall say below what we have to say in connection with both these events. But before doing so, we must notice a later event. On Saturday, the September 26, there was a huge protest meeting of the citizens of Calcutta on the Maidan, presided over by Rabindranath Tagore. Addressing this vast gathering, Rabindranath said

Let me in the purposes any hurt, however vital that may be wrought on us. The outrage that is both tragic and cowardly in its brutality, as the shooting at Hijli proclaims itself to be, should engage our attention solely for the sake of tortured humanity. Taking part in a big public meeting is physically harmful to me and bowldering to my mind,—yet I could not deny the call of the victims whose voice has been silenced for ever by the homicidal calousness of their appointed guardians.



Rabindranath Tagore going to the Meeting

but how almost contemptuously such terrorism may be perpetrated in inter public opinion, I feel sure that it is one of the signs of deterioration that has the moral character of British rule in India for us a fate that is dark with a yards an easy succession of enormities, action and suffering are indiscriminately on the helpless, it brings about a ruin in the agents who are responsible for blindly aid the destruction of the civilized Government.

I only to give warning on behalf of my that Government however proud it is enormous resources for repression in never afford to lose its dignity - the justice, of unwavering honesty even more. Our people may not have the as for resisting injustice but no power them from passing moral judgment. judgment must every Government, only alien it be, depend for us very

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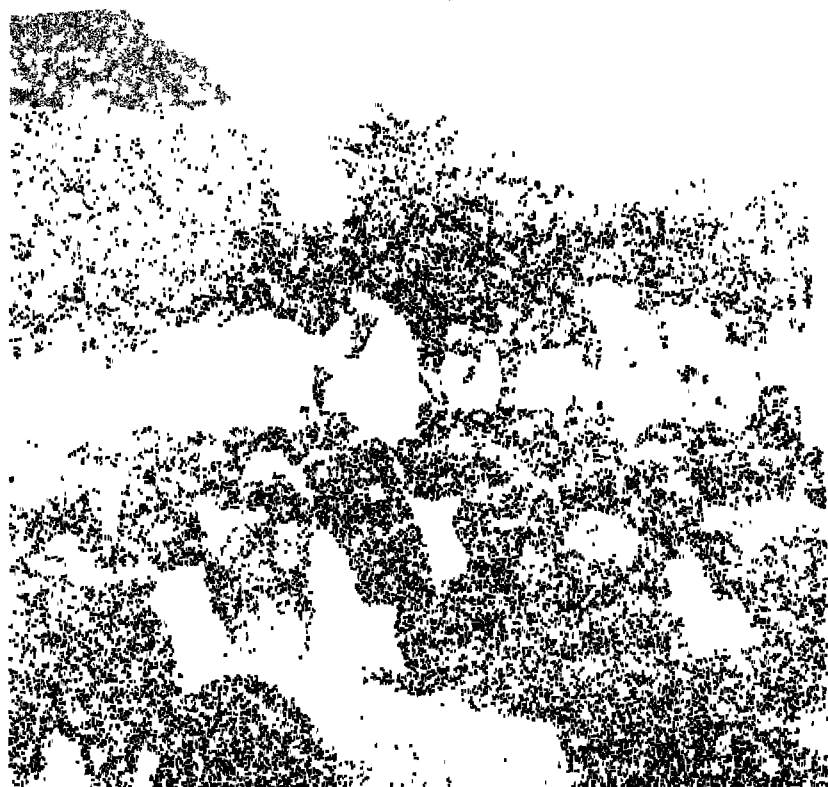
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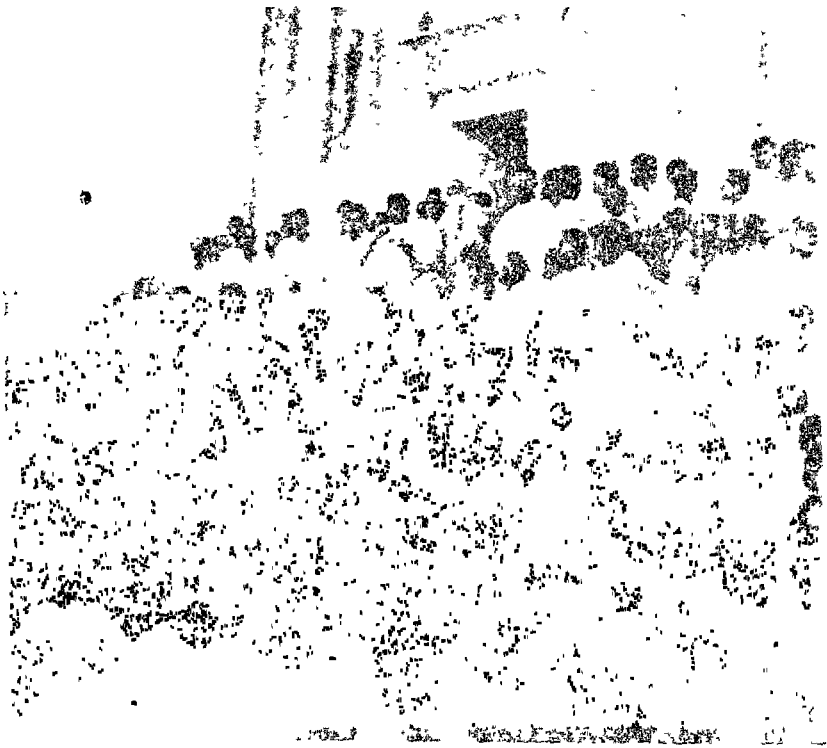
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since the bayonet caught before the bayonet. The sentries were armed with Henry or modified both of which patterns but firmly fixed. In the rifle must be otherwise the bayonet will not be out of its socket. One sentry was doing during the assault was putting operations. Did he hold the rifle the bayonet was fixed so, why did not the bayonet really as dangerous as could have us suppose, well as the bayonet? Indeed, evidently his rifle but one wonders how he could have done when he fired. I think their shots caused some communication. The sentries are alleged to have used water bottles, and stones, but would these be used against an armed enemy threatened to use this or even bayonets

have been sufficient to restore order and raise another point about the bayonet. Even assuming the absolute veracity of the Government story, what were they trying to do? Were they seriously trying to escape? Unless one assumes the detainees are imbeciles one can see what they would gain by such an act. Since, if they were really trying to escape, where were they attempting escape to? How were they going to get through the inner and outer gates of the camp? How were they going to get through the police lines outside the camp? There is nowhere any suggestion that the cars or people to assist them in their escape were waiting outside the camp, and therefore an armed attempt at escape would be classed as futile.

Then comes another point, namely firing at the crowd. In the first instance given by the Government the suggestion that a sentry was surrounded by a mob in grave danger, so grave that he could only be saved by the others opening fire. Now to rescue a person from a mob firing on the crowd is surely unwise, and the person to be rescued might be

at as the bullets of his rescuers. That the firing was wildest, to say the least of it, is suggested by the fact that one of the men killed was on the first floor of the building and the shot could not have come from more than a hundred yards away or so. Firing at such range implies that the rifle must have been raised to an angle of about twenty five degrees to hit anyone on the first floor--and the firing was directed at the ground floor.

The action then, on the facts given by the Government, becomes inexplicable. The firing is barely explained, and on examination the explanation is not very satisfying. Secondly, the reluctance of the Government to allow any news or details of the affair to be known is not reassuring.

A possible Hypothesis

We shall however try to understand the happenings on two hypotheses, the correctness of none of which we are in a position to verify, but both of which are based on some well-ascertained, and a few more not impossible, facts. Let us take the one of these hypotheses first.

From the point of view of the Government, the detainees are not easy people to deal with, and the police are very unpopular everywhere. The wholesale white-washing of the police by the Government has not convinced people, because it is done as a matter of course. If the police are insulted and hated outside the camp, they must be much more hated and insulted inside it. Now supposing the police have been listening every day to a stream of abuse and insult from the detainees, their tempers must have been roused. Now it is possible that the detainees made some remark to the sentry which aroused him and he therefore called out the guard, and then events occurred before anyone could gain control. Alternatively the police may have been waiting for an opportunity for settling even with the detainees and took the chance which seemed to offer itself. This would explain their eagerness to open fire. No reasonable person will dispute that this is a possible explanation, and if it is true, the Government would gain nothing by pretending that there has been no blunder? The more the Government does this and tries to explain away matters the more will one remember the old proverb, "qui s'excuse, s'accuse." It is

inevitable that rumours will arise if the Government tries to suppress the whole matter, and the last state of the Government may well be worse than the first. Last of all there is such a thing as mistaken loyalty and loyalty to an individual may lead one to be disloyal to a tradition which one is supposed to uphold.

A Second Hypothesis

We believe we have given above what is possibly a natural explanation of what happened in the Hijli camp. It would explain the conduct of the police there, though it would not excuse it, while the communiqués the Government have issued lead nowhere at all. But there is another possible point of view from which one could approach the question, and that is that the matter was re-arranged as a reprisal and that the Commandant and Assistant Commandant were both deliberately absent at the time, and also that the subordinates felt that no untoward consequences would follow from what happened. That the detainees and some of the people of this country would feel this to be the true explanation is perhaps no more than natural. And this possibility is immensely heightened by the action of the Government in forbidding all enquiry except an official one, which simply encourages the circulation of probable and improbable stories and rumours about the happenings.

The Incident As It Is

Whatever may be the motives and the causes of the firing in Hijli Camp, the fact which cannot be denied is that there was shooting down and charges on a body of unarmed young men who were the untried prisoners of the Government. They had been taken away from their homes, studies or work and imprisoned for an indefinite period of time. None of them knew what offence they had committed, or when they would be set free. To open fire on these men, even when there is undoubted provocation for annoyance--the unarmed state of the detainees absolutely rules out any possibility that there was provocation for anything graver--is not only a crime against humanity, it is also a crime against statecraft.

At its worst, the detainees at Hijli may

be regarded as prisoners of war. Not even the laws of war permit such treatment of these prisoners. We hope the Government will recall in this connection the criticism of the Boer concentration camps in England, which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman characterized as methods of barbarism, and the outcry in England, during the war, over the treatment of English war prisoners in Germany.

It might also be added that even rebellious convicts are not shot down in England. Some weeks ago there was a serious outbreak in the Birmingham jail, which was quelled by the guard with baton charges. The principle of the employment of minimum force is the rule in England while it is only the exception in India.

There is one more point to which we want to draw attention. The Government communiqué has stated that the shooting and the charges were on men who had attacked the sentry posts and they took place outside the barracks of the prisoners. This statement is contradicted by reports in the Indian newspapers. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for September, 19 published the following details about the shooting, which it had received from a special correspondent at Kharagpur :

Last evening (that is on September 16) at about 9-30 P. M., all on a sudden the alarm bell of the Detention Camp was rung. About fifty armed police and some two dozen armed sepoy with lathis and batons surrounded the detinue barracks and opened fire inside the rooms without any warning. Nearly a hundred bullets and shots were fired in the camp, as well as the portion of the hospital where some sick detenues put up as indoor patients. Sentries from the eight boxes, and those posted near about the cells and the bathrooms and those on patrol duty in the field and road outside opened fire simultaneously.

The convict attendants in confusion put out the dining-hall lights, and the firing thereto ceased as none within could be seen from the sentry posts. Sjt. Tarakeswar Sen of Goila Barisal, was on the veranda trying to see what was going on downstairs. He was shot down with a bullet in the frontal side of the head and he dropped dead instantaneously. Sjt. Santosh Mitra was standing on the threshold of a room of the ground floor and he was hit by more than two bullets through the abdomen. He fell down dead.

The account then goes on to describe how the armed police and the sepoy then proceeded to enter the building and to attack the detenues in their rooms. When the District Magistrate of Midnapur, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Hutchins, the Deputy Additional

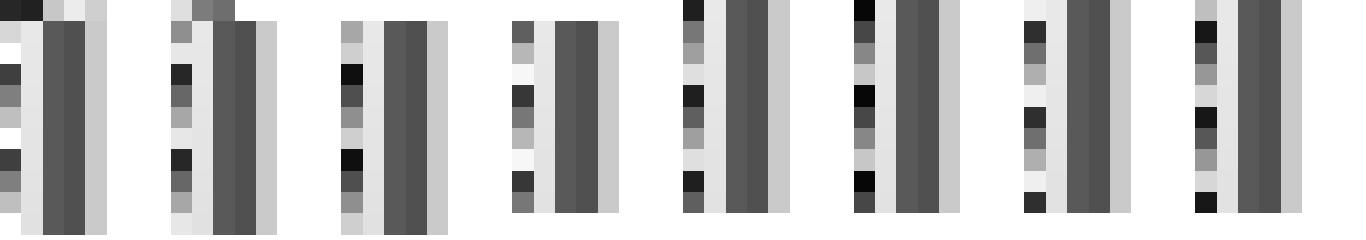
Secretary, Political Department of the Government of Bengal, arrived in the camp on September 17 and asked the detenues to give them information as to their version of the occurrence the detenues refused, and began a hunger strike, which is still continuing and will continue till a non-official inquiry committee is appointed to enquire into the affair.

In the Sunday papers a list of the names of those injured was given, fifteen of whom have now returned to the camp, while five are still in hospital. There were also reports of the speeches made in the course of the meeting on the Maidan on the previous evening (September 19). The speakers were studiously careful in all they said and contented themselves with pointing to certain facts which might seem to need a fuller explanation. For example, Mr J. M. Sen-Gupta commented on the fact that the detenues were unarmed, and that even if a section of them had adopted a menacing attitude, "Why should the walls of the inside of the bedrooms be riddled with bullets?"

Resisting War

In connection with the appeal of Professor Einstein to war resisters, printed below, we are glad to note that four Englishmen in India have responded to it and sent a communication to the Press. These are Dr. P. G. Bridge, Principal, St. Paul's College, Calcutta, Mr. C. S. Milford, the Vice Principal, Messrs. H. H. Crabtree and Christopher Ackroyd, both of whom are professors in that college. They write :

So far as we have observed, this appeal has received little publicity in India. We venture to hope that once attention is drawn to it, there are many who like ourselves will feel impelled to respond to it by declaring their resolute opposition to war and to all policies which assume that war is sooner or later justified, and their determination to do everything in their power to bring about disarmament. We are convinced of the need of such a concerted effort in all countries by those who are opposed to war. A public opinion must be created which will enable governments, faced with the necessity of economizing to economize on armaments first of all : which will compel the powers which secured the disarmament of Germany by a promise of general disarmament to fulfil their promise ; which will insist that the Kellogg Pact shall be taken seriously, and will frustrate with equal determination the prosecution of policies that are instruments of war. Professor Einstein calls us as individuals to be peace-makers ; and as Christians we, at any rate, cannot do other than follow his lead.



We ought to have more who will follow their example, and make non-violence a principle of international intercourse.

Professor Einstein's Appeal

The following letter from Professor Albert Einstein was addressed to the Conference of the War Resisters' International which met at Lyons from Aug. 1 to Aug. 4:

I address myself to you, the delegates of the War Resisters' International, meeting in conference at Lyons, because you represent the movement most certain to end war. If you act wisely and courageously, you can become the most effective body of men and women in the human endeavour. Those you represent in all countries have a potential power far greater than the sword.

All the nations of the world are talking about disarmament. You must lead them to do more than talk. The people must take this matter out of the hands of statesmen and diplomats. They must grip it in their own hands. Those who think that the danger of war is past are living in a fool's paradise. We have to face today a militarism far more powerful and destructive than the militarism which brought the disaster of the Great War.

This is the achievement of governments. But among the peoples the idea of war resistance spreads. You must challengingly and fearlessly extend this idea. You must lead the people to take disarmament into their own hands and to declare that they will take no part or lot in war or in the preparation of war. You must call upon the workers of all countries unitedly to refuse to become the tool of death-dealing interests. There are young men in twelve countries who are resisting conscription by refusal to do military service. They are the pioneers of a warless world. Every sincere friend of peace must support them and help to arouse the moral conviction of the world against conscription.

I appeal especially to the intellectuals of the world. I appeal to my fellow-scientists to refuse to co-operate in research for war purposes. I appeal to the preachers to seek truth and renounce national prejudices. I appeal to the men of letters to declare themselves unequivocally. I ask every newspaper which prides itself on supporting peace to encourage the peoples to refuse war service. I ask editors to challenge men of eminence and of influence by asking them bluntly: "Where do you stand? Must you wait for everyone else to disarm before you put down your weapons and hold out the hand of friendship?"

This is no time for temporizing. You are either for war or against war. If you are for war, you must encourage science, finance, industry, religion, and labour to exert their power to make your national armaments as efficient and deadly as they can be made. If you are against war, you must encourage them to resist it to the uttermost. I ask everyone who reads these words to make this great and definite decision. Let this generation take the greatest step forward ever made in the life of man. Let it contribute to those who follow, the inestimable right of a world in which the barbarity of war has been forever renounced.

We can do it if we will. It requires only that all who hate war shall have the courage to say that they will not have war.

I appeal to all men and women, whether they be eminent or humble, to declare before the World Disarmament Conference meets at Geneva in February, that they will refuse to give any further assistance to war or the preparation of war. I ask them to tell their governments thus in writing, and to register their decision by informing me that they have done so.

I shall expect to have thousands of responses to this appeal. They should be addressed to me at the headquarters of the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England. To enable this great effort to be carried through effectively, I have authorized the "Einstein War Resisters' Contributions" to this fund should be sent to the treasurer of the W. R. I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

Retrenchment and the Postal Department

Retrenchment in the past has always meant further hardships in the way of reduced pay and further work if not starvation and unemployment for the overworked and half-starved Indian subordinate staff. In the Memorandum forwarded by the General Secretary, All India (including Burma) Postal and R. M. S. Union, Delhi, to the Chairman of the Posts and Telegraph Retrenchment Advisory Committee, we find the same apprehension on the part of the Postal subordinate staff.

Amongst other things this memorandum shows how in the past this department has consistently maintained an attitude of callous indifference to the interests and welfare of the subordinate staff, and made a wide discrimination as between the higher officers and the lower paid staff and also as between the Telegraph and Postal & R. M. S. employees in all measures of retrenchment. It goes on to show how the department in the past deliberately ignored the recommendations of the Incheape Committee and the Ryan Committee, and instead of adopting their recommendations which would have resulted in permanent and effective retrenchment without lowering the efficiency of the department, callously retrenched the already very inadequate staff, while the top-heavy higher administration and the surfeited Telegraph staff was maintained at the same wasteful level.

The memorandum clearly shows how terribly underpaid and overworked the subordinate staff is. According to the figure given, the average subordinate has to do

169 years of overtime (unpaid) work during his service and that at a pay which would, by the showing of the same publication, slowly starve out of existence the entire family of the poor employee.

In contrast the munificent sums paid to the higher administration seem to be all out of proportion, and besides that very large sums seem to be allotted on the account of travelling allowance and quarters.

The sources of waste, as shown in this Memorandum, if the statements be true, call for drastic retrenchment and reorganization in the entire upper administration of this department.

There is not enough space in these columns to deal with this question in detail, but unless proof to the contrary be forthcoming, we are obliged to say that in spite of what the Director-General may say, it would be almost a crime to inflict further hardships on the subordinate staff, while lavish expenditure goes on in the upper grades.

Should Rupee follow Pound ?

Great Britain desires India to be linked to her financial destinies. We have every objection to such an arrangement. In the days when India was the silent and obedient servant of Britain the latter country so manipulated matters as to bring a major portion of India's foreign trade to Britain. She has also obtained large sums of money every year from India under all sorts of heads of expenditure for the framing of which also Britain alone has been responsible. Now that we are trying to gain our freedom from this sort of domination, we expect to manage our own affairs ourselves. Even before we have gained our desire Britain is no longer what she has been through long decades in the field of India's foreign trade. India now has more dealings with the rest of the world than she has with Britain. As a result it is necessary that India looked to the stability of her prices within her own borders as well as internationally rather than seek the doubtful ideal of stabilizing the Rupee in terms of Pound Sterling.

Whether we should have a gold standard or a silver standard or bimetalism or something else are questions which require to be discussed at length. But, we are certain it would be extremely unwise to fix the Rupee-sterling exchange by law at any

ratio (1-4 or 1-6 to the Rupee or something else). The Rupee should be free to find its own level in the world's money market. This will inconvenience our British friends to send home their earnings and our rulers to spend our funds in London. But it will save us from the risk of costly exchange experiments by the officials ; which usually deplete our national funds with no corresponding gain to our national income. The Rupee therefore should be managed with a view to foster our *internal trade* requirements as well as our foreign trade. It may be necessary for us to fix the Rupee to gold for this purpose but that will be for wiser heads than ours to discuss and decide.

The Press Bill

The new Press Bill which by some mistake on the part of some official has been given the "As you were" and will have to travel all the way up again, is in our opinion an unnecessary, uncalled for, unwise and useless instrument which the Government is seeking in the hope of achieving things which they believe must be achieved anyhow. "Philosophy," said some one, "is the art of finding a black cat, in a dark room, which isn't there." The Government's present attempt at finding a weapon to suppress the spirit of disorder in India is similarly highly philosophical. The Press Bill, if passed into Law, would hardly provide a solution for revolutionary disorders. For the spirit of unrest has other and deeper causes than mere press propaganda. Moreover, that section of the press which is most influential hardly ever supports lawlessness and violence. And it is equally true that those who go in for violence hardly ever look for inspiration in the Press. Many of them choose this line of action owing to a mistaken spirit of vengeance, either because they or their kinsmen or friends have been rough handled or persecuted by the police. Some again harbour a feeling of grievance because they or their kinsmen or friends have been locked up in prison without trial. Yet others, being immature in wisdom, think of gaining independence for their motherland by this method. Their inspiration in such cases does not come from the current newspaper but from classical historical examples, e.g. those of Jeanne d'Arc, Oliver Cromwell, George Washington, Garibaldi, Bolivar, Michael Collins, Masaryk Sun Yat-Sen and

numerous other men, who being differently circumstanced from the Indian aspirants to glory, succeeded in achieving great ends through paths absolutely different from the one India has chosen for herself. Hence, it is entirely a wrong diagnosis to charge the Indian press in general with the guilt of particular persons. It may be that in isolated cases individual members of the Indian press have gone off the path of virtue; but for them, the provisions of the Indian Penal Code were ample and sufficient. The codification of the Press Bill as it stands will give the Police inordinate, excessive and undeserved powers.

The police in India have not earned a spotless reputation for impartiality, large hearted attachment to the higher principles of justice and complete freedom from meanness, malice and vengefulness. There have been also cases in which police officers have been found to have told less than the truth and the whole truth in open Court. They are also apt to suffer from the normal psychological deviation from the truth, which, because it is expected even in justices of the peace and judges of the High Court, has brought about the system of trial by Jury. In such circumstances and, hopes of a Press Act suppressing violence being more than remote, what earthly good can one expect from the passing of this Bill? Alienation of the entire Press will be the only result of this unwise move. Government of a modern nation on mediaeval principles always leads to lack of sympathy between ruler and the ruled and occasional breaches of the peace. Gagging the Press is no remedy for this. The only remedy is revision of all unwarranted powers invested in persons who are not trusted by the people and not in granting them more and more powers in the face of popular disaffection and unwillingness. To come to the Bill itself, it is almost a copy of the now defunct Press Ordinance. In some of the provisions of the proposed Act, such as "prohibition of transmission by post of certain documents," "power to detain packages containing certain publications when imported into British India," and "power to declare certain publications forfeited and to issue search warrants for the same," we believe that the police and the Government have been doing these things either without the sanction of the Law or under already existing sections of the penal code. For instance, it is well known that

very often books sent to India from foreign countries do not reach their destination. Some of these books are never proscribed by Law, they are just held up. Cases of proscription and confiscation of publications under Sec. 124 A, I. P. C. are also numerous. We shall now discuss clause 4, sec. 1 of the Bill and leave the criticism of the amended Bill for the future. The clause and section reads as follows.

Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by sec. 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper book or other document containing any word, signs or visible representations which are likely to or may have a tendency to incite, indirectly, whether by allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise, to incite to or to encourage the commission of any offence of murder or any offence involving violence, or to express approval or admiration of any such offence, or of any person, real or fictitious, who has committed or is alleged or supposed to have committed any such offence, the Local Government may by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press, or any portion thereof, and all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found in British India to be forfeited to His Majesty.

We have italicized the portion of this clause which seems to be a fresh innovation. The whole clause had always been a trap hard to escape, when the police thought fit to drag one into it. First of all there are all those "directly," "indirectly," "inference," "implications," "metaphor" and last but not the least, "otherwise." Then this expression of "approval" or "admiration" of persons who may be violent or murderous and may be "real," "fictitious," "alleged" or even "supposed." Can there be any person wary enough to escape victimization when such vague charges could be brought against all who do not provoke the approval and admiration of the secret service? There is a sort of sincere irresponsibility attached to Martial Law. Police Law does not live openly but masquerades in the garb of Justice. Would the British Government of India so far forget their traditions, aspirations and principles as to go in for mass gagging measures?

We have seen the "extracts from newspaper articles relating to incitement to terrorist crime or to the eulogy of those concerned in such crime" as circulated to members of the Legislative Assembly by the

Government in support of the Bill. Some of these extracts are apparently objectionable but could be dealt with under the already existing law. Others appear to be just News and some fall within "implication," "metaphor," "alleged," "supposed," "fictitious," etc and should not have adorned a governmental document. These extracts at least give one an idea of how the police will make use of the new Law.

Among the thousands of newspapers, in India only about sixty papers have been quoted from in the extracts. The percentage of supposed criminals, therefore, would be negligible. Where is then occasion for such general condemnation of the Press in India?

A. C.

Incitement to Murder Indeed!

In order to prejudice the M. L. A.'s against the Indian section of the Press a pamphlet was prepared by the Government containing extracts from many Indian-owned and Indian-edited newspapers which, in official opinion, were likely to incite the readers to murder or other acts of violence. It was given to the M. L. A.'s. The papers from which the extracts were made were thus condemned unheard. The pamphlet containing the list of "guilty" papers and quotations was not circulated amongst the editors concerned, thereby preventing them from commenting on the extracts. But we are not now going to discuss whether this was an honorable and worthy move. We simply want to draw the reader's attention to one extract. It was a short story published in *Prabasi* just six months and a half ago. The story was by Dinesh Gupta, who had then been sentenced to death but not executed. Neither the last appeal nor prayer for mercy had then been rejected. The story itself had nothing to do with any kind of violence. Probably it was included in the pamphlet as the result of some such kind of reasoning:

"The writer of the story was a political assassin. Hence, if other writers of short stories commit murder, their manuscripts would be chosen by the Editor of *Prabasi* for publication. Therefore, the publication of the story was an indirect encouragement of and incitement to murder. For who would not commit murder for the glory of having a short story by him printed in a Bengali foremost illustrated monthly?"

The New Finance Bill

The Government of India went in for even heavier taxation on the 29th September. Indian taxation is very heavy already and excessive considering the benefit that people derive from the State. In other lands there are cases of heavy taxation but the taxes in these countries press heavily on strong shoulders, exempting the weaker ones. And the revenue is used in a way which yield a return to the tax-payer through free service of all kinds and cheaper supply of yet other kinds of requirements. In India from now all men, be they burdened with large families or bachelors with unearned incomes, will pay heavy taxes indiscriminately. The income tax will now have to be paid by persons earning Rs. 1,000 or more per annum. Among other heads the following are important:

1. Duty of 6 pies per lb. on raw Cotton.
2. Duty of 10 per cent on Machinery and dyes.
3. Extra -/8/- per cwt. on Brown Sugar.
4. Heavier duty on cheap boots and shoes.
5. 5 p. c. addition to duty on artificial silk.
6. 25 p. c. increase on all import duties and surcharges.
7. 25 p. c. increase in all excise duties including salt.
8. Increased postage . 50 p. c. on inland letters and post cards.

Needless to say the whole country will strongly oppose this increase in taxation. It is untimely and exorbitant. People are now somehow pulling on. In each family half the earning members have probably lost their jobs. Is it the time to increase taxes? Why not disband half the regular army and defend the country by volunteers? That will save money as well as give occupation (also food, clothing, lodging etc.) to thousands of unemployed youths.

The Report of the Chittagong Enquiry Committee

All that has been written about the events in Chittagong in the papers till now, was based on the accounts published in the newspapers. They are superseded by the report of the Non-official Enquiry Committee on the disturbances in Chittagong. At a public meeting held in the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 3rd September, the names of several well-known Indian gentlemen were suggested to form a committee for the

purpose of enquiring into the causes and character of the disturbances in Chittagong after the murder of the Police Inspector, Khan Bahadur Asanullah, and of ascertaining the loss sustained by the people of the town and district of Chittagong. This committee has now concluded its investigations and issued a report under the signatures of the following distinguished public men :

Maulana Akram Khan,
Mr. B. N. Sasmal,
Dr. J. M. Das Gupta,
Mr. T. C. Goswami,
Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji,
Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta,
Mr. N. C. Sen

This report gives all the ascertainable facts about the happenings in Chittagong and reveals an almost incredible state of affairs in that town. We cannot quote this report in full but shall give all the salient points and facts contained in it.

With regard to the method of investigation of the Committee, it is stated :

Method of Enquiry

We propose to publish the sworn statements of the witnesses who appeared before the Committee. These statements, after they had been recorded in writing, were invariably read out to those who had made them, and who thereafter put their signatures or thumb-impressions on them. Although the witnesses were not cross-examined on behalf of any particular party, we ourselves put them through very searching questions and we were impressed very favourably with the manner in which they made their statements.

After this, the report gives the details of the origin and the various stages of the disturbances :

No COMMUNAL RIOT

Evidence of such respectable witnesses as Rai Upendra Lal Ray Bahadur, Sri Jayendra N. Chaudhuri, Maulvi Afsaruddin, Sri Annada Datta and others compels us to observe that not only was there not even the beginnings of a 'Communal' riot, but that by 10 p. m. on Sunday, the 30th of August, the police and the local magistracy, by joint effort, created a disorder, deliberately and of a set purpose in which they expected the victims of assault and looting, actively encouraged by them, to retaliate against their assailants, so that the rather too frequent story of 'Communal riots' may be told again with impunity, in defence of the subsequent events. It just happened—for whatever reason—that the victims of this very deliberate conspiracy and concerted action on the part of the police and the magistracy did not 'retaliate' or even resist these attacks on their lives and property. Evidence is overwhelming to show that not only was there no intercommunal strife—that is, strife between the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities of

Chittagong—but that efforts, which had undoubtedly been made to create one, failed.

A NIGHT OF TERROR

The night of Sunday, the 30th of August, was a night of terror in Chittagong. The principal feature of the terror was that the assailants were members of the police force, the armed police Gurkhas and Europeans. It seems that they pursued a policy of general vendetta on Hindu citizens of Chittagong. They particularly attacked the houses of those who had incurred the displeasures of the local authorities, including political "suspects," pleaders who are engaged in the defence of persons accused in the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case, and the men employed in at least one well-known printing press. The manner of the attack was not only entirely illegal, but it was cowardly and brutal. Search warrants were not considered necessary. It is obvious that the local executive encouraged these attacks.

The "Panchajanya" Press is housed in that locality of Chittagong which is known as Rahamatganj. It is the press in which the popular, Nationalist newspaper "Panchajanya" is printed. It was raided sometime after 10-30 p. m. by a party of Europeans armed with revolvers. Sri Hirendra Lal Choudhury, who was in charge of the press, was assaulted and he fell down in semiconscious condition, with a wound in the head which bled profusely. He was able to give the names of his assailants, Mr. Baker, ... in the Assam-Bengal Railway. There were also on the scene two or more Hindus employed in the District Intelligence Branch ("D. I. B.") of the Police; the name of one of these was given to us as Churn Chandra Chaudhury. The employers of the press were made to hold their hands up, while the furniture and the machinery were wantonly broken. As the machinery could not be easily broken two of the raiding party (Europeans) went out in a motor car to fetch two large hammers with which they eventually succeeded in completely smashing the treadle-machine, the flat machine, the hand machine, the motor and oil engine. The types were scattered on the floor, the typewriter was rendered useless and even a map of the district of Chittagong was torn up. There was a Lewis gun placed at the door of the house. It is significant that the raiding party repeatedly asked for Sreejot Ambika Chavan Das, the proprietor of the press who was then in Calcutta.

We have the evidence of Sreejot Suresh Narayan Chaudhury, who has a tailoring business in Chittagong, and that of Sreejot Jotindra Nath Roy Chaudhury, a zemindar and a man of considerable local importance, which illustrate another aspect of the situation. The former had gone to the neighbouring house, where the latter lived and where there was a telephone, with the object of informing the police by phone, that there was trouble in the locality. There in the house of Jotindra Babu, he found the Officer-in-charge of the Police Station, Mr. Siddiq Dewan, and for a moment felt greatly reassured by his presence. But Mr. Siddiq Dewan is reported to have said:—"You think you are safe by being here. All this is our doing. We shall kill Hindus, burn them and then die. Why should we die alone?" (referring, obviously, to the murder of Khan Bahadur Asanullah). With Mr. Siddiq Dewan there were

armed constables and constables v.t. latins. S. id q D van ordered him to be tied. Sailash Babu, along with others were belaboured by the constables. Jotindra Babu has told us: "I asked Dewan, 'Why are you doing this?' He said, 'What did Ashanulla do to anybody? We have been ordered to do this. We are going to die. We shall kill Hindus and burn them and then die.'" Mr. Siddiq Dewan advised him to remove his family to a place of safety, as there would be a "flare up" the following day (*Kal Agun Jalbe.*)

Of all the cases investigated by us, the most tragic is that of the late Rajani Kanta Sen, father of a young man called Chittaranjan Sen. He died of injuries deliberately inflicted on him. Chittaranjan, apparently, was a "suspect", though there was no warrant of arrest against him. We have the evidence of Chittaranjan and of his widowed mother. The father, Sreejuti Rajani Kanta Sen, did not survive the beating. He was a man of sixty. He was struck both by the Daroga (Police Sub-Inspector) and a Gurkha. As regards Chittaranjan, he was taken to the Police Station, beaten and later discharged.

ASSAULT ON A GIRL

But the most pitiful evidence came from the daughter of Sreejuti Bipin Behari Sen, whose house had been raided also about midnight. After the first search of the house, the police took away her two brothers. Three Gurkhas returned again, forced her father to open the door, and entered the house on the pretence of a further search. While one or more of the Gurkhas prevented the father from coming to her aid, other Gurkhas attacked her and subjected her to a brutal and cowardly assault. When she attempted to cry out, they gagged her. Her father too was struck when he made a desperate attempt to protect her; when he was overpowered and his nose began to bleed, the Gurkhas renewed their assault on her. The Gurkhas eventually went away with a gold ornament and some gold coins.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE LOOT

On Monday morning, according to evidence received from different parts of the town, people were seen and heard announcing that Hindu shops were going to be looted. In several places, hackney carriages were seen to pass down the roads, one of them with a police constable in them carrying men who were asking people to close their shops, calling for revenge (*Pratihingsar Protishod*) and declaring by beat of drums that Hindu shops would be attacked. There was a similarity in the language and the manner of the announcements in the different parts of the town. This was a prelude to an orgy of plunder, under the very nose of the police. We have evidence of the fact that where a Mohammedan shop was situated in a Hindu locality, it was especially marked, so that it might be immune from attack.

As Maulavi Afsaruddin, a very respectable and educated citizen of Chittagong, holding considerable landed property, told us, one Abdul Azim (a police informer, aged about 35 or 36, who keeps a shop and is known to Maulavi Afsaruddin) informed him that a police sergeant (or officer) had warned him that there would be *golmal* (trouble), as five or six

hundred Hindus were to be arrested. In fact although Abdul Azim would not go into details, he made it clear to Maulavi Afsaruddin that there was going to be serious trouble (*Hulusthul Begni*). This was quite early in the morning. Soon after this, Maulavi Afsaruddin went to the house of Sreejuti Binode Kumar Sen, who is a defence pleader in the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case, and found that his belongings lay scattered and broken, and that even his cooking utensils had not been spared. He corroborates the statement of Sreejuti Binode Kumar Sen himself, who also tells us a story of callousness on the part of the magistracy which we think it necessary to relate here.

INDIFFERENCE OF THE OFFICIALS

Sreejuti Binode Kumar Sen, who after an assault, had been advised to spend the night of Sunday with his family, in the house of a friend, returned in the morning to his own house which he found in a deplorable condition. He went first to the Sub-Divisional Officer, showed him the marks of injury on him and "told him the whole story." The S. D. O. advised him to lodge a complaint and to see the District Magistrate. The Magistrate refused him assistance, and even went the length of making light of his sufferings and loss.

It is necessary to point out at this stage that for the last year and a half, that is, since the Armoury Raid, Chittagong has practically been in a "state of siege." The strength of the police force has been increased far beyond the normal both as regards number and as regards equipment. Further, a large number of troops have been kept in Chittagong, including a contingent of the Assam Frontier Rifles. On the 3rd August last, Mr. W. D. R. Prentice, of the Government of Bengal, in presenting his demand for a supplementary grant for the Police in the Bengal Legislative Council, referred, in some detail, to the precautions that had been taken to ensure safety in Chittagong. Evidence before us shows that the disturbances in Chittagong, which form the subject matter of the Report, were not due to any deficiency of the strength of the police.

The "Janaja," or the funeral prayer, followed by a funeral procession in honour of the late Khan Bahadur started at about midday. But before that even as early as between 8-30 and 9-30 a.m. shouts of "Pratihingshar Protishod; Hindu-ko Maro Kato" (Revenge; beat and slay Hindus) were heard at places where the police and the Magistrates had assembled to honour the dead.

THE LOOT STARTS

Looting started under their very eyes. That influential Mohammedan citizens not only did not want any reprisals but were anxious to avert them, and were alarmed at the prospect of disturbances, we have no doubt. There is the evidence of Mr. Nur Ahmed, a respected Mohammedan citizen and Chairman of the local Municipality who having heard of looting and fire in certain Hindu shops (e.g. shops of Sreejuti Debendra Chandhury and Rhid Karan), "saw Debendra's shop furiously burning. While the Magistrate was there before Debendra's shop," says Mr. Nur Ahmed, "one show-room of a gramophone shop was broken open by the hooligans; a little to the south, a Gurkha regiment passed with kurkis in their hands but they did not interfere—etc. etc." This was between 10

and 11 in the morning; and the things happened within the sight of a Police Station (Bazirhat) and almost in the presence of soldiers and Magistrates. Mr. Nur Ahmed himself spoke to the District Magistrate about the seriousness of the situation. Referring to subsequent events, he told us:—"During the occurrence I noticed all the European sergeants smiling and very glad."

THE TOWN GIVEN OVER TO RUFIANS

On Monday, the town of Chittagong was given up to hooligans. Respectable men like Maulvi Anur Khan (son of Khan Lalul Mahomed Khan), S. J. Harikissen Chowdhury, Rai Bahadur Upendralal Roy, S. J. Annada Dutt, told us how the police not only did not hinder the looting but assisted the looters to carry off their loot through the public thoroughfares of Chittagong. According to the shop-keeper Umesh Chandra Pal's evidence, the "Sahib" (European) was telling the looters: "Take away quickly; there is not very much time." Even when the police were shown people openly carrying away stolen goods they refused to assist in their recovery. On the contrary, there is evidence that the police helped them to escape.

The sufferers have furnished us with particulars of money, valuables and other things actually taken away and also of things damaged or destroyed. There was the damage done to the "Panchajanya Press" staring us in the face, as also houses broken and burnt. We have not tried to put down the total loss at any particular figure. We have considered very seriously the problem of compensating the sufferers for their losses, but we cannot think how any voluntary, non-official, agency can adequately compensate them. Redress, which law-courts can afford them under the existing state of the law, does not appear to be adequate. We recommend that the sufferers should have facilities of raising loans to re-establish themselves. But, above all, we consider it the duty of the Government of Bengal to come to their assistance in an effective manner.

THE MORTUARY

The disturbances were not confined to the town of Chittagong. They were carried to the interior. In the village of Chittagong a school was raided by Police Officers. The head master was absent from the school that day. The school had both Hindu and Mahomedan pupils. The assistant head master went out to greet these policemen to show them "every courtesy." The courtesy shown in return by these men was (1) to ignore him, (2) to ask for the "leaders of the Hindu boys" in the school, (3) to parade some of the tallest Hindu boys, (4) to place them one after another, on a table, head downwards, to hold up their legs and to administer on their bare limbs ten to fifteen lashes. Even the Mahomedan boys, who happened to wear what are known as "Gandhi caps" were not spared. They left the school thereafter, saying that they had taught the master how to administer a school. This is reminiscent of the Panjab atrocities of 1919. This was not an isolated instance. It took place in the village of Sharoatoli. Within the Thana of Patiya, other similar incidents occurred with the same kind of frightfulness.

NO COMMUNAL DISTURBANCE IN THE VILLAGES

One thing was clearly borne in upon in our investigation of the incidents outside the town of Chittagong, namely, that in all the outrages which took place on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday there was nothing in the nature of a communal disturbance in these villages. In the systematic raid on private dwellings and their wanton destruction, there is no evidence that a single Mahomedan villager took any part. They were carried out under the orders of British officers by members of the Eastern Frontier Rifles, commonly known as Gurkhas. We give in an appendix to our report a list of some forty houses which were thus attacked. The raids covered several villages in the vicinity of Chittagong.

BURNING OF HOUSES

The method and manner of destruction in all these villages were similar. Houses were either burnt or wantonly damaged. Trees were cut down at their root. Every article of furniture was broken. Even railings in verandahs of houses were cut down. In some cases bamboo props were similarly destroyed. Out of vindictiveness the house of the mother of the late Ramkrishna Biswas (who had already been hanged for a political offence) was burnt. The late Prasanna Kumar Sen's house was burnt after the police officers had enquired about a political "suspect." The alleged murderer of Khao Bahadur Asanullah was brought to his village and to witness the destruction of his house by the police. In course of these raids on the villages, young men were indiscriminately beaten. Foodstuffs found in the houses were rendered unfit for human consumption. Even saris, quilts, wearing apparel were cut to pieces. Cooking utensils were ruthlessly destroyed. All this was done by daylight. It was pure terrorism, carried with inhuman callousness by the police with the help of Gurkhas.

We desire to record that there was no provocation whatsoever for these atrocities. In the course of these acts of wanton destruction, even houses of Government servants were not spared.

Puja Holidays

The office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed for the Puja holidays from the 13th to the 27th October 1931 inclusive. All letters, orders, complaints, remittances received during this period will be dealt with after the holidays.

To Advertisers

All advertisement matter, changes, stop orders etc., for the November number of *The Modern Review* must reach our office by the first week of October 1931.

We are glad to announce that the Editor of the *Modern Review*, who was seriously ill, is now recovering from his illness.





NOVEMBER, 1931

WHC

Problem of India's Over-population*

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

Course read in the International Population Congress at Rome, September, 1931

The provisional census report presents population of India 1931, or 18 per cent of population. From 1872 to 1931 population of India increased by 59 millions were due to census improvement, and increase of 54 millions in 49 years, but in the single year 1931 to 1931 the population increased by 54 millions. Since there has territorial expansion during increase might be regarded as real. As far as the decennial

increase is concerned, during 49 years increase varied from 96 per cent in 1872-81, but in the last decade was as high as 100 per cent†

As compared with Europe, the increase of population up to the year 1931 in India. In the 50 years from 1881 to 1931 for instance, the population increased by 47 per cent as compared with 20 per cent in 49 years from 1881 in India. While the final results of the census in various countries are known, the population in England increased by 532 per cent in the last decade‡

In this article, the writer has utilized the data on population and food supply in the Report of the Population Conference in 1927 (London), his article in the *Modern Wastage of India's Man Power* (Calcutta, 1929), and *Production in India* (Calcutta, 1930). Of the other important sources are the following: *Agricultural Statistics of India*, for British India, *Annuaire International Agricoltural* (Paris), *International Agricultural Yearbook* (London), etc.

The slower growth of the population in India in the earlier years was due to higher death-rate rather than to lower birth-rate. While from 1880 to 1931 the average annual birth and death rates in England and Wales, France, Belgium

† The population increased by 15 per cent in 1872-81, 96 per cent in 1881-91, 100 per cent in 1891-1901, 64 per cent in 1901-11, and 100 per cent in 1911-21.

‡ Census of England and Wales Report, 1931, p. 1 (table).

Italy and Spain were respectively 3.11 and 2.2 per cent, thus leaving a surplus of .91 per cent a year, those in India from 1885 to 1910 were respectively 3.61 and 3.08 per cent, with a surplus of only .56 per cent a year. During the period 1911-21, the death-rate in India amounted to as much as 3.41 per cent as against a birth-rate of 3.68 per cent, thus leaving a surplus of only .28 per cent a year, but from 1885 to 1921 the average birth-rate was .48 per cent a year and from 1921 to 1931 it was as high as over 1 per cent a year, as compared with .55 per cent in England and Wales and over 1.58 per cent in Japan.*

The growth of population in India was not only the highest in the last decade, but there is every reason to believe that in future the natural growth of the population will also be as high as at present, if not higher, unless conscious effort is made towards the limitation of the family. There are several reasons for such an anticipation. In the first place, the growth of health movements all over the country, such as baby weeks, child welfare work, maternity benefits, and anti-malarial campaigns, are bound to reduce the death-rate, especially among the infants. In the second place, the gradual abolition of such practices as pre-puberty sexual relations, prolonged lactation, abortion, infanticide, continence among married men after a certain age, and enforced widowhood among the high-caste Hindus, will have some effect upon population growth. In the third place, the increasing control of famines and epidemics will also be a factor in the more rapid growth of population.

There is, however, a slight tendency towards a decline in the birth-rate. From 3.81 per cent in 1901-1910 it fell to 3.69 per cent in 1911-20 and to 3.43 per cent in 1921-28. But this decline will be a very slow process. The universality of marriage and the cult of ancestral worship are likely to remain in force for some time to come. Moreover, the recent Child Marriage Restraint Act, which prohibits marriage of boys and girls before the ages of 18 and 14 respectively, will take a long time to produce any appreciable results. Even if the birth-rate falls, there will also be a fall in the death-

rate. At the rate of the present growth, the population in India will be about 468 millions by 1960—that is, an increase of 33 per cent in a generation.

EXTENT OF OVER-POPULATION

That the present population is more than can be supported by national productivity cannot be doubted. In his paper on "Population and Food Supply in India" in the World Population Conference in 1927, the present writer showed that the *per capita* food supply, as indicated by the yield of the principal crops, was 83 million calories in 1921. As there has been no appreciable increase in the food supply[†] since then, the *per capita* food supply would amount to 75 million calories for the present population as compared with 1 million[‡] calories, which are essential for the human body. In other words, on the basis of absolute requirements, there is a food supply for a population of only 264 millions, or 75 per cent of the present population.

Man cannot, however, live on the absolute necessities of life. In the five years 1909-1913 the average food consumption was 3,091 calories per person per day in the United Kingdom, that is 473 calories or 18 per cent more than what was absolutely necessary. It has been estimated that the average area for food supply, including drink, wool, fibre, and other raw materials, amounts to 2.6 acres in the United States, 2.5 acres in the United Kingdom, 2.1 acres in France, and 1.83 acres in Denmark.

It has been found that by raising pork and potatoes a hundred acres of land can feed 70 or 75 persons in Germany, that is, 1.3 or 1.5 acres per unit of population. The area needed by a person for a decent living depends upon several factors, such as fertility of the soil, intensity of culture, nature of food, climatic conditions and cultural ideals.

How much land will be required by a

* The area under cultivation varies from year to year. It was 199.6 million acres in 1910-20, fell to 186.8 million acres in 1920-21, and rose to 205 million acres in 1922-23. It was 200 million acres in 1928-29.

† The Food (War) Committee of the Royal Society adopted the figure of 2,618 calories as representing the minimal daily energy required by the unit of population, or 925,570 calories, or roughly 1 million calories a year.

* The population in Japan increased by 7.9 per cent from 1925 to 1930. Osaka *Asahi* (newspaper) June 30, 1931.

person for a decent living in India is difficult to estimate. Increasing internationalism and a rising standard of living indicate that a person would need the same area of land in India as in the West. The tropical climate of the country, the prevailing vegetarianism among the people, and the spiritual nature of national ideals would, however, indicate that Indian people may be satisfied with a much lower standard. Owing to the fact that a large part of the land in India is poor in fertility and the distribution of rainfall is irregular and uncertain, the area of arable land that a person would need in India might be fixed at 1.5 acres. On this basis the optimum population that India, with her 480 million acres of arable land, will be able to support would be 320 millions. Since only 55 per cent of its area is at present cultivated, the present optimum population which India can support would therefore be 176 millions, or 50 per cent of the present number. The extent of over-population in India would thus amount to one-third from the point of view of absolute necessities of life and one-half from the point of view of a more liberal standard of living.

The immediate effects of over-population are famines, epidemics and under-employment. From 1860-1861 to 1899-1900 there were several famines in India, of which seven were most disastrous, and affected an area varying from 54,000 square miles to 475,000 square miles and a population varying from 20 millions to 68 millions. Since the beginning of this century there has not been any widespread famine in India. But the vast majority of the people live constantly on the verge of starvation—a fact which is admitted even by the Government. "There is a vast amount," says the Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India in 1927-28, "of what can only be termed dangerous poverty in the Indian villages—poverty, that is to say, of such a kind that those subject to it live on the very margin of subsistence."

The relative poverty of the Indian people can be best indicated by the comparison of the national income. In 1924, for instance, the *per capita* national income was only Rs. 74* in India as compared with Rs. 294

in Japan, Rs. 351 in Italy, Rs. 537 in Germany, Rs. 741 in France, Rs. 1,319 in England and Rs. 1,717 in the United States. It is a well known fact that the *per capita* amount of food consumed by the Indian masses falls far short of that of the prisoner. According to the enquiry of the Bombay Labour Office, even the industrial workers in Bombay, who are much better off than the rest of the masses, consume the maximum of cereals allowed by the Bombay Famine Code but less than the scale prescribed for jails.

Famines have been accompanied by epidemics. In the period from 1901 to 1920 the recorded mortality from plague amounted to 9.5 millions. The influenza of 1918 and 1919 alone was responsible for 8.5 million deaths. In 1928 the death-rate was 2.55 per cent in India as compared with 1.20 per cent in Germany, 1.34 per cent in England and Wales, 1.56 per cent in Italy, and 1.65 per cent in France. This high death-rate naturally lowers the average life of people in India. The average length of life is in fact only 24.7 years in India as compared with 49.3 years in Italy, 52.2 years in France, 55.6 years in England and Wales, and 56 years in Germany. In short, the death-rate is twice, and the average length of life less than half, as much as in some European countries. This low average length of life has a great effect on the material and moral development of the country. If the first fifteen years, which represent the debit side of life, are subtracted from the average life, the average creative period in India becomes only ten years as compared with about thirty-five years or more in the countries mentioned above.

Under-employment including unemployment, is still another effect of the over-population in India. At a very conservative estimate, an average cultivator does not have more than eight months' work in the year. The size of farm cultivated by farmers and their assistants amount to 225 acres per head in Bengal as compared with 21 acres in England and Wales. Moreover, subdivision and fragmentation, which have been going on in India, have made a considerable number of farms uneconomic. The artisan class fares scarcely better than the cultivator. Moreover, the increasing unemployment among the educated classes has attained such an alarming proportion that several provinces have had to appoint committees

* Refers to the year 1901-1902. The national income of India has been put as high as Rs. 116, but the accuracy of the last estimate has been seriously questioned.

of enquiry in order to know how to deal with the question.

CAUSES OF OVER-POPULATION

In spite of the heavy mortality caused by famines and epidemics, the population in India has grown beyond the productive power of the country. This over-population in India has been brought about by the lack of conscious control of the numbers on the one hand and the inability of production to keep pace with the population growth on the other. In fact, over-population in India cannot be explained on the ground of the growth of population alone. It has been pointed out that the rate of population growth until recently had been much slower in India than in Europe. Although Europe has sent a large number of persons abroad, and annexed territories in different parts of the world for the supply of food and raw material for her growing population, she has also partly solved the question of her over-population by increasing her industrial efficiency or productive power within her own territories. The normal growth of productivity in India has been interrupted by various causes, especially within the last century, and this retarded growth of her productive power is partly responsible for her present over-population.

Of the world's land area of 57.2 million square miles, India occupies 18 million square miles, or 3.2 per cent. Excluding the uninhabitable regions of the earth, the comparative land supply in India is, however, much higher. The density of population per square kilometre is only 68 in India as compared with 75 in France, 134 in Italy, 138 in Germany, 169 in Japan, 196 in Great Britain, and 269 in Belgium. What is more important to a country is the proportion of its arable land, in which the advantages of course lie with new countries like Canada, Argentina, Australia, and the United States, where *per capita* arable land varies from 2.5 to 1.17 hectares. The *per capita* arable land is .45 hectares in India as compared with .54 hectares in France and .65 hectares in Spain. But it is much higher than in Italy, Germany, Belgium, Great Britain and Japan, where it varies from .33 to .09 hectares.

India is fairly rich in fisheries. The fresh-water fisheries of India are surpassed only by those of the United States. Besides, there

are extensive areas of brackish, foreshore, and deep-water fisheries along her 4,500 miles of coastline. Forests and minerals are also important resources of a country, both for their direct and indirect use. In the supply of forests, countries like Brazil, Canada and the United States have the advantage. The forests, including permanent pasture, in India are rich in variety but limited in quantity, being only .12 hectares *per capita* as compared with .26 hectares in Italy, and .50 hectares in France. The minerals in India are similarly rich in kind but poor in quantity, except iron and water. India possesses 3,000 million tons of iron-ore and 27 million horse-power of water resources, thus standing fourth in the world in the possession of the former and third in the possession of the latter.

These resources of India are, however not properly utilized for productive purposes. As the present writer has shown in his treatise on *The Industrial Efficiency of India*, under the present productive systems, India wastes about three-fourths of her arable land, forests, fisheries and minerals. The low productivity of India is best indicated by the yield of her agricultural products. In 1929-1930, for instance, the per hectare production of rice was only 14.9 quintals in India as compared with 33.9 quintals in Japan, or 41 per cent. that of wheat was only 6.7 quintals in India as compared with 25 quintals in Belgium, or 27 per cent, and that of cotton was only .9 quintal in India as compared with 4.8 quintals in Egypt, or 18 per cent. In fact, the agricultural productivity in India, which is by far the most important industry, is only 45 per cent of the average of Belgium, the United Kingdom and Germany.

India wastes a large part not only of her natural resources but also of her capital and labour resources. In the same treatise as mentioned above, the present writer has shown that India wastes about two-thirds of her capital resources owing to inability to mobilize social savings into national capital, to introduce modern tools and technique into productive processes, and to make full use of the existing capital goods. Similarly, India wastes about two-thirds of her labour power owing to the ill-health and the ignorance of her people. In fact, as compared with the average standard of productivity in most of the industrially advanced countries, India is only one third as efficient. It is

the industrial inefficiency of India which is the cause of her low productivity and is partly responsible for her over-population.

The causes of industrial inefficiency of a nation may first be sought in the physical environment of its country and the racial qualities of its people. But although the tropics and the sub-tropics do not encourage the growth of physical energy to the same extent as the colder countries, the necessities of life are also fewer in the former as compared with those in the latter. Moreover, natural environment can be to a limited extent modified by human intelligence. Industrial efficiency depends, however, more upon mental qualities than upon physical energies. As far as the mental qualities of the people are concerned, it may be pointed out that India has not only contributed to philosophy, science, religion, medicine and arts, but had also supplied other nations with highly specialized articles from the time of the early Romans down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Ill-health, arising from chronic starvation and disease, as well as ignorance, which prevail among all classes of people, are detrimental to the growth of efficiency. Here is a vicious circle: ill-health and ignorance are both the causes and effects of industrial inefficiency. Social and religious institutions, such as the caste system, untouchability, child marriage, the joint family system, the purdah (seclusion), and the fatalistic conception of life, have also hindered social development and consequently industrial efficiency. Moreover, the loss of political power and the consequent moral and intellectual deterioration of the people, the establishment of an extensive foreign rule with its policy of new mercantilism (that India should become a producer of raw materials and a purchaser of finished products), and the organization and control of public utilities and key industries by foreign enterprise are also among the factors interfering with the growth of industrial efficiency among the indigenous people.

It is the inability of India to develop industrial efficiency and to apply modern science and art to productive processes which have retarded the growth of her national wealth. Although large industries, such as the cotton and jute mills, have grown up in the country, there has been a more rapid decline in arts and crafts. Instead of highly manufactured articles, as formerly,

more than half of India's present exports consist of raw materials and unmanufactured articles, and about three-quarters of her imports consist of manufactured goods. In fact, dependence upon agriculture as a means of livelihood has increased in India within the past generation. From 1891 to 1921, the proportion of the population supported by agriculture has increased from 61 per cent to 73 per cent. The proportion of agricultural population in India is 73 as compared with 40 in France, 34 in Germany and 32 in the United States.

The retarded growth of industrialism has not only interfered with the productivity of the people, but also the growth of modern outlook on life among the masses. It must be remembered that the two most important events in the Western world which have brought about the social, political and industrial changes are industrialism and mass education, in both of which India lags behind.

PROSPECTS OF PRODUCTIVITY

Although the increase in industrial efficiency will lead to the growth of production, there is a limit to the extension of productive power under the present state of development of science and art. On the basis of absolute necessities, or a liberal standard, India needs an increase of 33 or 100 per cent as much food supply as at present. The realization of such a standard of life is not an easy task.

In the first place, the natural resources of India are only fair. Of the total area of arable land, 55 per cent is already in use. Any intensification in cultivation would operate only under conditions of diminishing return. The unappropriated 45 per cent of the arable land is inferior in quality to that already under cultivation. Any improvement in production, therefore, would require irrigation, drainage, fertilization, acclimatization and other scientific treatment. As to other resources, the conservation and development of fisheries, forests and minerals require the acquisition of enormous capital and special technique.

The low national income does not leave much margin of saving for supplying capital resources in India. A large part of the savings is either hoarded or invested unproductively. Although the nationalization of the Government and the Indianization of the army might relieve India of at least half, if not

more of it expenditure, which amounted to six crores of rupees in 1928-29, India has to pay a large amount of interest on her foreign public debt, which amounted to 353.0 million pounds sterling in 1928-1929. Moreover, the establishment of Self-government or Dominion status may lead to the withdrawal of a large amount of foreign investment, which amounts to about 600 million pounds sterling.

The greatest defect in India's productive system is, however, inefficiency of labour, which arises from ill-health and ignorance. Some idea of the extent of ill-health in India can be had from the fact that 70 per cent of the population in Bengal and practically all the rural population in Madras are infected with hookworm. Moreover, malaria, from which no part of India is free, causes 13 million deaths and debilitates many millions more every year. What is equally detrimental to the growth of industrial efficiency is colossal ignorance among the masses. According to the census of 1911, over 92 per cent of the whole population was illiterate.

India has the potentialities of developing highly specialized commodities in which she once enjoyed a great reputation. There is also the possibility of building some modern industries. "There is little doubt," says Sir Edwin Pascoe, Director of the Geological Survey of India, "that her vast resources in iron ore will one day give her an important, if not dominant, place in the steel of the world." But the development of such industries will require time.

Even if India immediately adopts a strong policy of national economy and begins the reconstruction of her industrial systems, it will take several decades before she can acquire sufficient efficiency and capital for the full utilization of her resources and for the solution of the problem of her food shortage.

A nation, however, needs other things besides food. It must provide all those necessities which are required for the moral and intellectual development of a progressive people. Moreover, a nation must maintain its standard among other advanced nations. The standard of life in India may not be raised to the same level as that in Europe and America, but it must be a comfortable and respectable one. In order to raise her standard even to that of Japan, India must increase her national dividend

four times as much. Even when she can raise her productive power to the average productive capacity of industrially advanced countries, and can utilize all her resources, over two-thirds of which are at present wasted, as noted before, India can increase her productivity only three times as much. In short, it will take several decades before India can secure a decent standard of living for her people. During this period, the population, if unchecked, will grow faster than the increase in productivity.

CONTROL OF NUMBERS

Any increase in production alone, therefore, cannot solve the problem of over-population. The increase in productivity must be accompanied by the control of numbers. This control may consist either in the reduction or the stabilization of the present population. But the fundamental principle is to regulate the population according to social needs or the productive capacity of the country.

The reduction in the existing number of the population can be brought about either by emigration or by bringing down the birth-rate lower than the death-rate. Emigration as a method of reducing the numbers is only a palliative measure, as will be shown below. To bring the birth-rate lower than the death-rate involves some difficulties. In the first place, the population is the physical basis of national life, and any proposal for reduction will be objectionable to public sentiment. In the second place, the reduction in numbers is bound to increase an older age in population composition and thus to encourage conservatism and hinder social progress. India, which has been for centuries ruled by old traditions and old people, needs youthful vigour and social regeneration. In the third place, once the birth-rate begins to fall lower than the death-rate, it may lead to national decay or "racial suicide." Moreover, as the voluntary reduction is bound to begin in the upper classes of society, such classes may be extinct before long, causing social stagnation. It is not meant that the so-called upper classes have any intrinsic mental qualities which the lower classes lack; but they represent some cultural achievement, the loss of which will be detrimental to social progress.

Like reduction, stabilization in numbers can also be brought about by two methods.

namely encouraging the emigration of a certain number of people by equalizing the birth and death rates. As in the case of reduction, emigration is not a solution to the problem of stabilization. Stabilization has also some defects, such as increase of an older age in population composition, but not to the same extent. It also fails to take care of the present excessive population. Moreover, since the adoption of the policy of stabilization will not be followed by immediate results, the problem of over-population will continue to increase before stabilization can be effected.

Stabilization has, however, some advantages. It will be more readily acceptable to the public. Even if reduction in numbers is desired, stabilization will be the first step in this direction. Once the people are used to the idea of stabilization, they may be more easily induced to accept the policy of reducing the numbers. Moreover, if the population can be kept stationary for a generation and rapid progress is made in national productivity, there will be a possibility of estimating more accurately the extent of over-population and of determining a definite population policy.

That emigration alone is not a method of solving the problem of over-population has already been mentioned. Emigration can reduce the present number only if the birth-rate and death-rate equalize each other. As a method of stabilization, emigration implies disposing of over three million population a year, which is the present excess of births over deaths. India has neither her own colonies nor the political and financial power to acquire any in the near future: nor is there any country in the world which can absorb such an enormous population. The number of Indians in British and foreign colonies amounts to a little over two millions after a hundred years of emigration.* Moreover, emigration is not an unmixed good. It is mostly the comparatively young and

enterprising people who emigrate, thus depriving the mother country of their energy and enterprise.

The immediate problem before India is therefore the equalization of the birth and death-rates. On the basis that there is an excess of births over deaths of over three millions a year, and there are over 6.5 million households, the stabilization of the numbers in India would mean the reduction of a household from 4.9 persons to about 4.4 persons.* This implies both the desire on the part of the people to take to voluntary limitation of the family and familiarity with the means of achieving this end. Dissemination of the knowledge and the means of birth control among the people is a comparatively easy matter, but the creation of the desire for the voluntary limitation of the family means the development of a new attitude towards life.

The creation of a new attitude in a country where religion inculcates that every woman should marry and every man should have a son implies a complete change both in the religious doctrine and philosophy of life as well as in the social, political and industrial background. In order to bring about such changes India needs compulsory education, universal suffrage, abolition of caste and other social evils, industrialization of production, and the raising of the standard of life. It is only a new awakening among the masses and a higher appreciation of the moral and intellectual values of life and a greater desire for material goods which may lead them to adopt the conscious limitation of the family and thus to secure wealth and welfare to themselves as well as to their posterity.

* The number of households refers to the census of 1921. Owing to the existence of the joint family system, it is difficult to estimate the exact size of the family in India in the sense understood in the West. According to the enquiries made by the Bombay Labour Office, the working class families have been found to consist of 4.2 persons in Bombay, 4.68 persons in Solapur, and 4 in Ahmedabad.



Conditions of Wage Workers In Mysore State*

II. "OUTSIDE" LABOUR AND COGNATE PROBLEMS

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

THE Kannada-speaking people of Mysore do not take kindly to industrial labour. They love the land too dearly to be easily parted from it.

Their holdings are usually small—rarely above ten acres and sometimes only two or three acres in area. They are often fragmentary. Two or more plots are separated by a field or fields, which complicates the problem of cultivation.

Scidom is the peasant free from debt. The usurer's hand lies heavy on his shoulder. Between the tribute levied by the State and the exactions of the money-lender, little is left of the harvest garnered.

The land is nevertheless a symbol. It is a symbol of freedom, tattered though that freedom be. It gives the peasant a sense of independence. He works for himself—he is no hireling.

II

The roots of the *Vokkalur* (as the man of the cultivating class is called in this State) descend into the soil far deeper than those of the paddy that he grows in his "wet" land or of the *ragi* (a species of millet) that he raises on his "dry" holding. Poverty exerts a powerful pull on them. It has a wrenching, tearing action. As it tugs at him, he trembles. Even his roots are disturbed. But they are resilient as well as tough. More often than not they hold.

There does not seem to be any limit to the cultivator's capacity to construct his desires—to narrow even his elementary, supposedly undemable, wants. His ability to do without things—to go on short commons—is highly developed. So is his ingenuity for making a little go a long way.

And yet there is nothing mean about the man. Penury has not killed in him the instinct to give. He shares his little

with the stranger. The prince who lavishes his bounty out of his plenty looks like a niggard compared with this horny-handed son of toil, burdened with debt.

I speak from experience. I have enjoyed the hospitality of both.

III

In certain parts of the State the rainfall is generous, the soil is rich and general conditions governing farming operations are favourable. Vegetation seems to grow with small effort—almost of itself.

Agricultural operations are conducted in a lacedaisical fashion in such parts. I have noticed peasants going to the fields at an hour when elsewhere half a morning's work would have been done. I have seen them returning to their homes when the sun was still pretty high in the heavens.

Much the same may be said of even some parts of the State where the rainfall is scanty and little has been done—or done successfully—by the Government to provide irrigation facilities. The Kannada-speaking farmer pursues his calling in a leisurely manner and seems incapable of intense application.

The work-day is particularly short in the *malnad* (hilly) and semi-malnad districts. There the farm worker has yet to discover the meaning of strenuous labour as understood in other countries and even in nearby districts in British India.

How much of this is temperamental and how much physiological, I cannot say. But I must say that I have been appalled at the utter inadequacy of effort to improve the sanitary conditions of the State.

The *Arogya Shashtra* (sanitary science) may be taught in schools. The Sanitary Department may issue roseate reports from Bangalore and by skilfully piloting visiting sanitarians may secure high eacomiiums from them. But I have travelled thousands of miles in the interior, wherever possible,

* The first article in this series appeared in *The Modern Review* for October, 1931.

uncare used by officials. I know having seen with my own eye that a actual practice life is in open defiance of the sanitary laws.

Arrangements for the disposal of refuse even when they exist are primitive in the extreme. The water-borne system of sewage is virtually unknown. Incineration is little practised and seldom with the due precautions. Gutters do not always exist, and when they do, they are almost invariably open and evil-smelling, except when some exalted visitor is expected.

Malaria and hookworm, needless to say, thrive. The lassitude of the people must be partly due to the debilitating effect these diseases have upon the physique of those subjected to them.

IV

Sanitary conditions are no better in the neighbouring Madras Presidency. Now is the outlook upon life materially different.

But Nature is not so bountiful. Even to procure a scanty portion of rice and *rasam* (pepper-water) the agricultural labour there must toil long and hard. Often the problem of living can be solved only by emigrating to some place offering better prospects.

The Tamil is, therefore, hardy, industrious and thrifty. But all the advantages are not in his favour. He lacks the gentle manners of the Kannadi man.

In going from Mysore to Madras, one is struck by these differences. The people living in the strip forming the eastern border of the State—the Kolar District—appear to be a cross between the Kannadi and Tamil race-groups. They are wonderfully good at conserving water and applying it economically to raise crops which can be nurtured only with intense effort. Conditions of life and work in this corner of the State offer a contrast compared with those in the interior.

V

These physiological and psychological factors have an important bearing upon the supply of labour for industrial and certain other classes of work. They make it impossible for Mysore State to be self-sufficing in this respect.

Another factor increases Mysore's need for labour drawn from outside its border. The population is small compared with the area. There are only some 6,557,871 persons in nearly 29,500 square miles.

More than fifty years have elapsed since the great famine devastated the "Mysore Province," as it was then called. Though recent censuses have shown considerable increase, the population is small considering the size of the territory. The density is much lower than in the Madras Presidency or in Cochin or Travancore.

Some Mysoreans may not hesitate to assert that the population is adequate not only for the ordinary requirements of the State but even for "developmental work," as they would put it. There is no lack of contentious spirit or of casuistical skill in the State.

These Mysoreans would, however, be unable to deny that labour engaged upon certain types of undertakings is largely or entirely recruited from the Madras or Bombay Presidencies. For instance:

(1) Most of the large coffee plantations in the Hassan, Kolar and Shimoga Districts employ workers from "Below the ghat"—that is to say, the low land lying round about Mangalore.

(2) Non-Mysoreans figure prominently in the population in the Kolar Gold Fields.

(3) Projects for impounding water by the million cubic feet for various purposes have been and are being executed with the aid of thousands of men and women imported from the eastern districts of the Madras Presidency.

(4) Workshops, factories and mills are run with a considerable admixture of Tamil, Telugu and Mahratta labour.

The presence of large numbers of "outsiders" on "developmental work" can be explained only by admitting that, if Mysoreans have the capacity to be self-sufficing in this respect, they certainly lack the will.

VI

The employment of outside—chiefly Tamil-speaking—labour in the State has a distinct reaction upon Mysoreans. It makes them look upon Tamils as an order of beings specially created by Providence to drudge for them.

In so doing the Kannada-speaking Mysoreans forget, of course, that the Tamils are an intellectual race, with a remarkably vital civilization of their own which, despite its amalgamation with the Aryan culture, has retained some of its original characteristics. As I have pointed out elsewhere,* the

* "Men & Matters In Mysore—XII: What of Tomorrow? *The Hindu Illustrated Weekly* (Madras), June 28, 1931.

Mysore has cut away so many of the posts in the Mysore Civil Service that the door of that Service has been virtually slammed upon him as well as other non-Mysorean Indians. As I wrote :

"Mysore, I must hasten to add, has a brand of its own Civil Service—the 'M. C. S.' created by Sir K. Sheshadri Aiyar during his long tenure of the Dewanate.

"In the competitive examination prescribed by that Madras statesman, Mysoreans found themselves no match for alert men from Coimbatore, Tanjore, Rajahmundry, Palghat and the 'wider-legged' region of Travancore. Ayyas and Ruos were outclassed by Aiyars.

"A postern gate made it possible, however, for the 'also ran' to get in. Relatives of influential officials and graduates belonging to the Muslim and backward communities were also permitted to enter the 'gazetted ranks' without going through the travail of passing any competitive examination. Heart-burning continued nevertheless.

"Each time that a Mysorean occupied the seat of the mighty, he found some way of keeping non-Mysoreans out. Finally, during the last decade, a ukase went out from the Secretariat that slammed the door shut and barred it against 'outsiders'—non-Mysore Indians being 'outsiders.'

"So far as I know, this is the only administrative act of Sir M. Visweswaraya that, in my view at least, is tainted with parochialism. Probably the Ayyas and Ruos who found themselves outdistanced in the competitive race caught him in an unguarded moment and got their wish.

"A peculiar plea is advanced to justify this policy of exclusion of Madras and other Indians from the 'M. C. S.' Without this safeguard, it is said, Mysoreans would be nowhere in their own State.

"The men who talk thus nevertheless insist that Mysoreans must be given unfettered opportunities outside Mysore. The State, they add, is unable to absorb all the men turned out of the various faculties of the Mysore University. Were other Indian States and British India to erect barriers, the plight of many Mysore graduates would be sad.

"At the moment of writing, an intensive effort is, in fact, being made to secure India-wide recognition of the degrees conferred by the Mysore University upon engineering graduates. Such recognition is sought not merely or even largely as a compliment to the other Indian Universities, but with a view to making it easier for Mysore engineering graduates to obtain employment elsewhere.

"I deprecate the setting up of ring-fences round any part of India. Every artificial barrier that exists must come down. Otherwise national aspirations will be an utter delusion."

I fear that the presence of a considerable percentage of non-Mysorean wage-earners constitutes one of the causes of the apathy that is displayed towards solving the problems connected with mining, planting and industrial labour. Little in the way of welfare work is attempted even in the large cities.

The movement to organize labour unions is still in its infancy. The "recognition" of unions is left to the will of the employers. Even the Mysore Government justifies its refusal to treat with union representatives upon the plea that they are "outsiders."

High-handed action taken against labour-leaders (who happen to be of Tamilian stock) by reactionary officials, rouses little public indignation—certainly no effective action by way of protest. (I shall have more to say concerning these matters in an article that will appear later).

There is another side to the question however. The fact that many of the wage-earners who create wealth in Mysore are drawn from outside the State invests the labour problem here with a wider interest.

The conditions in which Indians, no matter where they were born, live and work in whatever part of India—or, for that matter, of the world—should, in any case, interest any and every Indian. But unfortunately India is passing through the paroxysmal stage. Everything is viewed through a narrow, provincial slit in the curtain of life.

This is particularly the case in Indian India. Officials connected with the administration of even a State that claims to be progressive do not hesitate to raise the cry of "domestic issue" in the attempt to burke discussion.

I have been much disappointed to find that Mysore, with all its reputation for enlightened rule, is no exception in this respect. But no matter how much some of its officials may wish to isolate it from the rest of India, in many matters and especially so far as labour is concerned, it is dependent upon the neighbouring Presidencies. Its future development is, indeed, conditioned to no small extent by its ability to draw a cheap and plentiful supply of workers from contiguous British-Indian districts.

VII

Mysore's dependence upon "outside" labour was brought home to me within a few days of my arrival on my present visit to that State. At the suggestion of the Dewan-Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza Mohammed Ismail, a friend of many years' standing—I went to Thippagondanahalli, where a large reservoir for impounding 1,471,000,000 cubic feet of potable water (in the first stage) and 3,037,000,000 cubic feet in the final stage, for

Bangalore (about twenty miles distant) was being constructed. There, to my surprise, I found at work a large number of labourers drawn from various parts of India. Before writing of them I shall give a brief description of the project, of which the State is proud.

The site is well chosen. The dam is being built in the bed of the Arkavati river in a narrow gap between two hills. The land in the immediate vicinity is, for the most part, waste or of little agricultural value; and is hemmed in with hills.

Every advantage that the engineer's soul could crave is available here. The narrow gap across the valley necessitates the construction of a dam that is remarkably short for the vast amount of water to be stored. When completely finished it will be only 1,460 feet in length at the top.

The project reflects great credit on the Public Works Department. Mr. M. G. Rangaiya, who presides over that department, and Mr. John Bhore, his immediate predecessor and, for the time being, Consulting Engineer to the Mysore Government in respect of this undertaking, are exceedingly competent engineers. They would have risen to the top of their profession anywhere in the world.

Nature has a way of upsetting human calculations. In framing estimates wise engineers therefore make it clear that they are basing their figures upon certain contingencies.

In this case the rock formation necessitated deeper excavation than was anticipated. A "fault"—to use a geological expression—was discovered.

No sound engineer could lay the foundations of the dam on dikes of soft, crumbling matter running through the rock. It was therefore necessary to continue the excavation until the solid rock-bottom was reached.

At the time of my (first) visit digging operations were in full swing. I found many Pathans at work driving crow-bars into the dike. The broken mass was being loaded into baskets which women carried on their heads from the pit over ramps and dumped upon selected spots on the brow of the embankment.

These women looked strong and energetic. They were mostly Waddars from the Madras Presidency. So I was told by the engineer who kindly showed me around the works. Waddars were, he added, a "forest tribe" and were adepts at earth work.

The Pathans, with their sturdy physique, were particularly good at excavation. Each of them could do as much work as four ordinary men. A Pathan earned as much as two rupees a day.

I asked him how much a Waddar woman earned.

"They are all on piece work," the Engineer replied. "So are the Pathans, for that matter."

He appeared to be fencing. I therefore pressed him for a more direct reply. So far as I could gather, few of the women made more than eight annas a day.

Later I met another engineer, who said: "These coolies from British India are very well off. They get better wages here than they do in their own districts. That is why they come here. We can have any number of them we want. They are very well off indeed."

VIII

I was pressed for time on that occasion and could not examine conditions as well as I should have liked to do. I therefore returned to Thippagondanahalli a few months later when an opportunity presented itself.

The sun had risen high and was sending down scorching shafts. I made my way to the far end of the dam site.

From this position I had an extensive view of the operations. Near where I stood was a pool of water. A substantial looking wall held it in check. On the other side of it was the deepest portion of the dam site, which, when finished, will rise 145 feet above foundation in the river. The rock ran in a line varying in height. All along its face men and women were hard at work, like an army of human ants, digging and carrying away material. Far above this scene of human activity appeared, at the edge of the horizon, a line of bungalows in which the men who directed the labourers lived and worked.

The sight would have held me captive but for the foul smell with which the spot where I stood was permeated. I soon found that the place was used as an open-air lavatory.

When I complained of the filthy conditions in which the labourers stationed near by were working, a high official asked me what else I could expect. Most of them were Waddars, he pointed out, without the most elementary notion of sanitation.

They may be primitive people I replied, but what had been done to civilize them? Had any latrines been constructed near the works site? Had the Waddars been taught to use them? Were scavengers employed to keep these latrines clean, if such conveniences existed, or were the scavengers meant merely for the bungalows that the "superior staff" occupied as residences and offices?

The high official winced at those questions. Evidently the idea of building latrines for the work-people or employing scavengers to keep those latrines clean have not occurred to any one in authority. Or it had been dismissed as soon as it suggested itself.

They were "only Waddars"—good enough to take work out of—but not worth the trouble of teaching them sanitary habits.

IX

This attitude prepared me for the sort of housing provided for the workers. The hovels were of the meanest description imaginable. Usually a mud wall rose to a height of eighteen inches or two feet. Above this was a peaked roof formed of rude poles to which were fastened leaves or straw. The sloping thatch reached nearly to the ground and, at its highest point, was seldom more than six or seven feet high. A narrow door, so low that it was impossible to enter it without stooping, let in the only light and air that penetrated into the interior. It served also as a chimney to let out the suffocating smoke when the fire was lit for cooking. From a distance a settlement of these huts appeared to be, not human habitations, but straw stacks.

When talking with the Engineer in charge of the project at the time, I was surprised to learn that the workers had to pay for even those wretched hovels. The "materials" were provided by the Department. The cost was deducted by means of monthly instalments.

The Engineer was an economist. He seemed proud of the system.

It did not occur to me to enquire if it was of his own invention or if it was a part of the general scheme. I am sorry the matter escaped me at the time.

The whole transaction seemed petty to me. What comparison could there be between the few thousand rupees recovered from the Waddars and other workers on

account of "housing materials" and the Rs. 5,000,000 or more to be spent upon the works?

Why are Governments sometimes so stone-hearted?

Why should such a practice exist under personal rule—under "Rama Rajya"—as Mahatma Gandhi would put it?

X

Mr. Rangaiva—the Chief Engineer of Mysore State—is a man of fine instincts. I was therefore not surprised to find, upon paying a third visit to the place, that my complaints had not gone entirely unheeded.

Near the principal works site and near the hutments lining motorable roads, latrines had been installed. The Executive Engineer—a new man—told me that sweepers were employed to keep them clean.

I also found that pipes had been run from the water tank built near the offices and residences of the engineers to convenient points in the various settlements where the workers dwelt, so that water for domestic purposes may be readily available for them. Unfortunately there was little water flowing in some of these taps when I tested them, but I dare say it was running later on when there was not so much pressure on the supply. I was assured that early in the morning and late in the evening the pressure was high enough to permit it to flow with a strength and volume that would permit the workers to fill their pots quickly. I hope this was the case.

The new Executive Engineer told me that he did not like the system of recovering the cost of "housing materials from the coolies." He gave me to understand that he meant to move the Government to authorize him to write it off.

I wonder if he has done so and with what result.

XI

Even at works of much greater magnitude little provision is made for workers' welfare. The Krishnarajasagara project is a case in point.

The scheme, in its conception as well as its execution, is magnificent. The site for building a dam to create a reservoir capable of holding 49,299 million cubic feet of water has been chosen a short distance below the confluence of three rivers—the Cauvery, the Hemavathi and the Lakshmanathi.

The joint stream is almost a fifth of a mile (910 feet) in width here. Strange to say, a stone bearing upon its face a finely incised inscription in Persian has been dug up in the vicinity showing that somewhere in this region Tippoo Sultan had decided upon building an anicut for purposes of irrigation.

The dam constructed to hold up the onrushing waters is more than a mile and three-quarters in length (8,600 feet, including the weir portion). Some thirty million cubic feet of masonry have gone into its making. Its length dwarfs its height.

The solidity of the structure, challenging the flood waters to do their worst, impresses even a casual visitor. What Indian can behold this splendid work done by his own countrymen without alien assistance, without feeling his blood flowing faster in his veins!

The reservoir is designed partly for hydro-electric and partly for irrigation purposes. When the flow of water in the river is not enough in volume to generate at Sivamundram the requisite amount of current, it is supplemented with water released from the "lake," some fifty square miles in area. A sufficient quantity will be left after fulfilling this need to enable some 120,000 acres of land to be irrigated, provided the precious liquid is scientifically utilized.

The total cost of the scheme will not fall very far short of Rs. 70,000,000. Money has not been made available as rapidly as it could advantageously have been utilized. The completion of the scheme has therefore been delayed; charges on account of interest and sinking fund have accumulated on the amount spent during the unnecessarily long period of construction; and the people have been unable to derive the benefits of irrigation as early as they might have done had the Government pursued a more enlightened financial policy.

The cost debited to the hydro-electric undertaking is nevertheless yielding a net revenue of "4 to 6 per cent." It has been suggested to me that the Government has been much too lenient in assessing this liability, which actually is only a paper transaction, for the irrigation undertaking is operated by itself. This means that the cost debited to the irrigation portion of the scheme, which directly adds to the people's burden, is unduly heavy.

Whether this contention is correct or not I cannot say. The data necessary for judging are not available. But there is much

agitation against the amounts that the State proposes to levy as "contribution" from holders of land in the region to be irrigated.

According to an official estimate, the area, when irrigation is fully developed, will yield crops worth Rs. 25,000,000.

XII

This magnificent scheme has been largely built with the aid of "outside" labour.

Shortly after it was taken in hand plague broke out and wrought much havoc in the "camp." Workers fled to their villages.

After the plague subsided, much effort was needed to coax back the labourers. In time they lost their fear of being struck down by the epidemic and it was possible to obtain the thousands of men and women needed for building the huge dam.

During 1921, when I first visited the State, I was conducted over the works. The visit was hurried. I was expected only to gain a bird's-eye view of the enterprise and had no time to examine anything in detail or to gain a glimpse of the conditions in which the workers lived.

During my present visit I have taken the opportunity to make a close study of the works. At the invitation of the Chief Engineer of the scheme—Mr. (now Dewan Banadur) K. R. Seshachar I spent several days at the Inspection Bungalow, which commanded an extensive view of the dam. Mr. N. Sarabhoja, the Executive Engineer, and his immediate assistants, took great pains to show me round.

Attention was being concentrated, at the time of my visit, upon the completion of the waste-weir. The labourers at work there were largely Madrasis. The stone work was being done by men from Coimbatore, who are famed for their skill and command higher wages than most other craftsmen.

The men who supervised the work were on the contrary, Mysoreans. They were, with hardly an exception, Brahmans. Mr. Sarabhoja (himself a Brahman) told me that, in obedience to orders from the Government, he was encouraging non-Brahmans as much as possible. But he naturally could not get rid of Brahmans in order to create posts for non-Brahmans. Nor was there a plethora of suitable non-Brahman candidates.

XIII

Much thought has been bestowed and some expense incurred upon beautifying the

site. The top of the dam (over fifteen feet in width) has been turned into a motor road. On either side of it has been built a parapet, neat but a little too high to enable one to look over it with comfort. It is lit at night with a profusion of lights which look like glancing beads when viewed from Chamundi Hill, in the lee of which lies the Maharaja's capital.

Herr G. H. Krumbiegel, who for years has been in the employ of the State and holds the posts of Director of Horticulture and Economic Botanist, Consulting Architect, and Visiting Professor of Town Planning and Civil Design in the Mysore University, has designed an extensive sunken garden, descending in a series of grass-terraces to the bed of the channel. Water is allowed to pour over the tops of the terraces in a channel specially constructed for it, in a cascade. Trees have been planted which, when grown, are expected to produce a beautiful landscape effect. Flower beds dot the grounds here and there and a parterre of foliage plants set out in a formal design adds to the ornamental effect. It is intended to make this one of the beauty spots of Mysore.

An image of Cauvery Amma, the guardian goddess of the river, is enshrined in a niche in the side wall of the dam, with steps leading down, in diamond-shape, on either side of it from the top of the dam to the gardens. People of every caste and degree in life render it obeisance. This may, in time, turn Kannambadi Dam into a place of pilgrimage as well as a pleasure resort for the citizens of Mysore City.

XIV

I wish some of this artistic skill had been directed towards creating healthy, beautiful surroundings for the thousands of men and women, mostly non-Mysoreans, but for whose ungrudging labour, paid for at low rates, the

dam and the auxiliary works would have remained only an engineer's dream. Any effort or money spent in that direction would not have been wasted.

I am sorry to have to note that *twenty years after the work on the scheme was begun*, the workers still "live" in wretched hovels. I would not have the heart to house dogs in them. Certainly no one who cared for his horse would stable it in one of these huts, provided that by some miracle the horse could be got into it.

The less said about sanitary measures for safe-guarding the workers' health the better.

The authorities evidently think that they have done enough in the way of medical relief by employing a "sub-assistant surgeon" at the works. Even in Ceylon (let alone countries in Europe and America) a man with such a qualification would not be permitted to use a surgical instrument.

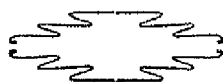
No one at the Dam appeared to have heard of welfare work. Certainly no attempt was being made to provide "visual education" or healthy amusement for the labourers.

Nor did I see any sign of activity in the way of teaching mothers how to take care of their children. I was not shown a single *crèche* where mothers could leave their little ones to be cared for in healthy surroundings while they toiled.

Unless my eyes deceived me, women were permitted to carry heavy head-loads and to perform other hard tasks almost up to the time of confinement. Provision for maternity benefit did not exist.

I do not wish to imply that the "superior staff" was stone-hearted. But I must say that it was oblivious of the modern concept of the employer's duty towards the workers. Judged by results and not by professions, the higher authorities, too, seem to be equally oblivious of it.

(The third article of this series will appear in *The Modern Review* for next month).



Ranjit Singh at Lahore*

[Victor Jacquemont was sent to India on a scientific mission by the authorities of the Paris Museum of Natural History. He reached Calcutta in the month of May, 1829. During his short stay in Calcutta he had an interesting interview with Raja Rammohun Roy. Soon afterwards he left Bengal and, passing through Delhi, penetrated into Western Tibet. He came back to Delhi and started from that place on a tour through the Panjab and Kashmir in 1831. He wished to see the whole of Southern India but he fell ill and died in December, 1832. His diary, in six large volumes, is an interesting work. Besides his accounts of well-known persons and places, it contains his scientific (geological, botanical, etc.) investigations.]

Lahore, 11th March, 1831.

"One approaches the city through a wilderness relieved here and there by gardens. At the entrance to one of these charming retreats I observed from far off a brilliant group. My guide (the son of the Wazir) told me that they were Messieurs Allard, Ventura and Court. They welcomed me as if they were old friends."

"M. Allard belongs to Saint Tropez. An officer in the old (Royal) army, he served under Joseph Bonaparte at Naples and in Spain. He was Marshal Brune's aide-de-camp during the 'Hundred Days.' In 1818 he left France for Constantinople. After a short stay in Turkey he proceeded to Persia. . . . From that country he passed on to Kabul where Shah Ayud, the brother of Shah Shuja, was still reigning. There in Kabul he met M. Ventura. Hearing the praises of Maharaja Ranjit Singh—both of them left for the Panjab. The Maharaja took them both in his employment. On many occasions he had the opportunity of testing their merit. Especially, in one of the expeditions to Peshawar, M. Ventura, by a desperate cavalry charge rallied the retreating Sikh army and led them on to victory. . . . Messieurs Allard and Ventura succeeded in inspiring the Maharaja with a high opinion of the French and often they received from him valuable presents."

"Messieurs Court and Avitabile should also be mentioned. . . . M. Avitabile belongs to Naples. He served for a short time in the French army. He seems to have linked his fortunes with those of M. Court who left

the French service in 1818. . . . They were together in Persia for several years. Then they came to the Panjab where M. Court is in command of one or two regiments of infantry. For some time M. Avitabile has combined financial work with the charge of a regiment. . . . Up to this time he has had no quarrel with the Maharaja in connection with his accounts. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, however, is a bad accountant and would have misunderstandings even with the best accountant in the world. . . ."

"Messieurs Allard and Ventura live together in a grand building built by themselves on the ruins of a Mughal palace. The style is semi-European and semi-Persian. . . . Part of the building is reserved for the zenana of M. Allard where he has but one wife. . . . M. Ventura also has but one wife—an Armenian—who is lodged in a Mughal tomb close to this house. . . . A harem is a necessity for Europeans here. . . ."

Lahore, 12th March, 1831.

"The day after my arrival at Lahore the Maharaja ordered his French officers to bring me to the Darbar. . . . The Maharaja was seated on a cushion in one of the allies of the garden (probably the Shalimar gardens). . . . To his right and left were a dozen chiefs seated on a Persian carpet. . . . The Maharaja began in Hindustani which I understand, and he could understand quite well the rhetorical flourishes which I had prepared in that language for the beginning of the interview. 'Often have I seen Bonaparte, and for a long time I have been wishing to see the Bonaparte of the East.' Here the Maharaja curtsied to me most affably. He asked me questions about my travels. But speaking in Urdu was too much of a strain for him and his Panjabi, which I could follow but imperfectly, was translated to me by M. Ventura."

"The conversation lasted two hours. . . . He asked me several questions about the English soldiers."

The Maharaja. "Do they fight well?"
Jaquemont. "Very well."

The Maharaja. "As well as the French?"
Jaquemont. "Nearly as well—since Napoleon taught them the art of warfare."

* Translated from the French by B. R. Chatterji.

The Maharaja. "Are the Indian Sepoys of the Company good fighters?"

Jacquemont. "I have heard so. There has been no war in India since I came here, so I have only heard people talk about these things."

The Maharaja. "But what about Bharatpur?"

Jacquemont. "I was not in India at the time of the taking of Bharatpur. Moreover Bharatpur was but a ill-fortified place; it could not hold out against European military science."

The Maharaja. "Bharatpur not well fortified!"

Jacquemont. "Certainly not. . . Indian warfare is but child's play. In the battles fought by Bonaparte forty thousand soldiers perished in each action."

The Maharaja. "So I have heard often from Allard Sahab. Have you seen Bonaparte?"

Jacquemont. "Many times."

The Maharaja. "Have you seen him from close quarters?"

Jacquemont. "Just as I see Your Majesty. And like Your Majesty he was of a small stature and thin in his youth, and like Your Majesty, by his valour and his wisdom he became a king and the most powerful king of the world."

The Maharaja. "Nevertheless he was defeated and taken prisoner by the English."

Jacquemont. "He was betrayed. There were traitors."

The Maharaja. "What are the sciences you are acquainted with?"

I was going to give a long list when M. Allard asked me in French to say "all the sciences." So I repeated in Hindustani "I know all the sciences."

The Maharaja. "Do you know the art of warfare as well?"

Seeing me hesitate M. Ventura replied promptly: "He knows the science of war, but he has not practised it himself."

The Maharaja. "Do you know political science?"

M. Allard. "He is a profound scholar of that subject."

The Maharaja. "What conquests can I undertake at present?"

Jacquemont. "With troops so fine and so well-disciplined Your Majesty can easily conquer any country of Asia which is not already occupied by the English or the Russians."

The Maharaja (with the most affable bow to me). "But what province should I first

think of taking? Tibet? You have been there."

Jacquemont. "Your Majesty would only have to send there your Gurkha regiment. But that country is miserably poor."

The Maharaja. "What is the use of conquering such a country? I want lands which are rich and prosperous. Could I not have Sind? It is said that there is plenty of money there. But what would the English say to such a project?"

Jacquemont. "If the English are not pledged to protect the provinces on the right bank of the lower Indus, Your Majesty can certainly invade those parts without exposing yourself to a war with the English."

The Maharaja. "I hear much about the Russians nowadays."

Jacquemont. "Because they are making extensive conquests in Persia."

The Maharaja. "What do the English say to that?"

Jacquemont. "They don't bother themselves much about it."

The Maharaja. "But what would they do, if a Russian army advances to attack them?"

I was tempted to say what I believed to be the truth that in that case the English would offer many apologies to the Maharaja to excuse the necessity of pushing their frontier from the Sutlej up to the river Indus and seize his territory—but I gave the more discreet answer: "Won't Your Majesty be able to spare the English the trouble of pushing back the Russians with an army so well-disciplined and led by such able French generals like these (pointing to Messieurs Allard and Ventura)?"

The Maharaja. "The English and I have but one heart and one mind."

The next day the Maharaja talked to me about Kashmir which I was going to visit. "It is a paradise on earth, but beware of the men—they are liars and thieves. But the women are beautiful indeed! What do you think of these?" And he pointed to five lovely young girls, who came out of a tent close to us, and insisted on hearing my opinion of them. They were the most beautiful women I had seen in India and in any country their beauty would have been admired. "They are charming!" I exclaimed. And the Maharaja laughed a hearty laugh.

Norman Thomas—A Man of Vision

By SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.

MOST Americans are highly patriotic and exclusively nationalistic. They are inordinately proud of Americanism and of the tradition for which they think it stands. But I know a number of Americans whose love of their native land is neither narrow nor exclusive. One of these is Mr. Norman Thomas, the leader of the Socialist party of the United States. He has that cosmopolitanism which is unwilling to build a sense of values only in American terms. He has that intellectual integrity which holds that the human race can never remain prisoned in a jealous, insane patriotism. One also learns to admire Mr. Thomas because of "the depth of his sense of justice and the degree to which his mind is open."

His deep concern for the welfare of humanity overleaps national boundaries. "My heart is very heavy about the present situation in India," remarked Mr. Thomas to me. "I have written considerably about India in the American press, and have also written very earnest protests to England in private letters."

Norman Thomas, who is a friend of Premier Ramsay MacDonald, has repeatedly stated India's case in American papers. He holds that the energies of the British Labour Government have been diverted from its proper functions into a preservation of imperialism. He insists that if to grant self-government to India meant "the downfall of the Labour Government, it might at least mean the salvation of the Socialist ideal which is worth many months of power or seeming power in office for a party whose main preoccupation must be to pull Tory chestnuts out of the Indian fire. Let it be said at once that the American which hangs on to the Philippines has no right to give the British any advice. But we who care for the honor of Labour or Socialism or the peace of the world have a right to plead with our comrades for the sake of a common cause."

Norman Thomas is not a spinner of ethereal Utopias. To hear him talk is to be convinced that he has a fine sense of realities. To him the success of Socialism

under the leadership of the British Labour party in England is a matter of extraordinary concern to the workers of the whole world.

Mr. Thomas is an optimist, who knows that cynicism is the essence of optimism. He still hopes that the Labour party will find some honorable way out of the difficult situation in India. "To believe otherwise," asserts the distinguished American Socialist, "to think that the Labour Government may go down in history as the ruthless policeman who successfully or unsuccessfully tried to suppress India's aspiration for freedom, is to believe that international socialism will have received in the house of its friends a wound that its enemies could not possibly inflict. It would almost seem as if there were some satanic lord of the universe, some grim and cynical cosmic jester so to order affairs that the MacDonald who opposed the imperialism of the World War should be the champion of British imperialism in India and that the party which has advocated the emancipation of the worker in England should divert the country's thought and energy and resources to maintaining by military force the hated power of the British Raj in India."

Norman Thomas stresses the fact that the individual is always a member of society, not a Robinson Crusoe on his island or a Simeon Stylites on his pillar. As a social member, his salvation depends upon co-operation and not on selfish individualism. India should be a free cooperating member of the Family of Nations. Coercing imperialism should be replaced by voluntary co-operation. The policy of England toward India should be one of bold conciliation. I quote Norman Thomas:

"Grant all the difficulties. Grant that the MacDonald Government inherited a situation which it did not make. Grant, moreover, that there is nothing in the history of movements for national independence in recent years or in conditions in India itself to make one predict the easy and orderly establishment of self-government in India. Nevertheless the British Labour Government has drifted. It has followed old lines of re-

pressions and has scarcely seemed aware of the depth and strength of Indian sentiment. Unquestionably the MacDonald Government in its handling the Indian issue has expressed the instinctive and overwhelming sentiment in England. But it has made Socialism seem the ally of imperialism which is a terrible price for anything else it may accomplish."

When Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald came to America, Mr. Norman Thomas more than once called on the British Premier to solicit his friendly intervention on behalf of the political prisoners at Meerut; but he found no opportunity to get the Premier to consider the subject. He also wrote a personal letter to Mr. MacDonald asking him to release the Meerut prisoners. The letter was obviously opened by a secretary, for the answer was most perfunctory, I was told. This is a tragic hour for international socialism.

One suspects that Mr. Thomas has little illusion about the liberalism of the British Labour party. It is, he admits, mostly made up of imperialists. H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Henry Newinson, Norman Angel, and many other bigger and lesser figures of the Labour party are at heart imperialists. The English nation, as a whole, exudes the bad odour of imperialism. There is a proverb, "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar." Norman Thomas would have it amended to read: "Scratch an Englishman and you will find an imperialist."

Norman Thomas is an unusual man. He is internationally famous as a leader in the Socialist and labour movement in this country. He is the author of a number of books and pamphlets, and numerous magazine articles, interpreting current world problems. He was the editor of the *World Tomorrow*, and associate editor of *The Nation*. He was also the editor of the *New York Leader*, an interesting but short-lived attempt at a labour daily newspaper. He is now a contributing editor of *The Nation*, and the *World Tomorrow*; but he devotes most of his time to the League for Industrial Democracy, with headquarters in New York City. He is the executive director of the League.

Mr. Thomas has taken part in many free speech fights on labour's behalf, twice submitting to arrest and both times winning vindication at the hands of the law. He has been a candidate on the Socialist ticket, for the Governorship of the New York State and Mayoralty of New York City, each time pooling a large vote. He was also the Socialist

candidate for the Presidency of the United States in the 1928 presidential election.

Norman Thomas is forty-six years old. He graduated from the Princeton University in 1905 at the age of twenty. Six years later he was graduated from the Union Theological Seminary with the degree of B.D. But he never thinks of attaching "Dr." before his name, and has never professed theological orthodoxy. I like to address him as Neighbour Thomas.

His life is dedicated to the service of humanity. In 1906 and 1907 he was a worker in the Spring Street Neighbourhood House, a social settlement in the heart of the New York tenement district. During the serious unemployment crisis of 1914, Neighbour Thomas and his wife ran one of the largest unemployment workrooms in New York City.

As a student of international affairs, a friend of oppressed minorities and advocate of international peace and co-operation, Norman Thomas perhaps is as well known in Europe as in America. He served on the American Commission for conditions in Ireland in 1920, presenting the since famous Senatorial report. This report was the high-light of the agitation which led up to the Lloyd George agreement creating the Irish Free State.

Both on religious and economic grounds he courageously opposed American entrance into the late "War to End War" (1914-1918). He helped to organize the American Union Against Militarism, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "If there is one thing that is clear in the teaching of Jesus it is his thoroughgoing disbelief in violence," said Norman Thomas. "Yet the Church that calls itself Christian is in practice loyal not to Jesus but to the prophet of the sword. The Church has failed to take account of the imperialistic plotting of the alleged Christian powers." The son and grandson of clergymen, Norman Thomas was once a pastor of a Presbyterian church in New York City. But when the Great War came, he gave up church work and became active as a Socialist and pacifist. The agony he endured as a conscientious objector, one can learn best by reading his book, *Is Conscience a Crime*.

In politics Norman Thomas is a Socialist. Socialism is for him more than a programme; it is a philosophy, a creed and a vision. "I am a Socialist" explains Mr. Thomas,

because in our modern world it seems to me that Socialism affords our best hope of utilizing our immense resources of material and skill so as to abolish poverty and the terrible insecurity of the workers, reduce the menace of war, and increase the measure of freedom and fraternity in our world. Socialism is no infallible panacea, but it does afford our best hope of comparatively peaceful progress toward that fellowship of free men which is the only Utopia worth while. Socialism may propose changes that may correctly be called revolutionary. Yet the more widespread is the acceptance of its point of view, the more likely are we to escape that violence which heretofore has popularly been associated with the notion of revolution."

In spite of its tremendous mechanical competence, there is in the United States bitter poverty. The poverty is due to the unfair distribution of production. Under the present system, 1 per cent of the population obtain 20 per cent of the national income; 10 per cent, receive 40 per cent of the total income, while the poorest 25 per cent, receive only 3½ per cent.

"This gross disparity of income based on no logical difference either in ability or in social usefulness," holds Mr. Thomas, "does not tell all the story. There is the dreadful insecurity of our industrial civilization. One-third of our people sixty-five years and over are wholly or partially dependent on charity." Yet the United States boasts of one or two billionaires, and about 40,000 millionaires!

In the best of times there is a reserve of one million unemployed. Just at present unemployment has become a serious problem in the prosperous United States, which pays no "dole" as in England, and has no sort of unemployment insurance. It has been conservatively estimated that three million persons are now unemployed in this country.

"President Hoover, with his talk of prosperity has evidently charmed himself into believing he is Alice in Wonderland," is the laconic comment of the veteran Socialist. "But he isn't. He is only Hoover in Blunderland."

There is, Norman Thomas believes, a caste system in the United States, with class lines based on distinctions of money and position. A comparatively small class owns the land, the resources, the tools and the

jobs that the rest of the people need. He sees one justice for the rich and another for the poor.

This is the first time in history that America has been governed actually by millionaires. Hoover is a millionaire, the first millionaire President of the United States. Six members of his cabinet are millionaires. He has a business council of millionaires. His chief ambassadors to foreign countries are also millionaires.

Capitalism is the greatest obstacle to democracy. The capitalist system, Norman Thomas insists, is characterized by an emphasis upon private ownership of property for power and the operation of that ownership for the private profit of owners. Imperialism is the last phase of capitalism, and out of imperialistic rivalry comes war itself.

Wars in general, and the Great War in particular, have been economic in origin. The last war arose, as the next one will arise, from the clash of rival imperialisms. Imperialism is born of capitalism.

"Our general imperialism," observes Mr. Thomas, "is due to the fact that we are today a creditor nation busily engaged in the quest of markets for goods, sources of supply for raw material and, above all, markets for the investment of capital at a time when the many cannot buy enough to maintain a proper standard of comfort. The American navy is a bill collecting agency. The American marines fight the battles of the investors whose adventurous dollars have got in trouble abroad."

The only antidote to capitalism and imperialism, as visioned by Mr. Thomas, is Socialism. Socialism means the social or collective ownership and control of those industries which, under private ownership, are used by the individual owners for the purpose of getting for themselves a large portion of the value of the labour of others.

As for the word capitalism, it means the present system of industry, wherein the mills, factories and other great industries are owned by capitalists, or combinations of capitalists known as corporations or trusts who hire people to do the work and pay them a small part of the value of their labour and keep the rest themselves.

Economic imperialism may be defined as a system of exploitation. It is a method of gouging of the majority of the people

of a large part of their earnings by a comparatively few capitalists who own the things which the rest have to use or must have. It is a monstrous and absurd injustice.

There are in America two major parties which are the instruments of political action: the Republican party and the Democratic party. They exist on the strength of organization rather than of principle. They run their campaigns on emotions, rather than on political issues. Both the parties stand for the same things: offices, powers, and privileges. The Republican party asserts that it believes in God and prosperity; while the Democratic party declares that it believes in God and prosperity, in spite of the Republican party.

There is a great need, according to Mr. Thomas, of fundamental change in American political and economic structure. He believes the party that can do it is the Socialist party. It includes these issues:

1. The preservation and increase of civil liberties including the right of labour to organize, strike, and bargain collectively.

2. War against insecurity and poverty by social insurance against old age, sickness and unemployment, by a nation-wide system of employment exchanges, by the use of public works in dull times, and by the shortening of the working week to assure the workers the benefits of technological progress.

3. Socialization of key industries and services with those in which already the engineer is more important than the *entrepreneur*. These would include public utilities, especially the power industry, coal mining, banking. Production should be for public use, rather than for private profit.

4. In order to provide money for increased governmental service and to aid in a more equitable distribution of wealth, taxation should fall principally on land values—when society should take since it creates them—income, and inheritances. The two latter should be graduated. Inheritance taxes should be used to break up existing economic dynasties.

The means by which Socialists hope to carry out this programme is through the

organization of labour industrially through labour unions, of the power of consumers through consumers co-operatives, and of citizens through a labour party. Norman Thomas points out that the reliance of Socialism is upon the working class, not because of peculiar virtues possessed by the working class, but because it is peculiarly in its interests to end exploitation and waste.

Mr. Norman Thomas and his colleagues declare that the present order is ethically indefensible and economically unsound. They do not, however, expect to reach millennium by one leap. Socialism cannot be created overnight. It is a process of evolution. But capitalism, they assert, is gradually merging into Socialism. Consider, for instance, the following which are owned and operated by the State not for profit but for public good. Public schools, public libraries, public parks, public play-grounds, post office, postal savings banks, public hospitals, the maternity and infant service, the public ownership of water works, gas plants, electric light and power plants, street railways, docks, markets, fire departments, government canals and irrigation dams, the Panama canal, Forest reserves. All these, and more, are modifications of capitalism in the direction of Socialism. They seem to create even in a normal, neutral mind a presumption that socialism is practicable.

"The truth is," declare the American Socialists, "that Capitalism can die only by inches. It does not know of any other way to die. It is not like a rat which may be killed instantly with a rock, if one can throw straight enough. It is more like an iceberg which can melt only by degrees."

Norman Thomas combines in him the zeal of the crusader with the common sense of a practical man—a combination which is exceedingly rare. He sees in socialism not only the royal remedy of existing social evils, but the realization of the new commonwealth of beauty, brotherhood, and love. Socialism is to him the next step in the evolution of humanity. Such is this man Norman Thomas—a man who holds aloft the standard of economic emancipation, universal peace, and human brotherhood.

The Swing of the Pendulum

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

YESTERDAY it was Germany that was about to close her shutters and was face to face with stark bankruptcy; today it is the turn of England, and desperate measures have been devised to balance the budget. In the last war the two countries were ranged on opposite sides as bitter enemies; now they are companions in distress. In the war one lost and the other won, but loser and winner alike are now nearly at the end of their resources. The price of war in men and money is always heavy, but since the world war of 1914-18 was the most terrible known to history the disaster that has followed in its wake is equally unprecedented. It has proved that the winners in such a war may suffer as heavily as the losers. A Pyrrhic victory repeats itself as well as other incidents of history.

Before 1914 Germany was one of the most prosperous countries in the world. Its commercial success was the envy and despair of other European countries. The markets of the world were flooded with articles made in Germany. In England where traders and manufacturers could not hold their own in the competition with Germany, the phrase 'made in Germany' was used in contempt to indicate that only inferior goods and shoddy were manufactured in that country. This was only partially true, for, while cheap goods selling at low prices were certainly turned out in Germany, that country also produced the finest and most expensive goods. In commerce as in everything else Germany displayed the thoroughness characteristic of the Teutonic race. Every important factory in Germany has a laboratory attached to it. Highly paid chemists and other specialists are employed in these laboratories. While the factory is busy producing the goods the laboratory is equally busy in the work of experimentation, in improving and perfecting the articles produced and cheapening the cost of production. The laboratory is the brain of every industry in Germany. The finest and most delicate machines were

made in that country, the costliest fabrics and wearing material were manufactured in German factories, the medicines prepared were the best of their kind. German manufacturers had captured many markets and all competitors were left behind. If the Kaiser had been a man of peace, if the junkers had not been sword-rattlers Germany would have been one of the richest countries in the world today, nor would it have been necessary for her to depend upon America for being saved from financial and industrial ruin. No nation would have ever dreamed of attacking Germany and any other German Emperor would have been satisfied with the position of Germany as the first country in Europe.

Although the war had been recognized as a world-wide disaster its full effect was appreciated only slowly. The League of Nations was inaugurated by the Powers that had won the war. The feeling left behind by the war was not one of triumph but of fear. It was clearly realized that excessive militarism was a serious danger to the nation that promoted it. Ostensibly armies and navies are maintained for defence, for the safety and security of the countries owning them. They cost far more than the civil administration of a country, and they are very often like a boomerang that recoils upon the thrower. Napoleon had the largest and the most powerful army in Europe and it led to its own destruction and his death as a prisoner in exile. One of the chief ambitions of Germany was the creation of the most invincible army in Europe, and the result was the dissolution of the German Empire and the escape of the third and last German Emperor into ignominious exile. Every nation that has tried to become a great military power has ultimately perished. The League of Nations came into existence to put an end to war, to substitute peaceful arbitration for bloodshed and to impose disarmament upon every nation which is a member of the League. The defeated Powers have been practically disarmed and even the old

territorial units have been broken up at the dictation of the victors. But what about the organizers of the League? The army of France was never larger or more formidable than it is now. The aerial fleet of France and the number of fighting and bombing planes have been enormously increased, and France is much in the same position as Germany was before the war. England also is in a state of armed preparedness and manoeuvres and target practice are constantly carried on to increase the efficiency of the army and the navy.

Before the war England was one of the wealthiest nations in the world. The war imposed upon it a very heavy burden and the National Debt swelled to an enormous sum. The indemnity demanded from Germany was not sufficient to clear the debt, nor was Germany in a position to pay the amount within a short time. The only effective means of restoring financial stability was vigorous economy and the reduction of expenditure in every possible direction. The civil list should have been curtailed, but, above, all, the reduction of expenditure on the army and navy was imperatively necessary. Sweeping disarmament should have been carried out fearlessly and wholeheartedly. In actual practice a few old battleships were scrapped, but the naval programme was not substantially reduced. In the army some units raised during the war were disbanded, but no considerable reduction was made. Taxation was progressively increased, but it was impossible to make two ends meet without very large reductions in expenditure. The consequence was the very grave financial and political crisis of 1931. The budget estimates showed an enormous deficit, and to balance the budget, recourse had to be had to large increases of taxation and reductions of salaries and wages. Labour and the organizations representing Labour were up in arms and most of the ministers refused to be parties to the proposed measures. The political crisis was precisely like that during the war when Mr. Lloyd George ousted Mr. Asquith, afterwards the Earl of Oxford, from the Premiership and formed a Coalition Ministry composed of Liberals and Conservatives. On the present occasion the Labour Government resigned, but Mr. MacDonald, the Prime Minister, placed himself at the head of a new National Government made up of Conservatives and

Liberals and only a few Labour members. The King set an example by surrendering part of his income during the period of the crisis and the Prince of Wales did the same. Cuts were announced in the salaries of the ministers, the army, navy and police. This caused a great deal of discontent, but there was no serious violation of discipline, though the loyalty of the forces was put to a severe test. Finally, the Gold Standard Act was partially suspended. This last measure was generally welcomed, but it brought to light the significant fact that large sums of money belonging to foreign countries are invested in the London market and the Bank of England. The rapid withdrawal of foreign balances justified the action taken by the British National Government, but it also showed an abatement of confidence in the firmness of the London market.

Here, again, the similarity between the positions of Germany and England must be noted. The value of the German mark diminished to the vanishing point. No such calamity need be apprehended in the case of the British sterling, though its sagging in the American market cannot be ignored. A cable from New York states that it is expected that British banking authorities will control foreign exchange transactions similarly with Germany. This must be the general expectation everywhere. The action taken in other countries is based on self-defence and tends to restriction of traffic in foreign currencies. Although so far the action taken in England is not so drastic as in Germany the leading English banks have formed a committee to supervise foreign exchange transactions and customers wishing to remit abroad will be required to give reasons. This has been followed by direct action by the Government. Following the example of England the Governor-General of India has issued an Ordinance to regulate the sale of gold and sterling. At the same time Sir Samuel Hoare, the new Secretary of State for India, announced not in the House of Commons but at a meeting of the Federal Structure Subcommittee of the Round Table Conference that the Indian currency standard would be maintained on a sterling basis and there would be no break in the rupee exchange. These steps were preceded by an eloquent appeal by Lord Willingdon, Viceroy of India, in an address to the Central Houses of Legislature, that all classes in India should be prepared to make large sacrifices in order

that the present financial crisis may be tided over. He did not enlighten his audience as to the sacrifice he and his colleagues may be prepared to make.

The position of India should be made clear. She does not count as an important factor in influencing the markets of the world or the prices of commodities. The exchange value of the rupee is determined not by fluctuations of currency but by a Government interested in appreciating, if not inflating, the value of sterling. Indian trade and Indian revenue do not rank with the wealthy countries of the world, but Indian expenditure having regard to the revenue, is the largest of any country in the world. The present crisis in India was bound to come irrespective of the conditions prevailing elsewhere. Behind the grave financial situation in India is a history of reckless extravagance and prodigality of expenditure of which there is scarcely any parallel. Committees have been now appointed to suggest reductions in expenditure while constant borrowings at steadily increasing rates of interest are being resorted to in order to prevent the collapse of the administration.

Is it being now realized that the charges of the exploitation of India and the drain of her resources against the existing system of Government are based upon substantial truth? From the days of the East India Company India has been looked upon and treated as a land of fabulous wealth, though it has been demonstrated upon irrefragable evidence that she is one of the poorest countries in the world. The revenue has been treated as indefinitely elastic merely to meet the ever-increasing growth of expenditure. The military expenditure is ruinously and altogether unjustifiably extravagant. The bugbear of a Russian invasion no longer exists and there is no other danger. But nothing inspires the Government with a sense of security and the major part of the revenue is spent upon an unnecessary army. In the civil branch of the administration extravagant salaries are made more attractive by allowances of all kinds. The Governor General of India receives a salary paid to no public servant in the world. The President of the United States of America, holding a position higher than that of any king or emperor, receives a salary which is not much larger than that of a member of the Governor General's Executive Council in India. The Indian Civil Service is paid far more highly than the Colonial and

the British Civil Service. The annual exodus to the hills, unknown in any other country, costs large sums of money.

With regard to the financial position of India another important fact must be borne in mind. The revenues of India are not only incapable of indefinite expansion, but are certain to diminish in spite of the most strenuous efforts to increase them. The land cannot bear any further enhancement of taxation. In several parts of the country agriculturists and peasant proprietors are unable to pay the high rate of revenue demanded from them. In order to save the peasantry from absolute ruin suspensions and remissions of revenue have had to be made in various provinces. Indian cultivators and peasants are no longer the helpless and meek creatures they were supposed to be and they have more than once resisted the periodic revision of assessment and the consequent enhancement of revenue. If revenue is to be collected smoothly compulsion cannot be used frequently. The revenue from customs is almost certain to fall permanently. India has ceased to be the dumping ground for foreign manufactures. Imports of foreign goods, specially piecegoods, will steadily decrease and will never again reach the figures recorded before 1930. Under the head of excise also a progressive fall of revenue is inevitable in view of the campaign against spirits and intoxicating drugs. There is a marked tendency in India to revert to sobriety and simplicity of life. The spirit of sacrifice has permeated all strata of society.

The financial stringency in India is by no means a passing phase due to the general depression of trade or temporary economic conditions. The tinkering committees now at work will never solve the real difficulty in India. Up to the present time the shears of economy have been invariably used upon the ill-paid subordinate establishments, resulting merely in increased discontent and no real economy. The desperate straits of England make the position of India still more serious. If a complete breakdown and bankruptcy are to be avoided it must be frankly recognized that the present cost of the administration of India is out of all proportion to its resources. Solvency can only be restored if the military expenditure is reduced by two-thirds and high salaries are reduced all round. England is a much more expensive country than India, yet salaries in

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With regard to the financial position of India another important fact must be borne in mind. The revenues of India are not only incapable of indefinite expansion, but are certain to diminish in spite of the most strenuous efforts to increase them. The land cannot bear any further enhancement of taxation. In several parts of the country agriculturists and peasant proprietors are unable to pay the high rate of revenue demanded from them. In order to save the peasantry from absolute ruin suspensions and remissions of revenue have had to be made in various provinces. Indian cultivators and peasants are no longer the helpless and meek creatures they were supposed to be and they have more than once resisted the periodic revision of assessment and the consequent enhancement of revenue. If revenue is to be collected smoothly compulsion cannot be used frequently. The revenue from customs is almost certain to fall permanently. India has ceased to be the dumping ground for foreign manufactures. Imports of foreign goods, specially piecegoods will steadily decrease and will never again reach the figures recorded before 1930. Under the head of excise also a progressive fall of revenue is inevitable in view of the campaign against spirits and intoxicating drugs. There is a marked tendency in India to revert to sobriety and simplicity of life. The spirit of sacrifice has permeated all strata of society.

The financial stringency in India is by no means a passing phase due to the general depression of trade or temporary economic conditions. The tinkering committees now at work will never solve the real difficulty in India. Up to the present time the shears of economy have been invariably used upon the ill-paid subordinate establishments, resulting merely in increased discontent and no real economy. The desperate straits of England make the position of India still more serious. If a complete breakdown and bankruptcy are to be avoided it must be frankly recognized that the present cost of the administration of India is out of all proportion to its resources. Solvency can only be restored if the military expenditure is reduced by two-thirds and high salaries are reduced all round. England is a much more expensive country than India, yet salaries in

England are much lower than in this country. The Prime Minister and cabinet ministers of England receive salaries lower than that of a member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India. The Viceroy and the Governors are not bigger personages than the Presidents of the French and United States Republics and they can very well maintain their position on half their present salaries. The truth of the matter is that India cannot maintain the present army and pay salaries on the present scale without being driven to bankruptcy.

A very disquieting fact disclosed by the present crisis in England is the dependence of that country on foreign capital. Very large sums in gold were invested in London by Denmark and Holland. It is rather curious that the public has no knowledge whether British colonies like Canada and Australia have any investments in the London market and London banks. South Africa is evidently unaffected and is keeping on the gold standard. No secret is made of the fact that the emergency measures and the temporary moratorium in England were due to sudden withdrawal by foreign countries of large sums in gold. It was undoubtedly a run on the London banks. A run can only be due to a loss of confidence in the soundness of a bank. What had happened to shake the confidence of foreign countries in London banks and make them withdraw their gold deposits so hurriedly? It was a very serious matter so far as the credit of England was concerned and it was certainly a severe blow to her financial prestige. But no fault whatever can be found with the foreign countries which have withdrawn their gold deposits from England. The financial difficulties in England had become so great that a serious political crisis was precipitated. The Government had to resign and a new National Government had to be formed. In order to balance the budget taxes had to be raised and salaries and wages to be reduced, involving a good deal of dissatisfaction. Foreign countries naturally felt alarmed and withdrew their investments from London. Taking into consideration the consequences of these withdrawals it is unlikely that the confidence of foreign countries in the soundness of British finance will be soon restored.

The swing of the pendulum of circumstance has had different effects upon other countries involved in the last war. Take the case of France and Russia. France is now the wealthiest country in Europe. It is estimated that three-fourths of the world's gold is held in America and France. So far as the United States of America are concerned it is true that the Republic partook in the concluding stages of the war but there was no question of any financial difficulty. Besides completely equipping her own army to the last detail America advanced large loans to the Allies in Europe, and the debt has not yet been cleared. The most extraordinary position is that of Russia. Close on the heels of the war followed the Russian Revolution sweeping away the despotism under which Russia had been groaning for many centuries. Next came the welter of blood and the chaos of anarchy, out of which emerged struggling and menacing a new Russia antagonistic to the aristocracy, capital and the bourgeoisie. So threatening became its propaganda of extreme socialism that some European countries spent large sums of money to subsidize anti-revolutionary organizations in Russia without any effect. Revolution alone did not complete the agony of Russia. Famine and virulent pestilence decimated large tracts of country. The depreciation of the Russian rouble was far more disastrous than the fall of the mark and the franc. And yet Russia has become neither bankrupt nor is in any danger of breaking up. The Soviet Government is becoming better consolidated and stronger every day. The secret of Russia's strength is her economy and her determination to resist extravagance of every kind. The new regime in Russia is bitterly assailed in other countries. Was the old order preferable to the present one? Other Governments are rightly alarmed because there is serious danger of the new doctrine spreading to other countries and other nations. However, Russia's position is safe. If she is not wealthy she is certainly not on the high road to bankruptcy.

So the pendulum swings from splendour to squalor, from wealth to poverty, from a certain present to an uncertain future!

Death Comes to China

By AGNES SMEDLEY

me to China by a million thing else is trivial and . The north-western famine ordinary is death in China forgotten. The rivers of risen to compete with the work of destruction—but the militarists to cease fighting between Nanking itened, and General Chiang

had just captured, imprisoned, ar with death one of her colleagues General Deng Yenda, the noted leader. As all of these internal concerned with death, so are issues facing China concerne killing of both foreigners and Ch

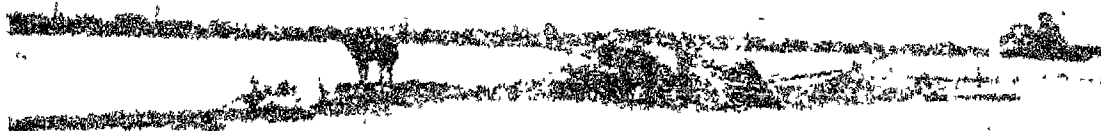
The map of China is dark stains. A minor northern wa General Shih Yu-shan, a former



The Chinese Floods

ielding a double sword. Czar after 1905, on the g an army of 300,000 unust the Red Army in other, capturing, tortur- ighting thousands of als and workers in the at-sen returned from to attend the funeral of ear that attempts had assassinate General Chiang ruler, Mr. T. V. Soong, who, on the other hand,

general, has just ended in a defe. caused by nothing else than the his colleagues who had plann also. The chief of these norther who are anti-Chiang Kai-shek is G Fu-chu, Governor of Shantung pro is kept peaceful by bribery. The General Shih has merely thro northern military combination on of events, with the erstwhile def of Shansi province, General Yen returning to his old haunts and supporters forcing the Nanking



The people are dead, but animals remain perched up on floating buildings

Shansi to clear out of the province. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang is said to covet the rich province of Shantung, which means that he will eventually force General Han Fu-chu out, if possible. If this is done, Marshal Chang and General Chiang Kai-shek will not even have these "Gray Generals" as buffers between them in the dictatorship of China.

Up to the present time, Canton continues to refuse peace negotiations with Nanking, reiterating their demand for the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek and the introduction of a "Kuomintang democracy" to take the place of the military dictatorship. Both Canton and Nanking have tried to exploit the name of Mrs. Sun-Yat-sen since her return, but she will have nothing to do with either of them.

However, the two major issues in China today are the catastrophic floods, and the war which Chiang Kai-shek is waging on the Red peasant armies. The floods have brought death and famine to from fifty to eighty million people, most of whom are peasants. The disaster is greater than the Tokyo earthquake. The Nanking Government is receiving telegrams of sympathy from all parts of the world but a few facts must be made known. This flood with its gigantic toll of human life, is not so much the work of nature as the work of the officials and militarists at the helm of affairs today in

China. Even under the Manchu Dynasty, China's rivers and canals were held in leash by the dredging and repairing of dykes. For four years now, however, practically the entire national income in China has been squandered on wars for power, and every constructive measure has either remained on paper, or has been trivial and silly and planned with the idea of private gain. The masses of the people have sunk into a destitution unspeakable, the rulers of the country offering nothing but killing as a solution for the problems of the country. For four years the militarists and officials ruling Hankow have imposed a special "dyke tax" on all goods imported into that city. But instead of spending it on the repair of the Yangtze dykes, this tax, known as the Hupeh-Hunan dyke tax, has found its way into the pockets of officials. In 1928-30, this dyke tax amounted to some \$8,500,000, but according to recent disclosures, \$1,100,000 of this was misappropriated by officials, \$700,000 being loaned to the Cheun Loong Keang Opium monopoly and never repaid, and \$200,000 embezzled by a former Director of Reconstruction. The public funds in Hupeh, like such funds in other provinces, have been considered the private pocket money of officials and militarists, and these gentlemen have considered the public killing of revolting Communists to be the only

DEATH COMES TO CHINA



Refugees on the Railway Embankments

wed the public. Since the exposure of these officials, the Government has appointed a diplomat abroad, while the others have been given "demerits"—one a boy a slap on the back. And right in the midst of the militarists who expect to remedy their work of capturing working people each other with ropes and shipping them away to be used by General Chiang Kai-shek and the Red Armies. The Government has asked for more coolies of Kiangsi are being sent to the Reds.

have come out of the evacuation of Hankow refugees, the rich Chinese who were first evacuated, saying that the rich are first out of fear of them. 60 per cent. of the refugees in Shanghai are well-to-do. 17, 50 race horses and the corpses of thousands of people floating on the river. Relief has begun, but from the Government a most merciful Nanking Government

from April to August of this year floated four internal loans totaling \$320,000,000, all of which has been used in the war. On August 21 it announced an internal loan of only \$10,000,000 for relief, but said this would be in the amount of \$50,000,000 because from the ten million only five millions would go to relief. Much of the fifty millions will go to war purposes. Apart from the banks who take up these lucrative loans, out to the Government only about sixty per cent of the loan, retained as profit. On August 20 the Government grandly announced a two million dollar donation for flood relief, but two bombing military planes costing \$200,000 arrived in Shanghai, a part of vast quantities of arms and ammunition which were used against the peasants. American interests at once offered the Government 30,000,000 bushels of wheat—at a market price to be paid on the day of sale—but a leading journalist in Shanghai attacked the offer as nothing but American dumping. The Nanking Government was asking for wheat on a ten to twenty year credit. Americans demand payment in two years. For arms and ammunition the Nanking Government always has money to

few people withheld from giving to the relief, there is hardly a foreigner or Chinese but who remarks, with each dollar received, that many new millionaires will come from this flood, just as millionaires emerged from other similar catastrophes in 1918. Two rich Chinese merchants, one a gang leader, who a short time ago sent upwards to half a million dollars in celebration of their birthdays and the rebuilding of their family temples, have each put \$5,000 for flood relief. These facts and the conditions, multiplied a thousand fold, in which they grow, are the foundations of revolt which have brought the Red Armies on the stage in China. Nine months of warfare by the Government troops against the Red Armies have

not had one man in Kiangsi, but the report returned from the front is that the Government troops are in a sorry state. These officers to the population of south Kiangsi, their worldly possessions, the Red Armies, have marched through the country through winter, forced to carry their own firewood for a new Red Army appeared in the North, and the Government troops at the border revolted and with their ammunition joined the Red Army in east Hupeh which for a large Soviet territory. On 21 came the news of



Shacks built for the Chinese refugees from floods

to the crushing of this fundamental. Since late June, General Chiang Kai-shek himself has been leading 300,000 troops equipped with every modern war material against the 100,000 troops of the Red Army in Kiangsi. German military advisers, chief of whom is General Wetzel, General Chiang's headquarters in Nanchang, are drawing up the military plans for the offensive, and German officers have gone to the front. Official reports lead to believe that the Government troops

have had one man in Kiangsi, but the report returned from the front is that the Government troops are in a sorry state. These officers to the population of south Kiangsi, their worldly possessions, the Red Armies, have marched through the country through winter, forced to carry their own firewood for a new Red Army appeared in the North, and the Government troops at the border revolted and with their ammunition joined the Red Army in east Hupeh which for a large Soviet territory. On 21 came the news of

As already stated, a large number of Chinese are also



Peasants trying to escape from the Floods

Chinese or foreigners. The
 a Korea have resulted in
 movement in China, and
 conditions that when a
 een a Chinese coolie and
 chant in Tsingtao recently
 d the incident is being
 international event. The
) Governments are busily
 ring notes of protest to
 about result. The British
 hands on the throat of
 of the murder of the
 in Thornburn, in June,
 lication it seems that the
 ng to force Nanking to
 the high military officers
 hereas Nanking is trying
 ing was the work of some
 ho thought Thornburn
 t! In the end, perhaps
 or and utterly innocent
 ill pay with their lives
 powerful military men.
 have also rescued an
 uy from Chinese hands,
 demanding, not a trial,
 e missionary, because he
 burglar who was stealing
 a first demand of the
 ways to kill—they seem

incapable of understanding a
 and they have practised this
 their own people that it is taken
 The foreigners in China are ab
 except when one of their
 are concerned. While protestin
 murder of Thornburn, the Bri
 Shanghai turned over to the Ch
 authorities on August 14, tw
 a man and his wife, accus
 Communists and officials in the
 Union Secretariat, a semi-secret
 organization throughout Asia
 two foreigners were arrested.
 to the Chinese military authorit
 was known to be certain d
 secret military court, all
 disappeared and class ha
 open and unabashed, on
 British journalist openly writi
 foreign nations having commer
 in China have suffered
 Communism during these past
 voices of protest of both f
 Chinese were howled down i
 press. But at last the brave vo
 Sun Ya-sen was raised in
 defence of the two captive
 reports as yet unconfirmed, it
 her voice came too late.
 reports say that the two foreigner

without trial, on the same day they reached Nanking—August 14. We can only hope that this is not true. The double-edged sword used by the foreigners is revealed in this case, for if this is true, this will be another reason advanced for their retention of extra-territoriality in China. Speaking privately, many say so even now. If the two

foreigners have been killed it will only prove that the foreigners of Shanghai have hurled them to their death because they were alleged Communists and then use the incident to prove that the Chinese are not fit to hold jurisdiction over foreigners.

September, 1931

"Liberty in the Modern State"*

By BHANU

It is not often that one comes across a book of such outstanding interest as *Liberty in the Modern State* by Professor Laski. Every page of this small book rings with the passionate conviction of the author and while reading the thesis so brilliantly propounded by Professor Laski, I could not help thinking whether Professor Laski would have been allowed to hold a professorial chair in any of our universities after writing a book such as this, for the book is not merely a learned essay befitting the Professor of Political Science in the University of London but a passionate plea for the rights of human beings as such. It is a book which would do untold good if it were to be read and pondered over by every executive authority in this country, but the hope is in vain, for "human nature being what it is, men do not easily surrender what they have the power to retain, and they will pay the price of conflict if they think they can win. They do not remember that the price of conflict is the destruction of freedom and that with its loss there go the qualities which make for the humanity of men."

Professor Laski's book is one which could have been easily written by an Indian, provided of course he had the courage and the sincerity to put down his experiences of life, specially so far as it comes into contact with the State. But political subjection rarely provides the necessary atmosphere for such creative efforts of utter sincerity and righteous passion. When the life of a subject people is examined, nothing is more striking than the inescapable fact that political servitude is not merely a disability but the death itself of all creative life. It is difficult to select passages from this extraordinarily interesting book, for *Liberty in the Modern State* is one of the most brilliant arguments for the claims of human personality that has been written in recent times.

"The secret of liberty is courage."

"Power is by its very nature an exercise in the conditional mood."

"Liberty, therefore, cannot help being a courage to resist the demands of power at some point

that is deemed decisive and, because of this liberty, also, is an inescapable doctrine of contingent anarchy."

"A scrutiny of history, moreover, makes it plain that the right to liberty will always be challenged where its consequence is the equalization of some privilege which is not generally shared by men. The more consciously, therefore, we can seek that equalization as a desirable object of social effort, the more likely we are to make attacks upon liberty more rare, the evil results of such attack less frequent. No man's love of justice is strong enough to survive the right to inflict punishment in the name of the crowd he professes, and the simplest way to retain his sense of justice is to take away the interest which persuades him of the duty to punish."

The essence of liberty is equality for "men think differently who live differently. If we have a society of unequals, how can we agree either about means or ends? And if this agreement is absent how can we, at least over a considerable period, hope to move on our way in peace? An unequal society always lives in fear, and with a sense of impending disaster in its heart. The effect of this atmosphere is clear enough."

ARISTOCRACY

Prof. Laski has drawn a brilliant picture of aristocracy, every word of which is applicable not only to our landed magnates but to the small body of men who lead a sheltered existence with the support of the British bayonets and think in terms of mediaeval feudalism, to whom history has no lesson to teach and who are more or less convinced of a special privilege extended to them by Providence to satisfy every caprice of theirs and to live a life of extravagance and ease at the expense of others who with difficulty eke out a bare livelihood. It is this aristocracy which is still pleading for the continuance of their beneficent autocracy in our Indian States, and subject to the guarantee of their internal sovereignty they are willing to participate in the Federated States of India of the near future. Let me quote Prof. Laski's words.

"An aristocracy, whether of birth, or creed or wealth, always suffers from self-sufficiency. It is -----ble to ideals which originate from

* By H J Laski Faber & Faber Ltd London

without itself. It tends to think them unimportant if they are urged tactfully, and dangerous if they are urged with vigour. It is so accustomed to the idea of its own superiority, that it is resentful of considerations which inquire into the validity of that assumption. It may be generous, charitable, kind, but the surrounding principle of those qualities is always their exercise as of grace and not in justice. An aristocracy, in a word, is the prisoner of its own power, and that the most completely when men begin to question its authority. It does not know how to act wisely at very moment when it most requires wise action.

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Here is an analysis of the abstract, the imposing term—the Government.

"It is not mysterious or divine. It is simply a body of men making decisions which, in the long run, live or die by what other men think of them. Their validity as decisions is in that thought if only because its content is born of what the decisions mean to ourselves. All of us are inescapably citizens, and, at some point, therefore, the privacy in which we seek escape from our obligation as citizens, will seem unsatisfying. A crisis comes which touches us, a decision is made which contradicts something we happen to have experienced as fundamental: we then judge our rulers by the fact of that denial, and act as we think its terms warrant." All Governments dislike novelties, for they disturb their routine and the accustomed tempo of work. So long as the criticism is confined to non-essentials it is ignored; but the moment it comes into conflict with vested interests, the criticism is immediately interpreted as sedition or an attack upon established government. Let Prof. Laski speak about the conditions in his own country and we shall then be able to realize the mentality behind such enactments as the Princes' Protection Act or the solicitude of the princes to exclude the agitators from the sacrosanct boundaries of their respective jurisdiction—"Attack an interest, in a word, and you arouse passion; arouse passion, especially where property is concerned, and the technique of *raison d'état* will sooner or later be invoked. But liberty and *raison d'état* are mutually incompatible for the simple reason that *raison d'état* is a principle which seeks, *a priori*, to exclude rational discussion from the field. It seeks neither truth nor justice, but surrender."

Prof. Laski has rightly emphasized that where there is inequality the political power is bound to be in the hands of a small minority, and human nature being what it is, the rulers come to think the maintenance of their own power as more important than the welfare of the multitude or even the importance of winning their acquiescence with the conditions that exist. Self-interest can only be trusted to function effectively and impartially if the central authority is widely diffused in its ultimate sanctions or at least amenable to that vague but nevertheless definite fact of public opinion. Freedom is only possible in an atmosphere of equality and equality can but exist in an atmosphere of true democracy, notwithstanding its palpable inefficiencies and imperfections, for these very imperfections are

the guarantee of the permanence of progress. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman spoke with the true insight of a genius when he said that good government is no substitute for self-government, and that dictum is one of the greatest justifications of Democracy. Democracy is the only possible mode of government if the object of the State is presumed to be the greatest good, or as Prof. Laski would call it "the maximization of the totality of individual citizens."

THE NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY

Prof. Laski has beautifully defined in the *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences* (vol. III, page 7) the meaning of the word "bureaucracy." It is the term usually applied to a system of government the control of which is so completely in the hands of officials that their power jeopardizes the liberties of ordinary citizens. The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions and a refusal to embark upon experiments. . . . Nothing will be undertaken for the public for which it is not clamant. The difficulties in meeting the demands may well be exaggerated out of all proportion. Information necessary to the making of policy will be withheld, sometime on the ground that it is not in the public interest to reveal it, sometime by the argument that its collection will be unjustifiably expensive. Decisions will be made without the assignment of reasons for making them, or postponed until in Bacon's phrase, the questions resolve of themselves. The result is discretion, secrecy, conservatism and all these minister to the preservation of power." Prof. Laski is only talking about bureaucracy from his knowledge of the civil services in England. What his definition would have been, had he been familiar with our own Civil Service with its interminable routine, massive correspondence, inordinate delays and singular absence of all sense of humour it is impossible to say. Luckily, however, Lord Curzon has described our secretariat procedure in remarkable words. There is one characteristic of bureaucracy which Prof. Laski has not noticed and that is its vaunted efficiency, and this by sheer reiteration convinces even the outside public, as has certainly happened in the case of the Indian Civil Service in our own country.

LAW AND OBEDIENCE

To revert to Prof. Laski's book, here are some sound words about law, for law and order are the two words which are heard more frequently in this country, specially in times of political crisis. Law does not exist for the sake of law. "It is not entitled to obedience because it is legal, because, that is, it proceeds from a source of reference formally competent to enact it. Law exists for what it does; and its rightness is made by the attitude adopted to it by those whose lives it proposes to shape." "A legal command is, after all a mere static form of words; what gives it appropriateness is its relevance as just to the situation to which it is applied. And its relevance as just is made not by those who announce that it is to be applied, but by those who receive its application."

It necessarily follows that there are laws and laws as such unless they embody justice and reason are not entitled to the respect and consideration which people in power claim for them. "Those who accept commands they know to be wrong, make it easier for wrong commands to be accepted. Those who are silent in the presence of injustice are in fact participants of it. It is to be remembered that even a decision to acquiesce is a decision, that what ships the substance of authority is what it encounters. If it meets always with obedience sooner or later it will assume its own infallibility. When that moment comes whatever its declared purpose, the good it will seek will be its own good and not that of those involved in its operations. Liberty means being faithful to oneself and it is maintained by the courage to resist. This, and this only, gives life to the safeguards of liberty; and this only is the due to the preservation of genuine integrity in the individual life."

SEDITION

The sanction for legal promulgation is the consent of people whether explicit or implied, for nothing can be a crime which the community does not believe it to be such. Sedition, for instance, in our country affords a remarkable instance of an offence which is recognized by the law of the country as a heinous crime, but which has been treated with particular leniency during recent years by the community in general and the reason for the attitude of the community is not far to seek; for legal enactments do not and cannot validate things which the general sense of the public does not recognize to be fair, just or righteous. In other words, there is a fundamental difference of outlook between the rulers and the ruled as regards the nature of sedition, with the result that the Congress decided that people accused of sedition need not defend themselves, for according to them justice, or in other words the evaluation of the facts from the particular standpoint of the Congress, was not to be expected.

BOSS OF SPECIAL TRIBUNALS

Here are some wise words regarding special tribunals which are a frequent feature in this country. "Experience makes it painfully clear that special tribunals are simply special methods for securing a conviction. For the mere creation of a special tribunal persuades the ordinary man that there is an *a priori* case against the accused, that the burden of proof lies upon him rather than upon the government." "Executive justice, in fact, is simply a euphemism for the denial of justice; and the restoration of order at this cost involves dangers of which the price is costly indeed." It is not for nothing, therefore, that one of the fundamental safeguards of democratic government is sought in the independence of the judiciary for a judiciary which has to look for its laurels or prospects to executive government can with the best will in the world never act with that courage and impartiality which the people have a right to expect from those who sit in judgment over others. A judicial career must be and should be an end in itself for the judiciary must be above all temptations outside its own legitimate field. What one forgets is that executive power lives not by its power to command, but by its power to convince, and is always 'facing at its peril'. Governments must, therefore, always remember "that they do not remove a grievance, however ill-conceived, by suppressing it." And if they are allowed to associate violent opinion with actual violence, there are few follies upon which they cannot be persuaded to embark. The persecution of opinion grows by what it feeds on." "Power that is unaccountable makes instruments of men who should be ends in themselves." Responsible government in a democracy lives always in the shadow of coming defeat, and this makes it eager to satisfy those with whose destinies it is charged."

Pratt Lusk's essay on Liberty is not merely an impassioned plea for freedom in the theory but also a sermon for all practical administrators and those whom destiny has placed in the position of power. It is an inspiration and a call to duty to those who still retain the Divine spark of idealism which may actually be transmuted into action.



Early History of the Bengali Theatre—II

(Based on Original Sources)

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

I

AT the opening of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Bengali stage was more than fifty years old. But its achievements till then were very negligible. All the private theatres which had come into being one after another during that period were short-lived and unrelated to one another. They did not succeed in creating a continuous dramatic tradition in the country. And, what was more, no repertory of Bengali plays was in existence. The only Bengali plays which had been put on the stage were the translations of Lebedeff and a dramatic rendering of the familiar tale of Vidyasundar. We have no means of ascertaining whether these pieces possessed any literary and artistic merit. Possibly they had none. In any case, they cannot with any justice be described as the forerunners of the later Bengali plays. But with the closing of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century all this was changed. The year 1857 witnessed a sudden outburst of theatrical activity in Calcutta which not only resulted in the opening of three private theatres close upon one another in that city but also helped in a large measure in the creation of a genuine dramatic literature in Bengali, which had been faintly foreshadowed by a few minor pieces before that date.

The Bengali drama developed along two lines,—the translation or adaptation of ancient Sanskrit works, and the writing of original plays with classical incidents or current social problems as themes.

So far as can be ascertained now, the first genuine Bengali drama to be put on the stage was the Bengali rendering of *Abhijnan Sakuntala* by Vaidya Nanda Kumar Roy of Gauriva which was published in August, 1855 (Bhadra, 1262 B.E.) and staged on January 30, 1857 at the house of Ashutosh Deb (Chhatu Babu) in Simla. Though the history of the Bengali drama and that of the Bengali theatre run nearly parallel from that date, the origin of the Bengali drama

can be traced to an earlier period. Till very recently it was supposed that the first genuine Bengali drama was *Bhadrarjun* by Taracharan Shukdar which was published in 1852, this work being followed closely by *Bhanumati Chittavilas* by Harachandra Ghosh published in 1853. But in the *Prabasi* for Kartik, 1336, Dr. S. K. De has brought to the notice of scholars a new Bengali drama called *Ratnavali Natika*, based on Sri-Harsha's *Ratnavali*, by Nilmani Pal and published in 1849. It seems possible, however, to carry the history of the Bengali drama as far back as 1830. In the *Sambad Prabhakar* for June 23, 1848, I have come across the notice of a Bengali translation of *Abhijnan Sankuntala* by Kamtarak Bhattacharyya, published in 1848. Another notice, published in the *Samachar Chandrodya* for May 2, 1851, states that two Bengali dramas *Kautuk Sarvasva Natak* and *Prabodh Chandrodoy Natak* are on sale in its office. These works must, therefore, have been published before that date. But I have seen none of them, nor can I ascertain whether they were actually put on the stage or not. It is stated by some that the *Kautuk Sarvasva* is the same piece as the play of *Vidyasundar*, staged in Nobin Chandra Bose's house,* and the Rev. Long mentions the book in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Works* (p. 75) as follows :

Kautuk Sarvasva Natak Ch. P. 1830, a drama, by R. Chandra Tarkalankar of Harinabhi.

Coming back to *Bhadrarjun* and *Bhanumati Chittavilas*, we can now trace the history of the Bengali drama down to a later epoch. These works were just preceded by *Kirtivilas*, a drama unnoticed till now,† and

* *Bangiya Natyashala* by Dhananjay Mukherji (1316 B.E.), p. 2.

† "The drama called *Kirtivilas* which has recently been published in the Bengali language with the permission of Vidyanmada Sabla..."—The *Sambad Prabhakar* for May 28, 1852. The name of this work is mentioned both in Long's *Catalogue* and the *Bengali Tivakasha* but the date of its publication was unknown till now.

followed closely by *Babu Natik* by Kaliprasanna Singh, published in 1853-54. The latter was a slight work, most probably a farce, and there is no mention of its being actually put on the stage.

The history of the Bengali drama, actually staged, if we exclude the doubtful case of *Kantuk Sarvasva* or *Vidyasundar*, thus begins, as I have already said, with the *Abhijnan Sakuntala* of Nandakumar Roy. Henceforward the two aspects of the Bengali drama may be considered together.

The theatrical activities which had begun in the Bengali community of Calcutta with the opening of Prasanna Kumar Tagore's theatre in 1831 had created a taste for dramatic performances of a new type, and as we go forward we find evidence of the growth of this taste in increasing volume. In 1853, we find that the *Sambad Prabhakar* (March 31, 1853) while reporting the establishment of a theatre in Bombay, calls upon the educated and wealthy Bengalis to give up their crude *natras* and encourage the new theatre. This exhortation was hardly necessary. The educated Bengalis had already become keen patrons of the theatre. But their enthusiasm, except for one solitary instance, had so far taken a wrong line—they were acting English plays or English renderings of Sanskrit plays. And they could not make any sustained effort to create a Bengali theatre. In January 1857, however, a new and enthusiastic start was made with the performance of *Sakuntala* at the residence of Chhatu Babu. This performance was followed in quick succession by the setting up of other private theatres, and the staging of many new plays. These activities so far revolutionized the taste of the Bengali public that we find Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, the author of *Ratnavali*, one of the very first of Bengali dramas, writing in 1858:

It is a matter for congratulation that modern writers are developing an interest in theatrical activities. Having become acquainted with the incomparable charm of the English and English dramas, everybody is showing complete disregard for the contemptible traditional *natras*. Can anyone who has tasted of the cup of nectar, distilled from the moon, care for stale rice-water?

II

The new movement started in 1857 has continued almost uninterruptedly to this day and given rise to the contemporary Bengali theatre which stands in its direct line of descent. The first theatre

which inaugurated the movement was that established by the grandsons of Babu Ashutosh Deb, known under the familiar name of Chhatu Babu (d. 29 Jan. 1856). The preparations for the staging of *Sakuntala* in this theatre are described in the *Sambad Prabhakar* for January 15, 1857. It says:

The members of the Annapradayini Sabha, established in the house of the late Ashutosh Deb, are training themselves for performing the drama of *Sakuntala* by Nanda Kumar Roy. The success of this venture is desirable. No representation of a Bengali play has for a long time been shown in the city of Calcutta.

The first performance of *Sakuntala* took place on January 30, 1857 on the occasion of the Saraswati Puja. The *Hindoo Patriot* gives an account of the origin of the theatre* and its first performance in its issue for February 5, 1857:

THE HINDOO THEATRE.—It is not long since Calcutta was regaled with histrionic exhibition under the auspices of native amateurs, when some of the best plays of Shakespear were acted upon the stage by young Hindoos who appeared to enter into the spirit of the characters they personated. Although the full measure of success which was anticipated could not be realised, yet the public, and specially the native community, shewed a taste for such performances which promised the best results, if the managers of the Theatre had only the tact to profit by the happy opportunity. Instead, however, of being gratified by repeated and well-got up . . . taste thus created, they permitted minor jealousies and a spirit of contention to demolish the good they had achieved, and the curtain fell upon their stage to be lifted up no more. Years rolled away. We had well nigh forgotten that we ever had such a thing as a theatre, when an invitation card surprised us with the fact that another Bengalee stage had risen like a phoenix upon the ashes of its predecessor. The announcement had the further attraction that the play announced was a genuine Bengalee one, being a translation of the well-known . . . execution of Kally Dass—the . . . were still more delighted to . . . theatre had been got up by the grandsons of the late Baboo Ashutosh Deb, the stage having been erected at the family residence of the deceased millionaire, and partaking of the character of a private theatrical. It is not every day that native gentlemen of wealth and position are observed to spend money on amusements of a rational kind. It is altogether a relief

*It seems probable that the theatre at the residence of Chhatu Babu was established two or three years before this, or, at any rate, that there was some sort of a theatre there about the middle of November 1854. For in the issue of the *Sambad Prabhakar* for Dec. 5, 1854 we come across the following news: "On the night of the Shak Puja a Brahman boy was returning home by the lane after witnessing a theatrical performance at the residence of Ashutosh Deb."

to contemplate our youthful aristocracy apart from the low and grovelling pursuits which too unfortunately constitute the normal condition of many of that body. The drama has in all ages and with all nations formed one of the principal sources of a pure amusement. In India, it had at one time attained the highest state of perfection. But a combination of disastrous circumstances tended to annihilate the freedom of our race, and simultaneously with the loss of liberty we lost every blessing which chastened manners and embellished life. Foreigners contemplate with ecstasy the genius of our poets. The universities of Europe are not tired of poring over the musty tomes of ancient Sanskrit literature. The *Sacountala* of Kallidas has undergone the most finished translations in Germany and in England. But amongst the people for whose forefathers the immortal bard taxed his genius, his admirable work is a sealed book almost. A few only have read it in the original, and a very contemptible number in the diluted form even of a translation. The play is admirably fitted for the stage. We had abundant evidence of the fact from the performance which came off on the night of the 3rd instant [ultimo]. The young gentlemen who personated *Sacountala* looked really grand and queenly in his gestures and address, and did great justice to the part he was enacting. The other amateurs also succeeded in creating an effect. We are told that the performers have not had the benefit of any lessons from practised actors, and this circumstance enables us to accord great credit to exertions undoubtedly very well directed. We are confident that with a little polishing the corps dramatique will be able to make a brilliant debut.

The second performance of this piece took place on February 22, 1857 before an audience of some four hundred gentlemen, and a very appreciative notice appeared in the *Sambad Prabakar* for Feb. 26, 1857. It is curious to note that while both these contemporary reporters write of the acting with evident enthusiasm, Kishori Chand Mitra, in an article on the *Modern Hindu Drama*, contributed to the *Calcutta Review* for 1873, describes the performance as "a failure."

In a later issue of the *Hindoo Patriot* (Friday, July 23, 1857) there was also an announcement of the preparation for a third performance, from which we learn that in the former performances only three acts—and not the whole of the drama—were acted:

Weekly Register of Intelligence.
Friday, the 17th July

A Correspondent informs us that the play of *Sacountala* will be again performed at the premises of Baboo Ashcoms Dey. Rehearsals are now progressing, and the whole play will be acted, and not three acts only as was the case last year.

The fashions of Calcutta, then as now, did not take long to spread into the mofussil.

The setting up of the new theatres in Calcutta in 1857 was followed the next year by the establishment of another at Janai, a village near Howrah, at which also the very first piece staged was *Sakuntala*. The following account of this performance appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* for June 10, 1858:

VILLAGE THEATRE.—We are glad we are able to record in our columns the establishment of another native Theatre in this country. The institution, we speak of, owes its parentage to the liberality and munificence of a certain wealthy Zemindar of Jonye, Baboo Poorno Chunder Mookerjee, in whose family house it has been got up. This place, our readers must be aware of, is situated in the district of Howrah, at only a twelve mile's distance from Calcutta. It must be associated in the minds of many with the existence of a Training School at the locality so often noticed in the papers. On Saturday the 20th ultimo our village amateurs played the *Sakuntala*—that dramatic masterpiece of our celebrated poet Kalidasa. As naturally expected there was a large gathering of the respectable people of the locality on the occasion. The stage was nicely decorated and the hall was splendidly illumined. The performance was very creditable. Indeed such proficiency was more than expected from youths reared and bred up in village schools. Justice demands we should mention the talents displayed by the gentlemen who personated Raja Doosmunt and *Sakuntala*. The manly gait and deportment of Doosmunt showed at once that he was just the man represented by the Poet, while his beloved partner in love resembled in every point the amazingly beautiful daughter of the heavenly nymph Manoka. Bedosak and other characters were well performed and each had his proficiency in his own particular way. The music played by amateurs was capital, but that by the band was horribly disgusting. We wish a better management of the screen had been made. Indeed after the first act was over the screen dropped, and was so disordered that it could not be soon taken up. The audience was thus kept waiting in anxiety and suspense for a period of more than half an hour. This defect in the management of the screen we have reason to complain of in almost all native performances. Our present theatrical exhibitions are conducted in the English style and this important feature of the English stage should be duly learnt before any thing like completion and success could be attained.

In conclusion we sincerely thank Baboo Poorno Chunder Mookerjee for the liberality evinced by him in rearing up this useful institution, and we trust that his example will not be lost sight of by others of his class. He has indeed "given gold a price and taught us learn to shine."

* In the preface to the second edition of *Sakuntala* (1882) the author says: "This play was performed recently by the Bengal Theatre at the request of Lord Lytton the Governor-General of India and his Council, when he and the members of his Council were greatly pleased with the performance which was witnessed by a numerous audience."

To come back to the theatre at Chhatu Babu's residence, the staging of *Sakuntala* at this place was followed quickly by that of a new play, *Mahasveta*, by Manimohan Sarkar, which was also a Bengali dramatic rendering of a Sanskrit work *Kudamvari*. This play was first performed in Bhadra 1264 B. E. (Aug.-Sep. 1857),* and the cast, as given in the book, was as follows :

Raja	Babu Annada Prasad Mookerjee
Pundarik }	
Nata .. }	Babu Mahendra Nath Majumdar
Kapinjal	Author
Kanchuki	Babu Shubchand Sinha
Mahasveta }	
Nati .. }	Babu Kshetra Mohan Sinha
Kadamvari	Mahendra Nath Ghose
Tarakka	Sarat Chandra Ghose
Rani	Bhuban Mohan Ghose
Chhatra-dharini	Mahendra Lal Mookerjee

This drama was not published in book form till Aswin 1266 (Sep.-Oct 1859).†

III

This first two performances of *Sakuntala* in January and February 1857 at Chhatu Babu's residence were followed by a more sensational dramatic event in March of the same year. It was the performance of Ramnarayan Tarkaratna's *Kulin Kulasarasva* at the house of Babu Jayram Bysack of Nutan-bazar on March 13, 1857. The dramas so far put on the stage were only adaptations or translations. Ramnarayan was perhaps the first writer in Bengal to utilize a social question of the day as the theme of a drama and thus to compose a drama which in every sense was original. Kulin polygamy was being vigorously attacked in those days by the social reformers of Bengal. Ramnarayan's new drama had for its theme this institution. The sensation which the play created and the enthusiasm with which it was repeatedly staged is described in the reminiscences of Gour Das Bysack, the friend of Michael Madhusudan Datta. Referring to the organization of theatres in Calcutta, Gour Das Bysack says :

The credit of organizing the first Bengali Theatre belongs to the late Babu Jayram Bysack of Churnchdanga Street, Calcutta, who formed and drilled a Bengali dramatic corps and set up a stage in his house, on which was performed, in March 1857, the sensational Bengali play of *Kulin Kula Sarasva* by Pandit Ramnarayana. The

success and popularity that attended the first experiment led the late Babu Gopal Das Sett to form a similar corps and set up a stage in his house in Rotten Street's Garden Street, on which the same play was repeated before an enthusiastic audience. The unprecedented sensation into which the whole native community was thrown, after the celebration of the first widow marriage [Dear ? 1856] under the aegis of that redoubtable apostle of social reform, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar, accounted for the interest and excitement which these performances of a play representing a most important social reform, created at the time. As naturally expected, Vidyasagar and Babu Kailash Prasad Sinha, always on the van of national progress, encouraged the actors in Babu Gadadhar Sett's house, by their presence and personal interest.*

The accuracy of Gour Das Bysack's reminiscences is borne out by contemporary newspapers. The *Hindoo Patriot* for March 19, 1857 reproduces the following item of news from the *Education Gazette* :

Calcutta, the 13th March. The *EDUCATIONAL GAZETTE* states that the well-known farce of Kooling Koolshorbhushya was acted in the private residence of a Babu in Calcutta with great success. We are glad to see these new pieces acted.

The *Sambad Prabhakar* for March 25, 1858 states that the third performance of this drama took place at the residence of Gadadhar Sett on March 22, 1858 :

On 10th Chaitra [March 22, 1858] the third performance of *Kulin Kulasarasva* took place at the residence of Gadadhar Sett. The audience numbered seven hundred. Vidyasagar and other notabilities being among them †

I have not yet been able to come across any reference to the second performance of the play in the contemporary newspapers. But, as Ramnarayan says in his fragmentary autobiographical sketch that his play was performed at three places only, viz., at Nutan-bazar, Banstola-gali, and at Chinsurah, it is very likely that the second performance like the first also took place at the house of Jayram Bysack. The next (or, according to my belief, the fourth) performance of the play took place at Chinsurah on July 13, 1858. The *Hindoo Patriot* writes in its issue for July 15, 1858 :

"... 13 July... The acting of the ... Koolshorbhushya Natuck at Chinsurah

* Jogindranath Basu's *Life of Michael Madhusudan Datta* (Bengali), 3rd edn., pp. 647-48.

† See also the *Hindoo Patriot* for April 1, 1858. A very florid account of this performance by a correspondent is to be found in the *Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* for March 27, 1858. From this we find that the play was staged in the face of considerable opposition from rival theatrical parties.

* See *Sambad Prabhakar*, dated Sep. 16, 1857 (1 Aswin, 1264).

† *Ibid.*, 17 Oct. 1858 (1 Kartik, 1266).

has, it appears, given great offence to the Koolins of the locality... The acting took place in the house of a gentleman of the Banya caste, and the Cola Brahmans intend, it is said, to retaliate in kind.

This was, in all probability, the performance which Bankim Chandra Chatterji is said to have witnessed at Chinsurah in the residence of the Mondol family, though the date ascribed to this performance is 1857, i.e., during the Sepoy Mutiny.*

These extracts give a fairly complete account of the different performances of *Kulin Kulasarvasva*. But there is an item of news in the *Sambad Prabhakar* for March 13, 1857 which raises an interesting point about the theatrical club which took the initiative in staging this play for the first time. Gour Das Bysack says in his reminiscences that "The credit of organizing the first Bengali Theatre belongs to the late Babu Jayaram Bysack of Churruckdanga Street, Calcutta, who formed and drilled a Bengali dramatic corps and set up a stage in his house, on which was performed, in March 1857, the sensational Bengali play of *Kulin Kula Sarvasva*." The *Sambad Prabhakar*, on the contrary, published the following editorial (cited in translation) on Mar 10, 1857:

The staging of the play *Sakuntala* at the house of the late Ashutosh Deb has led today to the growth of an interest among the young men of this country in the dramatic art. Though these are but amusements, they do not require both intelligence and knowledge any the less for that. A dramatic performance does not mean merely to stand in upon a stage built after the English model and say the parts in a sing-song manner like the recitation of the doggerels of a *Panchali*. It requires that the actors should, by suitable gestures, express the proper sentiments of the passages—such as sorrow, joy, affection and other emotions—with which, according to the intentions of the author of the play, the drama has been embellished, and thus charm both the spectators and the listeners. The duties of an actor or actress are not easy. We shall say what we have to say in this connection later. At present we are extremely gratified to learn that arrangements for the staging of *Kulin Kulasarvasva* are being made under the auspices of the Vidyotsahini Sabha and Babu Kaliprasanna. If this society, is devoting his particular attention to the matter.

The Vidyotsahini Sabha was the literary club founded and patronized by Kaliprasanna Singh. Of its dramatic activities something will be said in the next section. Here it is sufficient to mention that the

dramatic club attached to it also interested itself in the staging of *Kulin Kulasarvasva*, though we have no means of knowing whether the play was ultimately staged by it or not, and whether this club had any relation with the dramatic club organized by Jayaram Bysack.

IV

The theatre attached to the Vidyotsahini Sabha just referred to, was established in 1856 by the well-known Bengali writer Kaliprasanna Singh at his residence in Jorasanko. This theatre was opened on April 9, 1857 with a performance of the Bengali version of the Sanskrit drama of *Venisamhar* by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna. This event is described in the following letter to the editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, which was published in its issue for April 16, 1857:

To the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*
 Sir.—Last Saturday, the 9th instant, another Hindoo Theatre was inaugurated under the title of the "Bhus Swahoney Theatre." Several respectable gentlemen, native and European, were present on the occasion and the "Bany Sanghara" Nattuck was acted with considerable applause. The dialogues were conducted mostly in prers (couplets) and treepodees (triplets) instead of dramatic verse. But songs were wanting—The performance on the whole was very creditable to the young Hindoo Amateurs to whose zeal and spirit the Theatre owes its existence.

Yours &c.

Kaliprasanna himself took one of the leading parts in the play and acted it with great credit. The success of this venture encouraged him to compose dramas himself, and this resulted in a Bengali translation of Kalidasa's famous play *Vikramorvasi*. This book was published in September, 1857, and, in the preface, Kaliprasanna gave an account of the previous activities of the Vidyotsahini Theatre and the circumstances which led to the composition of *Vikramorvasi*. After referring to the absence of theatres among the Bengalis, he says:

Afterwards when Shakespeare's and other English plays were performed in Bengal, the Hindus showed a desire to stage Sanskrit and Bengali plays also. Professor Wilson writes that about eighty years ago a Sanskrit drama called the *Chitra-najna* was staged in the palace of the late Raja Iswarchandra Roy Bahadur of Krishnagar. But this play was not acted according to the rules of the stage, and, as it was written in Sanskrit, it failed to be generally pleasing.

Now in this theatre attached to the Vidyotsahini Sabha, the people of Bengal are again able to witness the staging of Bengali plays. A Bengali translation of Bhattanarayan's *Venisamhar* by

* Life of Bankim Chandra Chatterji (in Bengali) by Sachish Chandra Chatterji, 3rd ed., pp. 75-77, 419.

Ramanayan Bhattacharyya was the first play to be staged in this theatre. The distinguished visitors who were present during the performance are the best judges of the acting. The gentlemen who acted the parts, however, succeeded in pleasing the audience and earning profuse applauses by their well-regulated acting.

At the repeated insistence and request of the audience the drama of *Vikramorvasi* is now translated and published with the object of being acted on the Vidyotsahini stage. I shall deem my labours rewarded if it is deemed worthy of perusal by learned men and of being staged by other theatres of this city.

The exact date of the first performance of *Vikramorvasi* is given by the *Sambad Prabhakar*. In its issue for April 13, 1858, while giving a summary of the events of the preceding year, it writes:

12th, Agrahayana, on the 10th C.
[November 24, 1857] the
of St. Kalprasanna Singh of
Jorasanko

Kashori Chand Mitra writes in the *Calcutta Review* (1853, p. 253) of the success which attended this performance:

In November 1857, a second and more brilliant performance, that of *Vikramorvasi* took place at the premises and under the management of the late Babu Kalprasanna Singh: the Babu himself was one of the *dramatis personae*. There was a large gathering of native and European gentlemen, who were unanimous in praising the performance. Among the latter, Mr. Alexander Sir, Cecil Beaton, the then Secretary to the Government of India, expressed to us his unalloyed pleasure at the admirable way in which the principal characters sustained their parts.

A very full discussion of this performance occurs in the *Hindoo Patriot* for December 3, 1857:

THE BHOOTA SHAKHIN THEATRE.—Our readers will probably remember that about six weeks ago we reviewed in these columns Babu Kalprasanna Singh's translation of the *Vikramorvasi* of Kalidasa. In the present issue we have to notice the performance of that drama, got up under the auspices of the same Babu, in his own mansion. The native gentry of Calcutta and the Sultans, representing the intelligence, taste, good sense, fashion and respectability of Hindu society, were all present in gorgeous winter garments, but the audience was too large for the place, and we hear with regret that many members of the Chowringhee aristocracy, were obliged to run counter on account of the alarming density of the collection. Whatever the public may complain of with respect to the unrestricted distribution of tickets of admission, we must do justice to Babu Kalprasanna Singh to whose liberal mind and generous munificence Calcutta owes a most Theatre is in the second year of its existence and though it is a private property, the intelligent and respectable public may as freely enjoy its benefit as they do partake of the common air we live in.

The *elaborate* with which the *Vikramorvasi* was performed on the last occasion was great. The stage was most beautifully decorated and the Theatre-room was as nobly adorned as cultivated taste could dictate or enlightened fashion could lead to. No delicate consideration of economy was ever thought of, and the result was most magnificent and gratifying. The marble painting on the frontispiece of the stage was as neat as elegant, and the stone pictures of *Bharata* and *Kulidasa*, though mostly imaginary, were executed with so much nicety and taste that one was involuntarily reminded of the classic days of Grecian sculptures and painting, casting into form Gods and goddesses of heavenly birth. The reception was very courteous and graceful, which was conducted by our excellent townsman, Baboo Hura Chunder Ghose. But we cannot afford space for details, though the narration of which in the present instance is pleasant. We shall at once notice the performance, leaving aside all unnecessary preliminaries and the grateful reminiscences of elder drama.

The peculiar characteristic of our theatricals is the absence of dramatic opening, which belongs to the romantic school of the modern drama. We have the old Grecian way of opening the play by the appearance of the manager on the stage, who explains to the audience the nature and character, and, in some instances, the performance. But the accompaniment of music and song relieves that dull delay and tediousness of the scene, which like a forced march is always tiresome, for we must bear in mind that the spectator has over the incidents of the story vividly stamped on his mental vision, and does not wait to be helped in the margin. In the *Buddhist Shikine Theatre* the music was excellent, both when the amateurs performed and when the Town Band played. They awakened in the souls of the feeling portion of the audience who had any sympathy for sounds the most pleasant emotions and kept the chord in a remarkably beautiful harmony. Of the performance nothing can be exaggeratedly stated. The part of the king *Pharroba*, represented by Babu Kalprasanna Singh, was admirably done. His mien was right royal, and his voice truly imperial. From the first scene of the play when he with his pleasant companion, a civilized buffoon, commenced to interchange words of fellowship, to the last scene when he was translated with his fair *Corvosi* to heaven, he kept the attention of the audience continuously alive and made a most glad some impression on their minds. Every word he gave utterance to was suited to the action which followed. In the language of the poet he did truly hold the mirror up to nature. Whose heart did not palpitate with the most quick emotions when the king, hearing the nymphs cry for help, announced his approach in the most heroic strain, and went to their relief? The act was as chivalrous as it was heroic. There was the romance of real life represented in true colors. But how sweetly does the language of love convey its meaning to a lover's mind. *Corvosi* is rescued from the infernal clutches of the demon, she thanks in a soft but most eloquent language her gallant saviour, of honor, mingles in the while the king hears in the dulcet air the most passionate voice of love. The

scene lay in the Hemcoot range, and the romantic objects that allured observation from around, with the angelic charms of Oorvosi and the glorious graces of her lovely companion, threw the mind of the king into a kind of magical enchantment, and his vision thenceforth became the heavenly fair. Then comes the scene of the descending of the Heavenly car with Orvosi and Chittrolekha on singing in a most rapturous strain and lapping the singer in a most rapturous strain and lapping the gazing soul literally as it were in Elysian bliss. If there could be angel visits on earth which poets sing of, the appearance of Orvosi with her ethereal companion in the heavenly car was such a visit. It struck the heart of every one of the spectators. It almost realized the scriptural vision of Elijah's ascension to Heaven. We have seen pictures of Grocian gods driving chariots and read of ancient heroes skimming the air through such cars, but all formed melted away as the mists disappeared and the heavenly car from Indra's region neared our common earth. The attitude of Oorvosi on the car was delightfully picturesque, and the sweet songs and music which attended the descent gave it the glow of an Arabian night's dream. But the enchantment was not yet complete. She came and vanished like a vision. The king was restless, and in the madness of love appealed with child-like simplicity to the counsel of Bidoosook, the Buffoon, who like Lear's fool mocked his sorrow, but never leaving his moralizing occupation. The disconsolate Dabee, wife to the king worships the gods to cure her husband's misdirected love, but subsequently moved by the frantic state of the Rajah disavows her worship recalls her prayer and seconds his wish to propitiate the deities to gratify his desire. This is the true picture of the Hindu lady who at the sacrifice of her own happiness would even submit to austerities and observances for the fulfilment of her lord's wishes. Next opens the most affecting part of the play. The commencement is solemn and the circumstance serious. The electric light opens upon the air and the artillery of heaven roars tremendously—in the midst of this scene the king enters singly and in a state of a great excitement, cries for Oorvosi in a most lamentable strain, turns his mind inward, discourses with his own soul, rings the bells of his passion, and addresses the woods, and trees, the birds and skies in a most pathetic tone. This part of the action was the most difficult, and our friend Kaliprosono sustained it most nobly. If love could be feigned, Kaliprosono did it well. Thereon addressing the mountain—now the woods behind,—now the river beneath and now the birds above, with the essential pauses of affection, when the heart is rent by the agony of love, like Milton's Adam at the loss of Eve—the soliloquizing in the most pathetic manner and calling forth the most tender emotion from the deep wells of passion *ala Hamlet*—the repeated falls which the king met with from the negative replies which he construed in that frantic mood from the significant sounds that dropped—all these were quite natural and most admirably put into action. However we would not give any thing for the Oorvosi for whom the king had spent so much breath. We doubt whether our countrymen would content themselves with presenting to the world such an Orvosi whom poetry represents as the paragon of beauty, as was represented at the *Biddooh Shahinee Theatre*. But we do not disparage

her. She will make a different being—that is more acceptable,—if she continue on earth, for love-making in heaven is quite another affair, and is not suited to the taste of us mortals. Bidoosook was ably performed, but his jokes were lost partly on account of the noise, and partly on account of the unintelligibility of the language. The Cowar was just like Homes's Young Norval, and the caressing address of Oorvosi, set in tune was most magnificently done. Other characters were in-differently good, but the voice which spoke from behind the scene was really abominable.

While we thus do justice to Baboo Kaliprosunno Sing, we must however be allowed to express one patriotic wish. With all its excellencies the *Biddooh Shahinee Theatre* is a private establishment, though its very existence is a sign of the times. This attempt to cultivate the drama is justly praiseworthy, but what we would like to have is a public institution of the kind of a permanent character. The age is much too advanced to wait for an elaborate dissertation on the usefulness of such an institution in order to get it established. There are many among us, we know, with good sense and sufficiency enough to come forward and aid such a project, and at the head of that band we unhesitatingly put down the name of Baboo Kaliprosunno Sing. Let the lovers and patrons of the Drama form themselves into a body, take the project into their consideration, and they are assured of every encouragement and co-operation from the *Hindoo Patriot*.

The third play to be staged by the Vidyotsahini Theatre was *Savitri-Satyavan*, also the work of Kaliprasanna. It was rehearsed on June 4, 1858 *

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS

In the first part of this article, published last month, I omitted to mention the performance of *Nothing Superfluous* at the Hindu Theatre on March 29, 1832. The following letter, which appeared in the *India Gazette* of Saturday, March 31, 1832, speaks for itself:

To The Editor of the "INDIA GAZETTE" *

Sir—As I have frequently perused in your paper articles eulogizing the natives for their advancement in literature and polite arts, I became desirous of ascertaining, by personal examination, the proficiency of this rising class. With this view I procured a ticket of admittance to the Hindoo Amateur Theatre, and proceeded last night to witness the performance of "*Nothing Superfluous*" which had been notified in the *Enquirer* as prepared for the evening's entertainment. The play commenced at half after 7, in

*—We glean from the old files of the *Sambad Prabhakar* that the play was rehearsed at the Vidyotsahini Theatre on the 23rd Jaistha, 1263 Bengali Era (June, 1853).—*Memoirs of Kali Prossunno Sing*, by Manmatha Nath Ghosh, p. 42.

the presence of a highly respectable European and native audience. The principal characters were the Sultan Selim, Chafur, Sam and the Fair Gulnara. The portly figure and the proud independent air of Selim were well suited to the character of an eastern monarch. Chafur also sustained his part with credit to himself, and the feminine blandishment, assumed by the fair Gulnara, displayed much fine taste and a right conception of the character of an eastern beauty; but the judgment and theatrical tact displayed by Sam throughout the varied and difficult parts he had to perform, were calculated to surpass the most sanguine expectations. His soliloquy and dream about a fine dinner composed of mutton chop, &c. had a very pleasing effect on the audience; and the difference of his manners whilst in prosperity was so well contrasted to those he had shown whilst in poverty, that it could not fail to attract attention and call forth applause. The dresses of the actors were superbly rich, and the scenery, although inferior to that of the principal Theatres, was yet arranged with much taste. The minor characters were also very creditably sustained by the amateurs. In fact, the whole went off with great *effet*; reflecting the highest credit on every one connected with the Hindu Theatre.

In conclusion, I must express the high satisfaction which I derived from the entertainment of the evening, and which more than confirmed the favourable account which I had read of native improvement in your publication and the other papers of the day. I was almost forgetting to say that there was one thing to be regretted, and which seemed to have been felt by every one present—and that was, that the play was too short and the arena was rather small. Considering the number of gentlemen that were invited on the occasion, we hope the managers of this little Theatre will remedy these complaints in their next performance, and give us a good treat within a short time.

Calcutta.
30th March, 1832

Your obedient servant,
A FRIEND TO THE NATIVES

Serjeant Manmutha Nath Ghosh, who possesses the files of the *Hindoo Patriot* for 1855, has very kindly allowed me to take notes of the following account of the performance of *Henry IV*, Pt. I., which appeared in the *Hindoo Patriot* for February 22, 1855:

THE ORIENTAL THEATRE.—After the lapse of nearly a year, the Oriental Theatre re-opened on the 15th instant with the performance of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, part first, and a farce entitled the *Amateurs*, written expressly for the Chowringhee Theatre by Henry Meredith Parker C. S. In those days in which civilians and military men did not deem it vulgar to amuse themselves with the very rational pleasures of the stage. The managers of the Oriental Theatre in their endeavours to nationalise a more intellectual

species of amusement than their countrymen were hitherto accustomed to throw away their money upon, complain of having had to encounter heavy losses. Then complaint is the more mortifying from the fact that those who have the power to aid them successfully, although hugely patronising the despicable *tamashas* that abound in the country—bull-bull fights and dancing girls,—would not lay out a farthing for the thousand times more gratifying shows which the Theatre is capable of affording. Perhaps the majority of the rich in Calcutta, are from their ignorance of the English language, insensible of the exquisite delight which an English play well acted can impart to the spectator. Yet if even all those whose education has furnished them with a refined taste and enables them to appreciate the Drama of the west, took that interest in the new theatre which they ought to take, its managers could not certainly despair of success. Shakespeare's plays acted by Hindoo youths is a novelty which none assuredly should miss, and such acting as we observed at the Oriental Theatre on Thursday last may well make us proud of the versatile and extraordinary genius of our countrymen. We admit that all the characters in the play were not so well represented as we could wish; yet Falstaff was a trumpery and King Henry spoke and gesticulated like a king. We wondered specially at the way in which the young man who personated the former character went through his part, mimicking the corpulent old blackguard in voice and gesture so remarkably, that the audience was in a roar of laughter. The pronunciation of some of the actors was excellent; that of the rest, not altogether bad. . . . We again wish that a generous public will encourage these efforts to establish a source of rational amusement in Calcutta and revive gradually the dramatic spirit of our countrymen. We wish also that the managers of the Oriental Theatre will hereafter think of getting up *Ben Jonson's* plays after the manner of our very spirited brethren of Bombay who are now starring it at the Grant Road Theatre.

CONNECTIONS

The following paragraph, quoted from the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1835 (Pt. II Asiatic News, p. 327), furnishes additional proof that the *Hindoo Pioneer* was a weekly, and not a fortnightly nor a monthly paper, and that it was first published on 27 August, 1835.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.—A periodical, called the *Hindoo Pioneer*, closely resembling in exterior the *Literary Gazette* and entirely the production of the students of the Hindoo College, has been published. The first number of the work was issued on the 27th August and on the whole reflects great credit on the contributors and editors.

P. 387 c. 1 L. 35 for Sept. 1822 read Feb. 1, 1922.
390 2 55, complete „ play in English
play in Eng. on a more ambitious scale

Alekh Religion in Orissa

By PANDIT BINAYAK MISRA

JORANDA, a village in the Dhenkanal State, has been the principal seat of Alekhism for a long time. The hills, forming the isolation of Dhenkanal, have been barriers to the quick rush of any new culture into the State from the plain country. Notwithstanding the isolation, Dhenkanal, where the Savara people predominate and which according to tradition owes its name to a Savara, Dhenka by name, is regarded by the Hindus of Orissa as a place of sanctity on account of a Saivite shrine existing on the slope of the Kapilasa hill which is a few miles from Joranda. The natural grandeur of this hill is exceedingly charming. A perennial spring flows down from the top of the hill and washes the head of a Saiva image, enshrined in a temple standing on the slope. This temple was constructed during the reign of Purushottam Deva, the sovereign lord of Orissa in the 15th century A. D.

There are several natural caves on the hill, which are occasionally occupied by the Sadhus coming from distant places. These caves are said to have been the abode of the sages in the remote past. According to tradition this hill was the seat of the sage Kapila to whom a Sanskrit work, describing the sanctity of the various shrines of Orissa, is attributed. It is, therefore, a common belief that Kapilasa, the name of the hill, has been derived from Kapila-vasa. I need mention here that the pilgrims, when they gather here on festive occasions, observe no caste distinction.

The Kapilasa has been referred to as a place of sanctity in the Oriya Ramayana by Balaram Das, a contemporary of Chaitanya of Bengal. It is stated in the prologue of this work that Siva, residing on this hill, heard the name of Rama from Brahma and by muttering this name, was cured of the disease he was suffering from on account of the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice. Having noticed the miraculous restoration of Siva's health, Parvati requested her husband to expose the means of his cure and thereupon he narrated the story of Rama.

Another reference as to the sanctity of the Kapilasa is found in an Oriya poem, called Govindachandra by Yasovant Das, a contemporary of Balaram Das. This poem is recited by the Yogis of Orissa, while wandering from village to village begging alms during the dry season. These Yogis lead a married life and cultivate land, which they possess, during the rainy season, but do not hire their labour. They take food cooked by all non-Brahmin people and at the same time declare that the founder of their society was Gorakhanath. With such social characteristics the Yogis claim that the poem Govindachandra is the sole property of their society.

This poem deals with the imitation of Govindachandra, a King of Bengal, to asceticism by Hadipa. It is narrated in it that Hadipa had left Govindachandra in a prostitute's house for probation and proceeded to Kapilasa. Besides Nanda Das, who flourished, very likely in the 17th century A. D., mentions Dhenkanal as a religious centre in his *Anakara-samhita*. I might mention here that this *Anakara-samhita* contains a religious doctrine which resembles that of Alekhism.

I shall now proceed to notice the general features of the religion. Alekhism generally prohibits image worship and observance of the caste system. But a certain section of the Alekhists who lead a household life, observe caste system to a certain extent. It, however, advocates abstinence from taking beverage and extinction of desire. Those followers, who have renounced the world, subsist on alms. They take cooked food, if obtained from a house in course of begging. And they take this food on the main road running through the village, never acquiescing to the request for taking this food either within the house or on the outer veranda of the house from which they have obtained it. They particularly avoid taking any food cooked by Brahmins. It is also noteworthy that no Alekhist takes his meal after sunset. The Alekhists generally wear red garments and do not enter

into religious controversy. It is also highly interesting that they never get themselves provoked at the jeering of a heretic. Besides, they daily devote some time to meditation and localize the gods, such as Brahma, Siva and Narayana mentioned in their literature, in the human body.

No religion is fully comprehensible from its external character and as such I shall take pains to notice the esoteric doctrine of Alekhism. My chief source of knowledge on the subject is the literature which this religion possesses.

Among the works, containing the Alekh doctrine, so far published, the *Vishnuparbhapurana* by Chaitanya Das, most elaborately represents the teachings of Alekhism. This work was noticed for the first time by Mr. Nagendranath Basu in his book entitled "*The Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa*." Of late, Professor Artaballabh Mahanty M.A. has edited this Purana from three manuscripts and he is of opinion that the author flourished in the first half of the 16th century A. D. Now let us review what it contains.

It opens with invocations to Sarasvati and Mahabrahma, but Sarasvati is represented here as an instrument communicating wisdom from Alekh to the man, not as a personified goddess of the modern Hinduism. Then Sanaka exposes the following metaphysics to Saunaka.

"Alekh manifests himself in every thing in the universe, but his manifestations are formless.¹ The universe which appears before our eyes are dependent on the Dharma of Alekha,² who assumes semblance in four

- (1) "अलेख पुरुष बोलि बड़इ एकइजन ।

बहुसानहोइ येते स्वबु ता विकार ।

विकार घरइ से ये नुइइ आकार ॥" (p. 5)

"Alekha is the greatest and everything—great or small—is his semblance. He is formless, although he assumes semblance."

- (2) "धर्म स्वरूप होइ आसि रहित जगते ।

धर्म बले आतयात हेइछि संसार ।

धर्म बले वृक्षे घरइ पुष्पफल ।" (p. 5)

"He pervades the universe in the form of Dharma. The universe is regulated by his laws of Dharma. The tree produces flowers and fruits through the force of his Dharma."

colours—white, yellow, brown and red.³ Alekha is himself Vishnu and from him proceeds Nirakara.⁴ When the latter appears, the former disappears in emptiness. Then Nirakara creates the seven oceans⁵ and places them in the frying pan of clouds supported on the head of a person having two names, Manu and Parama, wearing a pair of shoes—one called Udanra or flying and the other Parama or permanent.⁶ The person, his shoes and the frying pan are all created by Nirakara.

The universe resides in the womb of Alekha who is incomprehensible.⁷ The four Vedas know nothing of him.⁸ Nirakara,

- (3) "विकार बोलिल बाइकुटिकहि ।

वर्ण नाना विकारिला प्रकाश हेला देही ॥

खेत, पीत कुङ्कुम लोहित चारि वर्ण ।" (p. 7-8)

"His semblances shine as four different colours, namely white, yellow, orange and red which appear to be his forms."

- (4) "प्रथम आकारेक भइला विष्णु कल्प ।

सहुँ जात होइला ये तिराकार रूप ॥" (p. 8)

"He first assumed the form of Vishnu whence proceeded the formless."

- (5) "धिनितयनह ताकु बहिला नीरधार ॥

से नीरधार हाइला ये सप्त सिन्धुबल ।" (p. 5)

"Tears springing from his eyes, came into existence as seven oceans."

- (6) "पुणि मिआण कजे एक मेव तैला इणि ।

तहि भरि रबिले अगाध सिन्धु पाणि ॥"

"Again he manufactured a frying pan of clouds and placed the depthless water of the ocean in it."

"येवण पुरुषकु मनह जातकजे ।

मनु परम बोलि ताहार नामदेले ॥

उडङ्ग स्थिर पादुकायाडिपु निर्माणि ।

से पुरुषर पादे सज्जिले ता आणि ॥" (p. 9)

"He called the being, sprung out of his mind, Manu and Parama and making a pair of shoes—one flying and the other permanent, he put them on his (created being's) feet."

- (7) "अद्भुत कर्मण विष्णुरूप-प्रकाशिला ।

अनन्त कोटि बह्मराड तार गर्भ रातु कला ॥" (p. 24)

"He mysteriously manifested in the form of Vishnu and from his womb emanated numberless worlds."

- (8) "अशेष शेष नाहिँ यारमेदाभेद ।

तार महिमा काहिँ वर्णवाक वेद ॥" (p. 11)

"He is infinite and his entity and non-entity both are endless. How can the Vedas describe his greatness?"

springing from Alekha remains in the state of sleep and in this state Jyoti originates.⁹ Then again the seven oceans being agitated with the wind exhaled by Nirakara in the state of sleep produce tides and from these tides proceeds Kala or time which is often identified with Kamala or lotus.¹⁰ Avarice, attachment, anger, lust and illusion are attributes of this Kala.¹¹

Brahma, springing from the lotus, sits on the filament. He, being baffled at the attempt at tracing his origin at the bottom of the stalk of lotus, hears a voice from emptiness asking him to create the world. Thereafter he creates it in collaboration with Kala.¹²

(9) "एते बोलि जलशय्या पाङ्क्ति निराकार ।

योग आसने पङ्क्ति कले योगमुद्रा ।

येतेवेले योगनिद्रा धारिता नयन ।

ध्यानकले ज्योतिमए विकाशिला आभा ॥" (p. 10)

Thinking so to himself, he had made bed of water and lay along with meditation...when he became absorbed in meditation, a glory of light appeared....."

(10) "ताहाङ्क निस्वाप्त पवन जले वाजि ।

अदभुते लहड़ीमान उठिला गलगानि ॥

कालपुरुष तहुँ होइलाक जात ।

से काल पुरुष ये कमल रूप हेला ।" (p. 10)

"Water, being agitated the wind exhaled, produced boisterous waves all on a sudden....Out of it emanated Kala which assumed the form of lotus."

(11) "कालपुरुष बोइला ये मायार अग्रते ।

लोभमोह काम क्रोध चेनि रहतु सज्जते ॥

एनन्ते कालमाया दुहेँ होइले एकत्त्व ।" (p. 25)

"Kala said to Maya "Let thou associate thyself with me, with your attendants, avarice attachment, lust and anger." Thus Kala and Maya were united."

(12) "से कमल केशरे ब्रह्म जनमि हेले उभा ।

ए पद्मनाड केते दूरस आसिदि बोइला ॥

एहाकु कलि मुँ ये देखिदि केतदूर भ

केवेहे से पद्मनाड नोहिलाक शेष ।

निश्चिन्त होइ ब्रह्मा साधिला तपयोग ।

अलेख अव्यक्त ये ताहार तपबले ।

शून्ये शब्द धमाइ ब्रह्माकु कहिले ॥

बोइले हे विघाता तु जले सृष्टिकर ।

ए मोर लीला देव येमन्त प्रकार ॥" (p. 11)

"Brahma stood on the filament of lotus....He resolved to trace the place or origin of the stalk and caught hold of it, but could not reach the

Alekha, who is colourless, manifests himself in six colours and from these colours emanate six formless Vishnus. Again from Vishnus proceed innumerable Brahmas having discriminating consciousness as their characteristics. These Brahmas create an infinite number of worlds, each comprising twenty-one parts and nine apertures.¹³

The Alekhaic cosmic process, in which the universe emerges out of Alekha or emptiness, appears to be similar to that of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism. Asvaghosa writes that by perceiving subjectivity as empty and unreal, one can perceive the pure soul manifesting itself as eternal, permanent, immutable and completely comprising all things that are pure.¹⁴ We can, therefore understand why Alekism selects the term Nirakara (formless) for conveyance of sense of the affirmative aspect of Alekha. Dharma of Alekism is doubtless the relative aspect of Mahayana's emptiness.

The author of the work under review tells us that Jala or water is identical with Maya or illusion.¹⁵ Asvaghosa illustrates the mode of consciousness and mentation that are products of ignorance by the simile of water and waves. Our author has adopted

bottom...Then he quietly practised meditation and on that account the incomprehensible Alekha asked through a voice from emptiness to create a world in the water as would be the ground of his sport."

"कालङ्क काङ्कि ब्रह्मा सृष्टि रजि न पारिला । (p. 11)

"Brahma could not create the world without Kala's assistance."

"अवर्ण अङ्गुल तार वर्ण प्रकाशिला ।

ए छड़ वर्णर छड़ विष्णु हेलेजन्म ।

अहाङ्क तहुँ पुष्टि ब्रह्मान हेले जात ।

एक ब्रह्मा बोहिला मुँ सृष्टि कलि जात ।

एक ब्रह्मा बोइला मो तहिँ केहि नाहि ।

जात होइ ब्रह्माने ये रचिते ब्रह्माण्ड ॥" (p. 17)

From his colourless form proceed colours...

From six colours emanate six Vishnus...Several Brahmas spring from them...One Brahma says "I am Iake has created the world...Another says "I am without rival" Brahmas after their birth created the worlds each comprising 21 parts and 9 apertures"

(14) Asvaghosa's *Awakening of Faith*. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

(15) "ए माया बोलाइ सबजल अन्धकार" (p. 66)

"The illusion is called the dark water of the world."

exactly the same simile and it has some bearing very likely on the mystic significance of the lotus capital of Asoka.

According to Asvaghosa's opinion in one soul reside two aspects—suchness and birth—and-death (*Samsara*). Alekhism's Manu wearing flying shoe and Parama wearing permanent shoe are, in all likelihood, identical with birth-and-death and suchness respectively.

"There exists only an infinite number of series of consciousness either potentially or actively in operation and each series consists of a succession of moments of consciousness, each moment being the direct resultant of consciousness. ... First in order is ignorance; that is to say, when we analyse the operation of Karma upon a train of moments of consciousness, we find that its primary effect is to cause ignorance, namely, the false belief held by this consciousness that it is a 'self' and ego and the other consequent delusions. This consciousness, in turn, issues in conformation, the potentialities of love, hatred and like weaknesses of the spirit which are the resultants of activities in previous individuated existence and inspire to future activities. Then emerges consciousness of finite being in general and from this issue 'name and form' the conception of definite world of particulars."¹⁶

The above is the early Buddhist teaching. The ignorance, conformation and consciousness are regarded by the Mahayanists as emptiness. It, therefore, appears that Brahma of Alekhism, who is subject to emptiness and create in emptiness, is the consciousness of Buddhism. The later Brahmas having discriminating consciousness as their characteristic are doubtless the finite beings. Kala may be taken as conformation. Evidently 'name and form' of Buddhism has been confounded with Alekha whence issue six Vishnus. These Vishnus are probably identical with Sad-ayatana of Buddhism. I need not say that the womb of Alekha is Tathagatagarbha of Buddhism, not Viraja form of Sri-Krishna.

Alekhism has close affinity with Buddhism. In the former five different names are given to Mana as in the latter.¹⁷ The four colours, which appeared first, seem to be constituent parts of Krisnayata observed by the Bhiksus of Buddhism. The

story of holy Bharata's re-birth as a deer on account of his association with an animal of the same species,¹⁸ as narrated in the Vishnugarbha-purana reminds us of Asvaghosa's teaching that in case a devotee comes into unfavourable circumstances he may fall down to an inferior state. Again in Alekhism the sage Markanda is represented as possessing the character of Buddhist Avalokitesvara, for he does not attain Alekha the ultimate goal of his life on account of the vow he had taken for procuring salvation to all beings in the world.¹⁹ Besides, the Alekhists maintain the Buddhist view that the creation is beginningless and endless.²⁰

(18) Bharat was practising austerities under an Asvattha tree (Ficus Religiosa) on the bank of a river flowing at the foot of the hill. One day he went into the river to bathe while a pregnant doe was drinking water. It took fright and leaped over the elevated land to run away. In course of leaping the young slipped out of its womb. This young was picked up and brought up by Bharata. Thereafter a fowler happened to be at Bharata's place and killed the deer, taking the advantage of Bharata's absence. When Bharata returned and found his pet deer lost, he bewailed so much that the further pursuing of austerities had to be discontinued. He died at last mourning the loss of the deer and was reborn as a deer. After some time this deer came into contact with the sages and thereby was reborn as a Brahmin after death.

(19) At the time of dissolution of creation, Markanda was deeply absorbed in meditation on Alekha and on that account he was escorted into Vishnu's (Alekha) womb by a light. Here he came across his disciples who had already attained salvation. These disciples served as his guides in course of his visit to the whole of Alekha's womb where the numberless universes lie. Thence Markanda returns, when a new creation commences and promulgates the Alekha religion. But his disciples never return.

(20) "वेडें हंप फलमान वृक्षरे आसि फरे ।

से फल पाचि पुण पडई वृक्ष तले ॥

फलर भितरे पुणि बीज याद रहि ।

बेलकाल जायि पछे से वृक्ष हुअइ ॥

से वृक्षरे आसि पुण पुण फल धरे ।

से फल बीजर पुणि वृक्ष उठइ निर्भरे ॥

दृष्टिरूप अलेखर देहे सृष्टिस्थल ।

केते सृष्टिमान गलायि केते काल ॥

पुणि आडें केते सृष्टि हेवे लेखा नाहीं ।" (p. 102)

(16) *The Path of Inight* by L. D. Barnett.

(17) मनुबुद्धि विवेक हेतु चैतन्य

"The fruits grow in the tree and fall down when they are ripe. The seeds which lie in the

It is also noteworthy that the world comprising twenty-one parts and nine apertures is identified by the Alekhists with the human body; and therefore it is identical with the Buddhist world comprising only one part less.²²

Alekha sect inculcates, like Mahayana, meditation on emptiness.²³ It is often

fruit develop into trees in course of time. Again fruits grow and fruits lying in them develop. Similarly creations are taking place on the body of Alekha. Innumerable creations have gone on and none can foretell the extent of future creations.

(21) "एमुन्त परिवन्ने पिण्ड ब्रह्माण्ड बोलाइचा ।"

(p. 98)

"The body created in this process is called Brahmanda"

(22) *A Manual of Buddhism* by R. Spence Hardy.

(23) "एमुन्त महिमा ये अलेखर देही ॥"

शून्य सज्जते शून्य से शून्ये शून्यरूपी ।
शून्यसज्जते मिशि अद्रि सकल स्थले व्यापी ॥
छद्द कमल भेद कसे जीवपरम पिण्डकु ना छाडन्ती
निर्वूम हुताशन जालिले शिवबाले ।
चञ्चलबिन्दु से ये रहइ निश्चले ॥
कामधर न दादिले योगीन्द्र पद नाहि ।
योगीजनमानकु काम मूल बडरी अटइ ।
अलप आहार करि निशि उजागरे बसि ।
छद्द चक्र भेदाइ साधिव परमहंसी
गुरुविना के पाइव ब्रह्मयोगविधि ॥
आत्माभूने अलेख प्रकाशइ अनुभव बुद्धि
अनुभव न आसइ विना न सेविले गुरु ॥
यहिं जीव तहिं परमगुरु ।
यहिं परमगुरु तहिं जीव आत्मारास ।
इन्द्रियमानकु दडे थिब छन्दि ।
दापी लोकमानकु राजा येहे करिथाइ बडी ॥"

(p. 104)

Alekha's form is so great that it, being not within nullity and being void within vacuity, and again being empty within emptiness, pervades the universe... Jiva and Parama never desert the body (their repository) if six lotuses (of the inner body) are pierced... The quivering drop becomes steady if the consuming flames are made to be intense in the dwelling place of Siva... The position of Yogi is not attainable so long as the resting place of desire which is the enemy of the Yogis is not made to be completely consumed... one should ruminate on Parama Hamasi, taking a moderate meal, keeping up the whole night and piercing the six wheels... None can attain the means of union with Brahman without preceptor's guidance... Alekha reveals himself within the faithful who has gained power of realization

advocated that meditation should be practised under the guidance of a Guru. This meditation involves the piercing of six wheels or inner parts of the body. This act of piercing wheels requires the company of one of the opposite sex of the devotee. It appears to be Tantric in character. The mechanical system of Tantric worship is not in vogue in Alekhism. Nevertheless Tantric elements are detectable in the mode of meditation of Alekhism. But this should be borne in mind that association of two opposite sexes does not involve the gross enjoyment unfettered by moral consideration of social expediency, for loose morality finds no place in the Alekha society.

We learn from the life of Buddha that in course of meditation Mara attempted to disturb him. Mara is taken for semen by the Alekhists.²⁴ It is, therefore, a primary duty of an Alekhist to extinguish the desire for gross enjoyment by some prescribed method which the preceptor discloses only to his disciples. Otherwise it is strictly secret.

The above process of meditation was probably in vogue in the early Mahayana, otherwise Tantrism of loose morality could not have found a place in it. Be that as it may, I am inclined to say that the later Buddhism is now surviving in Orissa under the garb of Alekhism.

The survival of Buddhism in Orissa is not a matter of wonder to us, for its prevalence in the 16th century A.D. is evident from the dispute between the Buddhists and Brahmins as recorded in the temple chronicle of Pari as well as in the *Ganesabibhuti*, an Oriya poem, and from the mention in the Tibetan chronicles that the King Mukunda Dev of Orissa was a Buddhist.²⁵ But we cannot of course, guess from these references which of the Buddhist cults prevailed in Orissa during the 16th century A.D. Achyutananda Das, a contemporary of Balaram Das, writes in his work *Sunya-Samhita* that a Brahmin boy, Mathuri by name, witnessed the

which is unattainable, if the preceptor be not propitiated... Where is Jiva, there is Parama. Both reside in the same place... The Senses should be effectively restrained in such manner as a ruler incarcerates the convicts.

²⁴ I got this information from an Alekhist when I was travelling by train from Hindol to Cuttack via Dhenkanal, in company of Babu Sasubhusan Roy, Secretary, Utkal Sahitya Samaj, Cuttack.

²⁵ *Pag Sam Jan Zang* by Pal Jor

performance of miraculous deeds by Gorakhanath and Mallikanath on the bank of the Prachi (now flowing under the same name in the Puri district) in the bygone days. Gorakhanath and Mallikanath did no doubt diffuse Sahaja cult in the northern India. An Oriya poem called *Saplangu Yoga* containing the mode of Yoga practice is also attributed to Gorakhanath. It may not be Gorakhanath's original work, but it doubtless bears testimony to his influence on the social life of Orissa. I have stated at the beginning of this paper that the Yogis in Orissa claim to be the remnant of the school founded by Gorakhanath. This Gorakhanath belonged to Sahaja school and it can, therefore, be held that Sahaja cult of Buddhism prevailed in Orissa during the 16th century A. D.

I may now give a brief historical sketch of the growth of Alekh cult in Dhenkanal. Buddha first converted to his faith Tapasa and Bhallika, two merchants from Utkal at Bodhagaya on their way to Magadha, immediately after his attainment of Nirvana.²⁶ On their return they erected the Chartyas and began to diffuse the message they obtained from the great teacher. Subsequently they left for Burma and preached there.²⁷ About three centuries after their departure, Buddhism with the conquest of Orissa by Asoka, began to be firmly established. Thus it had a stronghold in Orissa.

In the beginning of the Christian era there occurred a split in Buddhism which was consequently divided into two sects—Hinayana and Mahayana. According to Tibetan version Mahayana originated in Orissa during the rule of Chandraraksita.²⁸ This statement might not be true, but the fact cannot be denied that in course of time a sub-sect called Sahajayana sprang from Mahayana. The tenets of this sub-sect are embodied in '*Budhha Gana O Doha*' edited by Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri. We gather from this work that Sahajayana inculcates meditation on the void and denounces caste system as well as image worship.²⁹

Again it is noteworthy that its meditation appears to be Tantric in character. Sahajayana bears, therefore, a comparison to Alekhism.

We know from Tibetan accounts that Kahnu or Krisnacharya and Sarahabhadra whose songs appear in the aforesaid work, belong to Orissa.³⁰ Savara people have also been referred to in '*Budhha Gana O Doha*.' Again the language used in this work has more affinity with the Oriya³¹ than any other northern vernacular. I am, therefore, inclined to hold that Sahajayana originated in Orissa.

The Sahaja poet of the above work had probably some intimate connection with the Kapilasa, for it mentions the Savara sages residing on the top of a great hill.³² This hill is very likely identical with the Kapilasa which is the suitable place for the practice of Yoga. The prevalence of Buddhism in the vicinity of this hill is also corroborated by the old copper-plate records.³³

We learn from various sources that Orissa was the centre of learning of Yoga system. Under the Bhauma dynasty, there flourished a king, Subhakar Kesari by name, who sent as token of present the autograph manuscript of Gandavyuha to the emperor of China through Prajna who studied Yoga

निश्च देह करुणा शून्य मे हेरि ।
किञ्च कण्ठहार-सुखत माङ्ग्रे ।
बद्धदर्शनेषु यत्नत्वं न जानन्ति तदाश्रिताः ।
जातिवादादिमाश्रित्य ब्राह्मणादि निरर्थकाः ॥
निश्च वरगिरि लङ्ग केलि करन्त ।
यकु न किञ्चि मन्त न तन्त । (p. 21)

(30) *Ibid.*

"Kahan or Kahnya (Krisna) name of a Buddhist Tantric sage" was born of a Brahmin family in Orissa and was initiated into the mystic cult. (V) Senori Krisnacharyya was born of a Brahmin family of Orissa. (LVII)

Savaripa in Tibetan is a name of a Buddhist sage who belonged to the hill-tribe called Savara.

Sarahabhadra is the name of the earliest diffusers of Tantrik Buddhism. He learnt (Vajrayana) from Sovayakalpa, king of Orissa... (CXXI)

(31) सोहोरि (p. 19) This is doubtless the Oriya possessive form of the second personal pronoun.

वारि हेरि (p. 19) Here we notice the Oriya locative case indicating suffix.

Similarly many other Oriya forms, which are not in use in any other northern vernacular, are found in this work. (p. 18)

(32) वरगिरि शिहर उत्तुङ्ग यलि सवरेहि किञ्च वास ।

(33) *The Modern Review*, September, 1931, pp. 290-91.

(26) Asvaghosa's *Buddha-charita*, Book XV, pp. 60-62.

(27) *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XVI, Rangoon, inscription.

(28) *Pag Sam Jon Zang* part I By Pal Jor, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, B. A., C. I. E., (CIL).

(29) *Ibid.*

system in Orissa in the 8th century A. D.³⁴ It is stated in the Prakrit inscription from Nagaryunakonda of the 3rd century A. D. that Bodhisiri erected a Buddhist monastery on the Puspagiri³⁵ which is mentioned in Hsien Tsiang's account of Orissa. Bodhisiri and Naropa are said to have practised Yoga at Ratnagiri of Orissa³⁶ which have been recently explored by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda as well as by Mr. H. C. Chakladar. It is also worthy of mention that the present Khandayat Zemindar of Ratnagiri claims a descent from the king Vasukalpa Kesari who is probably identical with Sovesukalpa, the preceptor of Sarabhabhadra. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to say that Yoga system of Sahajayana originated from Orissa.

The Oriya literature of Chaitanya's time represent almost a Sahaja religion mixed with Hinduism. Such admixture is natural, for the sea-coast tract of Orissa, where the literature generally flourished, was open to the influence of different religions. Now Sahajayana in the coast land has been fully absorbed in Hinduism while it is retained in the form of Alekhism in Dhenkanal which is naturally secure against the outside influence. It appears that the Kapilasa was the original seat of Alekhism. Alekh teachings resemble the nihilism of Kapila and on that account this hill has been called Kapila-Vasa. The removal of the Alekh seat from the Kapilasa to Joranda seems to be due to later Brahmanical tyranny.

Alekhism is now rapidly spreading among the aborigines of the highlands of Orissa and it is expected to be the predominant religion in the Feudatory States of Orissa in the near future. This religion, though now rapidly spreading, was on the verge of extinction in the beginning of the 19th century. It was Bhim Bhoi, who rescued it from imminent extinction and to him, therefore, belongs the credit of its extensive spread. I shall, therefore, conclude this paper after giving a short account of his life.

Bhim Bhoi was born in a Khand family in the Rerhakhol State some time between 1850-60. In each and every Sudra village in Orissa a house is set apart where a set

of Bhagavat by Jagannath Das, is kept and chanted every night. Bhim Bhoi, belonging to the aboriginal tribe, daily attended this Bhagavat house and listened to the recitation. Subsequently he came into contact with a preacher of Alekh sect who accompanied him to the Guru of the sect residing in Dhenkanal. Here Bhim Bhoi was initiated, and thereafter he passed his days in religious preachings, making his principal abode in the Sonapur State. While in Sonapur, he was blind, but the cause of the loss of his eye sight is not known.

Bhim Bhoi attracted followers—male and female—in large numbers. Some learned Brahmins also became his disciples, renouncing the caste distinction. He took a female follower as his wife and children were also born to him. He died at Khahapali in Sonapur in 1895. This religious man was a very good poet. His teachings are embodied in the poems which he dictated to his literate disciples to write. I give below two extracts from his poems containing the religious teaching which is similar to that of Chaitanya Das the author of *Vishnagarbhapurana*.

शून्य-मन्दिरं देहार रुंरख नाहि यार

दीक्षा (त) निष्काम ब्रह्मं भजन एका अक्षर

छन्दि निर्वाण करिलारे समन (छन्दि निर्वाण करिला)

छड़वने तौरपिण्ड स्थापिला (समनरे)

ध्रुव मारकाड आदिरे समन (ध्रुव मारकाड आदि)

ध्रुव मस्तककु थिले से भेदि (समनरे)

हुल शून्य याहा कहिरे समन (हुल शून्य याहा काँड)

दिकशा पुर से तालु अइइ (समनरे)

ठावकर चित्त देइ (समनरे) ॥ (p. 31)

He, who possesses no form nor entity, wanders in the emptiness...Extinction of desire with the chanting of the single alphabet is the religion he preaches...

Oh thou pure mind! He made thee in the intricacies and put thy repository on the six wheels called six Vedas.

Oh thou pure mind! Dhruva, Markanda and other attained the eternal sublimity.

Oh thou pure mind! The infinite emptiness has been located on your palate; trace it through meditation.

(34) E. I. Vol. XV, pp. 363-64.

(35) *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 23.

(36) *Pag Sam Jon Zang* by Pal Jon.

THE night is dark over our land, the peoples' mind is obscured spreading blindness of unreason that leads to general disruption and disaster. In a dense atmosphere of mutual distrust whatever we try to raise as our shelter comes down with a crash upon our heads, and all our endeavours, even those that are for public good hurt the cause that is our own. A suicidal insanity prevents us from realizing the utter heinousness of striking those whose destiny is one with ourselves, and the very education that we receive, in a strange perversion of its ideal, supplies weapons of sophistry for fratricidal conflict.

This evil, which like a nightmare, is stifling the life-breath of our country, belongs to an irrational area of senility whose time I hope, is near to its end. The chief symptom of its dissolution we notice in the very conflagration it spreads, building

its own criminality. When the time comes for the retribution of the accumulated iniquities of ages we must go through a period of terrible trial and strain but let us accept it with the patient hope that the curse has nearly worked itself out and the thunderous fury has the effect of cleansing the atmosphere.

Let the morning break in the East in a majesty of the new-born light, let the youth of the country heroically overcome the barriers of difference in opinions and customs, in religions and interests and combine in welcoming a new age at the call of brothers' love. It is the weak who have not the power to forgive, let the vigorous generosity of the young manifest itself by silencing all bickerings and building a commonwealth of comradeship upon an unshakable foundation of a perfect spirit of co-operation.

Disarmament: Past, Present and Future

By S. S. RAJAGOPALAN

IN common parlance disarmament implies the abandonment or reduction of warlike establishments. In the words of Viscount Cecil "it is a genuine first step towards the complete disappearance of all aggressive armaments among the nations of the world." The idea underlying disarmament is to do away with the manifold miseries resulting from warfare. This war mentality or psychology or psychosis has a long history dating as far back as the very dawn of the human race. The state of nature in which man is supposed to have originally lived is often described as one of incessant warfare. If political theorists and philosophers are prone to dismiss it as a pure figment of imagination, history comes to the rescue. Even the holy scriptures of the different religions of the world make mention of righteous wars fought in the name of God

known as *dharma yuddhas*, *jehads* and crusades, pertaining to Hinduism, Islam and Christianity respectively. War has thus been a legalized mode of the most hideous, wholesale and violent forms of killing. It has been the product of selfish egoism and jingoistic nationalism. To count the number of wars that have been fought from the birth of the human race down to the present time may be an arduous task. But to get an idea of the loss the world has sustained it may suffice to note that from 1821 to 1914 forty wars have been fought. The Napoleonic war lasted for 9,000 days and two million souls perished. The Great War lasted for 1,750 days and the loss in men amounted to ten millions. The horrors of war are so great that it has been pithily remarked, "if mankind does not end war, war will end mankind." Hence in view of the colossal

losses that have resulted from war it is being realized through such agencies as the League of Nations that disarmament is desirable. But a policy of disarmament bristles with numerous difficulties and before enumerating them it is necessary to trace the growth of the idea of disarmament from its very origin. A reading of history will show that the healthy idea of a need for disarmament was rather long in coming. It was only as late as 1817 that the first attempt was made towards reduction of armaments. By the Rush-Bagot agreement the United States of America and Great Britain limited the number of their warships on the Great Lakes to three vessels. Again in 1831 and 1863 France attempted without results to bring about an international limitation of armaments. As imperialism, the dominant note of the nineteenth century and disarmament developed side by side, one running counter to the other, all attempts during the nineteenth century at disarmament were vain and puerile. The next stage was reached in 1902 when the Argentine-Chile Agreement was concluded, by which the nations party to it resolved to desist from acquiring vessels of war. Later, the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were, for want of a legal or moral sanction, powerless to enforce those agreements. It was only after the shock of the Great War that opinion became unanimous that the condition precedent to the establishment of world peace was the disarmament of nations. Accordingly, article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations laid down that "plans are to be drafted by the Council for the general reduction of national armaments which the members agreed in recognizing as necessary for the maintenance of peace." In order to carry out the provisions of the article a permanent advisory committee and, later, a temporary mixed commission were set up. But their work was hampered owing to the hostility of the military nations which were outside the League. Progress was, however, achieved in the Washington Agreement of 1921 (November 12th) according to which U. S. A., Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan bound themselves not to use in warfare asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices. But the conference failed to put an end to the competition in building submarines, light cruisers and armaments and left the problem of disarmament

on land untouched. The next landmark is the Geneva Protocol of 1924 which declared that wars of aggression were an international crime and provided for the compulsory settlement of all disputes both justiciable and non-justiciable. A further step was taken in the Locarno treaties Germany, Belgium and France agreed not to attack or invade each other or to resort to war against each other. In 1927 the Coolidge Conference, otherwise known as Geneva Naval Conference, sought to limit cruisers, destroyers and submarines but it was a sorry failure. In 1928 America showed by a gesture to the world that she was not far behind other nations in demanding world-peace and the gesture materialized in the Briand-Kellogg Pact. It registered the determination of over sixty countries, including Russia not to have recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and their renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. A tragic spectacle was witnessed in the London Naval Conference of 1930 when nations could not come to an agreement as to any significant reductions. War psychology which influenced the policy of the nations assembled at London, was the tragic error of the Conference.

Having sketched the growth of the idea of disarmament it may be examined how far the policy is practicable in the present circumstances. The world today is full of suspicion and mistrust and nations are still slaves to the War God. Further, though nations are mentally inclined to accept its desirability, the atmosphere is not favourable for realizing this object now or in the near future. For what do we find? The leading powers of the world are increasing their armaments more than ever, in all directions. An appeal to statistics may substantiate this statement. In 1914 Britain spent 76 millions on her navy. Now after the war she spends 52 millions. The fall in figures explains only the fact that Britain could not spend more on account of her financial stringency. U. S. A. in 1914 spent 42 millions and today she spends about 78 millions, Japan in 1914 15 millions and 26 millions in 1930. France has increased her military expenditure since 1925 over 21 millions. Besides, in regard to aerial expenditure, Great Britain has spent 2 millions more over 1922 figures, U. S. A., 20 millions, Italy 6 and France 4 millions. And the Belgian minister in February 1931

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budgets for a military expenditure of 1,200 million francs. Of the world expenditure on armaments at present, 63 per cent is borne by European countries, 20 per cent by U.S.A. and 20 per cent by the rest of the world. Thus the world today is in possession of a greater aggregate of armaments than in 1914. And the presence of the "Escalator-clause" permitting Japan, U.S.A. and England to increase their armaments consistent with the progress made by France and Italy, may be set down as a hindrance to any policy of disarmament. Among other things which corrode the atmosphere of good-will peace may be mentioned (a) the absence of a true spirit of international legalism, (b) deep-rooted belief in the inevitability of wars, (c) craze for compulsory military training, (d) want of moral sanctions to enforce the decisions of the League of Nations, (e) the refusal of U.S.A., Turkey, and Russia to become official members of the League, (f) the absence of a permanent disarmament commission and (g) lack of the ripe international public opinion in favour of total disarmament.

While the causes that impede the progress of disarmament stand unchecked, the world conference is to meet on 2nd February, 1932. It has set before itself the five-fold objects of (a) reduction of armies, (b) reduction of navies, (c) reduction of military budgets, (d) abolition of poison gas and disease germ warfare and (e) the establishment of a permanent disarmament commission. It may be said without exaggeration that the earnestness and sincerity of the great nations of the world will be on trial during the conference and the success or failure of disarmament largely depends on the success or failure of the ensuing conference. At any rate failure will certainly lead to preparations for war on a more gigantic scale than the one recently undertaken

to end war or to "make the world safe for democracy."

In spite of the fog of pessimism that enshrouds this vital problem of disarmament, there is no denying the fact that if it can be achieved it will confer a number of benefits on humanity. For the expenditure on armaments is today a crushing burden on the peoples of the world. Snowden once said that three quarters of England's taxes are spent in paying for past wars and preparing for future wars. And Sir Josiah Stamp did not pass the limits of under-statement when he said that if the expenditure on armaments by the great powers could be cancelled, the standard of life could be raised by ten per cent. The saving of public money spent on armaments offers an opportunity for the government to allow the money to fructify in the taxpayers' pockets, or to spend it on services designed to raise the general level of national well-being.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that though the advantages resulting from a policy of disarmament cannot be denied, its practicability *under the present circumstances* is a vain illusion. But with the promotion of international good-will, amity and understanding, with a true appreciation of the message of peace which India is yearning to give to the world and with the wiping out of political grievances that cause rivalry among nations, reduction of the chances of war to a minimum will and ought to become a *fait accompli*. The logic of circumstances as they exist in the world compels therefore one to think justifiably that though disarmament is desirable, as nations now stand, it is not practicable. This is a case of the spirit being willing but the flesh being weak. Whether the future will be unlike the present in respect of this question, is something more than what even an incurable optimist can prophesy today.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Persian, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school books, and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE MADRAS STATES DIRECTORY. *Madras Press, Price Rs. 5*

This is a very useful work giving much information about the Indian States in the Madras Presidency. It is illustrated and well got-up.

THE HANDBOOK OF THE Ceylon NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1919-1928. *Edited by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Joint Hon. Secretary, Ceylon National Congress. H. W. Carr & Co., Colombo.*

This is a big volume of more than one thousand pages. It contains the presidential addresses, the resolutions passed at the various sessions, etc. It is a useful book of reference.

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INDIA THROUGH THE AGES, being the Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1928, Madras University. By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E.; M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta. Re-1-8

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Following this line of thinking he naturally, and rightly, comes to the conclusion that the Indian people form one common and distinct type.

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to note that Prof. Sarkar states that "the Chhapvans and Nagar Brahmins" are among India's immigrant foreign clans who have become thoroughly Indianized. Among the "agencies for uniting the provinces of India," he mentions with unconscious humour "the son-in-law imported from the centres of blue blood (such as Kanauj or Prayag) for Brahman and Mewar and Marwar in the case of Kshatriyas" for the purpose of hyper-gamy or raising the social status of a rich man settled among lower castes in a far-off province."

In speaking of the changes or improvements brought about in India during Muslim or British rule the author uses the word "gift". In our view what came to pass during Muslim rule took place from the necessities of the case, from the contact of the civilized Hindus with civilized foreign peoples, and from the consequent action and interaction. Had they been gifts in the literal sense of the word, we should have found Muslim rule making similar gifts to the many uncivilized peoples in other lands conquered by Muslims. But such is not the case. By the use of the word "gift" less credit is given to the active, creative and receptive mind of the people of pre-Muslim and pre-British India than is justly due to them. Similarly what have been spoken of as the "gifts" of the English to India, sprang from the necessities of the case. They were by-products of British rule and the results of the contact of the people of India with the West, because of the character and intellect of the people of India. Britishers have been rulers of native races in other lands than India for a considerably long period, without being able to make such "gifts" to them.

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"But it is historically incorrect to hold, as Hunter and some other European writers have done that the monotheistic and anti-caste movements among the Hindus in the middle ages originated in Islam. We know that all the higher thinkers, all the religious reformers, all the sincere devotees among the Hindus from the earliest times, have proclaimed one and only one supreme God behind the countless deities of popular worship, and have declared the equality of all true adorers and placed a simple sincere faith above elaborate religious ceremonies; they have all tried to simplify religion and bring it to the doors of the commonest people. Hence, what really happened after the Muslim conquest was that these dissenting or

budgets for a military expenditure of 1,500 million francs. Of the world expenditure on armaments at present, 60 per cent is borne by European countries, 20 per cent by U.S.A. and 20 per cent by the rest of the world. Thus the world today is in possession of a greater aggregate of armaments than in 1914. And the presence of the "Escalator-clause" permitting Japan, U.S.A. and England to increase their armaments consistent with the progress made by France and Italy, may be set down as a hindrance to any policy of disarmament. Among other things which corrode the atmosphere of good-will peace may be mentioned (a) the absence of a true spirit of international legalism, (b) deep-rooted belief in the inevitability of wars, (c) craze for compulsory military training, (d) want of moral sanctions to enforce the decisions of the League of Nations, (e) the refusal of U.S.A., Turkey, and Russia to become official members of the League, (f) the absence of a permanent disarmament commission and (g) lack of the ripe international public opinion in favour of total disarmament.

While the causes that impede the progress of disarmament stand unchecked, the world conference is to meet on 2nd February, 1932. It has set before itself the five-fold objects of (a) reduction of armies, (b) reduction of navies, (c) reduction of military budgets, (d) abolition of poison gas and disease germ warfare and (e) the establishment of a permanent disarmament commission. It may be said without exaggeration that the earnestness and sincerity of the great nations of the world will be on trial during the conference and the success or failure of disarmament largely depends on the success or failure of the ensuing conference. At any rate failure will certainly lead to preparations for war on a more gigantic scale than the one recently undertaken

"to end war or to make the world safe for democracy."

In spite of the fog of pessimism that enshrouds this vital problem of disarmament, there is no denying the fact that if it can be achieved it will confer a number of benefits on humanity. For the expenditure on armaments is today a crushing burden on the peoples of the world. Sweden once said that three quarters of England's taxes are spent in paying for past wars and preparing for future wars. And Sir Josiah Stamp did not pass the limits of under-statement when he said that if the expenditure on armaments by the great powers could be cancelled, the standard of life could be raised by ten per cent. The saving of public money spent on armaments offers an opportunity for the government to allow the money to fructify in the taxpayers' pockets, or to spend it on services designed to raise the general level of national well-being.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that though the advantages resulting from a policy of disarmament cannot be denied, its practicability under the present circumstances is a vain illusion. But with the promotion of international good-will, amity and understanding, with a true appreciation of the message of peace which India is yearning to give to the world and with the wiping out of political grievances that cause rivalry among nations, reduction of the chances of war to a minimum will and ought to become a *fait accompli*. The logic of circumstances as they exist in the world compels therefore one to think justifiably that though disarmament is desirable, as nations now stand, it is not practicable. This is a case of the spirit being willing but the flesh being weak. Whether the future will be unlike the present in respect of this question, is something more than what even an incurable optimist can prophesy today.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kannarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE MADRAS STATES DIRECTORY: Corham Pearl Press, Price Rs. 5.

This is a very useful work giving much information about the Indian States in the Madras Presidency. It is illustrated and well got-up.

THE HANDBOOK OF THE CYPRON NATIONAL CONGRESS, 1919-1928. Edited by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike Joint Hon'y. Secretary, Cyprian National Congress H. W. Carr & Co, Colombo.

This is a big volume of more than one thousand pages. It contains the presidential addresses, the resolutions passed at the various sessions, etc. It is a useful book of reference.

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reforming movements among the Hindus received a great impetus from the presence of the Muhammadans in their immediate neighbourhood. The example of Islamic society acted as a solvent on Hindu prejudice."

Though we may not agree with the author in every detail, we must draw the reader's attention to the three concluding sections of the book—"The political pre-requisites for conducting true self-government," "Wherein modern India is relatively weaker than mediaeval," and "The lesson of India's history."

THOUGHTS ON INDIAN DISCONTENTS: By Eberyn Beran. George Allen and Unwin Ltd, Museum Street, London, 6s.

As the author's view-point is different from ours and as the so-called R T C is in session it is not necessary to criticize this book in detail. We pick out at random one sentence in the book in which he asserts that "the truth is that the conditions which would make India fit for self-government are not yet reached, because you have a number of educated men individually able." He wants not only "a large number of educated and able men who can perform the actual work of administration" but also "a great body of active public opinion," etc. We need not argue that India does fulfill these conditions to a sufficient extent. We will only ask the author, when there were no alphabets, no books, no education in the modern sense in any country of the world, did educated men from the planet Mars perform the actual work of administration in this world of ours and supply also a great body of active public opinion? Even savages have been self-ruling for countless ages. And even in our day there are many self-ruling Soviet Republics in the U. S. S. R. conducted by people who were a phibet-less and literature-less a decade ago. "Education" is a very good thing, but it is not a *sine qua non* of self-rule. Britishers have denied to us the blessing of universal education. It is therefore, a wicked absurdity on their part to seek to keep us in subjection on the ground that there is so little education in India.

Let us take a few more sentences from the penultimate paragraph of the book. He writes:

"Undoubtedly, as has been said, if you attach a purely negative meaning to *Swaraj* it is true that, if the British were willing, *Swaraj* might come at the end of this year. But if by *Swaraj* you mean, not a mere absence of foreign control, but a healthy, prosperous, united, well-educated, as well as a free India, then, so far from an immediate withdrawal of British control being the quickest way to it, an immediate withdrawal of British control might postpone the attainment of it to a much more distant future, perhaps indefinitely. Since the weakness of India is the cause of the foreign government, and not the foreign government the cause of the weakness of India, by making India free in the negative sense, you do not thereby make it strong whereas by making India strong you do of necessity make it free."

There is some sophistical plausibility about these observations. But the question is, to what extent have so many generations of British rule made India "healthy, prosperous, united, well-

educated?" Let our mortality statistics, average duration of life, periodical famines and chronic malnutrition, engineered communal conflicts, and disgraceful literary figures reply. As for foreign rule not being the cause of the weakness, let a not anti-British historian of distinction bear witness. In his *India through the Ages* Sir Jadunath Sircar writes:

"Ever since the middle of the 19th century Europe has been so rapidly and steadily advancing by the application of science to arms and to the industrial arts, that India is to day much less able to wage an economic or military contest with Europe than she was in the age of Akbar. Or, in other words, our relative position has actually grown worse in the course of the last three centuries. Today, in the face of European competition, we are helplessly weak in production and exchange, and the economic drain will dry this country to death if we do not modernize our industry, arts, transport and banking. In warfare, if India were to depend on her own indigenous resources without borrowing armament, leaders and trainers from Europe, she would not be able to stand against a modern army even for an hour. No nation can exist in the present-day world by merely cultivating its brain without developing its economic resources and military power to the high pitch attained by its possible enemies" (pp. 138-139.)

Has British rule been sincerely helping India to make progress along the lines suggested above or has she been retarding our growth? And is not British rule responsible to a great extent for our economic, industrial and military backwardness?

THE SOLITARY WARRIOR. New letters by Ruskin. Edited by J. Howard Whitehouse. With one portrait of Ruskin and six unpublished drawings by him. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 7s. 6d net.

This book contains a large number of hitherto unpublished letters by Ruskin. They show him as a master of English, and are of special interest and importance. Many of them belong to the middle period of his life and show the influences which produced *Fors clavigera*. They are full of vivid pictures and discuss intimately many fundamental problems. He has been styled the solitary warrior because he had to fight long single-handed for his ideals.

THE MODERN ATTITUDE TO THE SEX PROBLEM. By Kenneth Ingram. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 5s net.

Sex does not appear as a problem either to the extreme libertine or to the extreme ascetic. But others cannot deny that there is a sex problem. The author discusses it frankly. He does not favour the "free-love" code, and gives good reasons for his conclusions.

THE STORY OF BARDOLI, being a History of Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 and its sequel. By Mahadeb Desai. Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, Rs 2-8. With six illustrations.

That the story of Satyagraha in Bardoli ought to be read goes without saying. It shows to what heights of idealism and patient suffering simple peasants could rise under the leadership of a born leader of men like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. It should be read for another reason also. Who knows

if the R. T. U. fails, the Bardoli non-violent fight would not have to be renewed in many another area? So one should know the technique of the fight. The book is written in the simple direct style of which Mr. Mahadev Desai is such a master.

Though Sardar Patel is the protagonist in the story and though, to use the words of the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastry, Mahatma Gandhi "chose to remain outwardly apart," yet the Mahatma was "the invisible guide and vivifying example active in the hearts of all and keeping them in the straight path."

SIVANATH SASTRI. By Hemchandra Sarkar, M.A. D.D. Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M.A., Secretary, Ram Mohan Roy Publication Society, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee One. With five portraits.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri was one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj and its greatest leader and missionary. His early life was one of great struggle and privations. Born in an orthodox family of Brahman professors and priests, he became a most dynamic figure in the sphere of religious and social reform in Bengal. After the death of Keshub Chandra Sen, he was undoubtedly the man who influenced the largest number of men who were drawn towards the Brahma Samaj. As a missionary of the Brahma Samaj, he toured more than once in all the provinces of India. He was a most effective preacher and a true *bhakti*. This reviewer has never heard more powerful oratory in the Bengali language than that of Pandit Sivanath Sastri. He was one of the founders of the City School which later developed into the City College, and also of the Brahma Girls' School. He was also one of the founders of the Indian Association, a political organization. He was a distinguished novelist and writer of essays in prose and a poet, too, of no mean order. It is the life of such a man that Dr. Hem Chandra Sarkar has written. Dr. Sarkar has the advantage of being so influenced by the Pandit in his youth as to be drawn into the inner circle of workers who closely followed the Pandit's lead. Hence the biography written by him, though short, is a faithful sketch, so far as it goes. It is hoped that in the second edition typographical mistakes will be reduced to a minimum.

A LIFE OF ANANDA MOHAN BOSE: By Hem Chandra Sarkar, M.A., D.D., Published by Miss Sakuntala Rao, M.A., Secretary, Ram Mohan Roy Publication Society, 210-6 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

Ananda Mohan Bose was one of the makers of modern Bengal and, to a smaller extent, of modern India. Men of the younger generation do not know him. But those who know highly appreciate what he did for the country, as the address of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose at the last A. M. Bose death anniversary in Calcutta shows. The very fact that he is not much known to our youth necessitates a study of his life on their part. He was a distinguished student, a scholar of varied attainments, a man of deep piety and exemplary character, a sound lawyer, a sincere worker in the spheres of education, social and religious reform, politics, industries, banking, etc. He was one of the founders of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, of the Indian Association and of the City School and

College. He was an eloquent speaker both in Bengali and English.

During the anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, "from his death-bed" he wrote three letters to the *Anurita Bazar Patrika*, which will have a permanent place in the history of the political struggle of the Indian people when that comes to be written. It was in 1905, *Hartal*s have become very frequent now. He suggested it in one of his letters. Referring to the day when the Partition of Bengal would come into effect, he suggested that it should be observed as a day of special and solemn mourning in Bengal. The boycott of British goods which proved effective in the anti-Partition agitation and has again quite recently served to rouse public attention in Britain to India's case for freedom, was suggested by him. "Let us resolve, so far as may be done, by every means in our power to avoid all English goods and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods by introducing manufacture and industries in our country." He made it clear that this should not be taken in a spirit of hatred or ill-will towards England, but purely out of love for our own country.

Sir Rash Behari Ghose, the greatest Indian lawyer of his day, who did not belong to the Brahma Samaj, paid him the following tribute after his death:

"In the death of Ananda Mohan Bose, every one felt as if we had lost a personal friend, for he was of an eminently winning disposition, distinguished not less by his amiability than by the purity of his life. To deep spiritual fervour, he joined a lofty patriotism, working as ever in the great Taskmasters' eye. Indeed in Ananda Mohan Bose patriotism grew to the height of a religion. And it was this happy union of the religious and civic elements in his character that sustained him, when, with life fast ebbing away and with the valley of the shadow of death almost in sight, he poured out his soul in that memorable swan-song of the 16th October, 1905, when a whole people plunged in gloom assembled together in solemn protest against the ruthless dismemberment of their country." R. C.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S SAYINGS: Selected by Sri Piyarayan Sen Khadimandal, College St. Market, Calcutta. Price Annas Two.

Prof. Sen is to be congratulated for the little handy booklet he is presenting to the public on the occasion of the 63rd birthday of Mahatmaji. The selection is happy, careful and representative and looks neat and attractive.

X

EDWARD CARPENTER. An appreciation. Edited by Gilbert Beeth with two portraits. London Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd, Museum Street. First published in 1931. Three Is. 6d. pages 246.

This is composite work and as such it has the merits and defects of such enterprises. Edward Carpenter is not in need of a biographer as he himself has left us his own account of his life in *My Days and Dreams*. The authors of this book write appreciative notes or criticisms of his life and work. Edward Carpenter was a remarkable

personality. Born of well-to-do parents he went to Cambridge. Of a scholarly type of mind his parents had meant him for the church, his other brothers having learned other professions. He took science at Cambridge in which subject he attained great distinction, graduating as B.A. Wrayner in 1868, and then he became a fellow and lecturer of his college. He took holy orders and accepted a curacy in a Cambridge church. The stimulus of social reform had already reached Cambridge and Carpenter, idealistic as he was and of a very sensitive nature, was affected by the movement. He relinquished his fellowship and gave up his Orders. For some time he devoted himself to the work of an itinerant lecturer the sphere of his labours being mainly the Midlands. During this time, he met the leading socialists of the time. He visited the United States of America and spent some time with the famous author of *Leaves of Grass*. After his return from America, he gave up his lectureships and settled at Bradley near Sheffield, occupying himself with market-gardening, handicrafts, and his literary work and socialist propaganda. Towards the end of his life he went to the south and lived in Guildford till his death on June 28th, 1929.

Two great formative influences can be pointed out in his life. The first in importance and in chronology was Walt Whitman, who through his *Leaves of Grass* and his *Democratic Vistas* brought about a complete change of outlook in Carpenter's life. He himself bears testimony to this change: "my life deep down was flowing out and away from the surroundings and traditions amid which I lived—a current of sympathy carrying it westward across the Atlantic." The second influence was Havelock Ellis. Due to his influence, Carpenter developed his peculiar ideas about sex, specially the emergence of what he called "the intermediate sex."

To glean from the numerous appreciations constituting this book is well-nigh impossible. Its reading is useful as a means to an end viz., to get acquainted with the work of the author himself. The reader is delightfully stimulated to get hold of the works of the master himself. If the appreciation achieves this end, I am sure the contributors to this volume will feel that their labours were well worth

P. G. Bridge

THE INDIAN FEDERATION AND THE STATES. By A. M. Arora, B. A., L. L. B. with a foreword by Prof. T. Kail, M. A., Lushkar. Price Rs. 2-8

The aim of this pamphlet of 67 pages, which, by the way, is priced at Rs. 2-8 is to provide safeguards for the States in the new federal constitution of India. Writes the author:

"It will be a matter of supreme satisfaction and a piece of crowning glory to the statesmanship of princely India if at the time of stock taking in the end it can be said to their credit that they have much strengthened and entrenched their position in the course of fusion into federal India."

Indeed! Mr. Arora is very anxious that the States should utilize their opportunity and make a profitable bargain for themselves; and he makes an eloquent appeal to the State-subjects—I wonder whether he regards himself as one, though he is

a few (one High Court Nephew) to embarrass the "freedom-loving" Princes at this juncture by any kind of demands. He writes "What they have earned for others. I suppose the 'others' are British Indians? they will not deny to their dear and beloved subjects." He appeals to the Princes and the British statesmen as well—to the former to allay suspicion and to win the sympathy of their subjects and to the latter to help the Princes to reach a satisfactory solution. What is that solution? That the States should become "Independent, sovereign states" in the new Federation, and that they should have the right of sending their representatives as they choose, that they should—both big and small—be adequately represented on the Federal Executive as well as the Federal Legislature; that the relations between the Crown and the States should be conducted according to the Rule of Law (International Law); that the States should be left free to join or to leave the Federation whenever they like; and that they should enter the Federation through making new treaties with the Crown. Mr. Arora finally suggests to the Chamber of Princes—as if it has not been already done—to "establish a wide-awake organization allied with an excellent Publicity Department under the control of experts to collect necessary data and to tackle all the problems before-hand that are sure to arise in the near future." And in this connection he quotes an old proverb: "sleeping fox catches no poultry." I wonder whether he fully realizes the aptness of this quotation to what he preaches.

Mr. Arora is not concerned with what happens to British India or to the Federated India. What does it matter if an unworkable constitution is produced or the new constitution leads to a united India or even a real Federal India or not? What matters to him is that the States should be the real gainers and that the Princes should emerge 'triumphant'. In spite of a number of questions from many legal humanaries I doubt whether Mr. Arora understands the full implications of a true Federation—otherwise I am sure he would not have talked of the "fusion into Federal India" on the one hand and the "independent, sovereign States" on the other.

CHANDRA N. SINHA

MODERN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL: By C. Delisle Burns. Allen and Unwin pp. 296 10s 6d net.

Writing in 1830 Macaulay drew a gloomy picture of an England burdened by taxation, and troubled by the social problems created by the Industrial Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars. Macaulay himself however, felt that though the present might be dark the future held great promise of better things, and one cannot help being struck by the similarity between the state of England one hundred years ago, and the state of affairs to-day. Dr. Burns' book in many ways, is strongly reminiscent of Macaulay. Both writers are stimulating to read and both give one an occasional feeling that deep thought is replaced by mere brilliancy of phrase.

Dr. Burns describes the modern world, full of energy and immense potentialities, and insists that the "new industrial revolution" makes fresh demands on human intelligence, and that the

a flimsy one, e.g. such as the *rao and the cinema*, have as much significance for political theory as the propositions and ideals of Plato and Aristotle. The chief characteristic of the new influences is that all life has become more mobile, and Dr Burns has little sympathy with such as Lord Lachage who preferring policemen to prophets, stand for immobility. Politicians and business men are attempting to modernize the old village niggard, the majority still believe in the old penny, and an antiquated history and an absolute sentimentalism are decorating it. But what we want is a new water supply. One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that dealing with the post-war dictatorships. He points out that the dictatorships have risen in the most backward parts of the world where there is a large peasant class who are naturally arrogant, uncritical, and fatalistic, and where the percentage of illiteracy is largest. The dictatorships are really like the benevolent despotism of the eighteenth century whose business is to expedite society so that it may live on a modern plane. When the dictatorships have produced a people that is modern in its requirements and education, then the conditions which created it will have disappeared, and it may well follow suit. "Modernism by dictatorship may be the destruction of dictatorship." The dictatorships however, stand for the forces of localism, isolation, and immobility, and Dr Burns points out that as the world steadily becomes smaller co-operation becomes more and more imperative. All people are slow to change, existing customs and institutions however barbaric and senseless they may be but possibly the present economic distress may force people in Europe to realize that it is senseless to spend annually on armaments £7½ millions, which can only increase the possibilities of a fresh war.

Dr Burns then has written an eminently readable book but it is a book which is better borrowed than bought, since the price is comparatively high, and the book will soon become "dated".

C. ACKROYD.

BENGALI

Kavya-Dhruti. Edited by Radhanath Dey and Narendra Dey. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta 1935. B. S. pp. 359. Price Rs 4.

Modern Bengali lyric poetry is rich in many directions, and specially in the treatment of love. The output of this staff during the past fifty years is considerable. It was an well-advised scheme to publish an anthology of love-lyrics in Bengali. The credit of producing this well-printed and profusely illustrated collection in its second edition goes to the publishers who did not spare anything so far as their side of the task goes. The work under notice is not a mere reprint of the first edition, but is almost a new collection both in poems and pictures.

The aim of the editors seems to be to make the work popular and they have not spared themselves no pains to make it a success in that respect. It is a store-house of love-poems of the present age in Bengali literature, the age of Rabindranath Tagore. 163 poems and songs by 97 poets have been selected out of thousands of such

compositions. Here there is scope for difference of opinion with the editors, selection or exclusion of a particular poem may be contended by others. We think the basic principle in making such collections of poems should be to take in only the best poems and not to represent as many poets as possible. Along with many really good poems many more which are indifferent, if not bad, have crept in in this big collection. If this be the connoisseur's point of view, the editors' aim of making the book a popular gift-book has not suffered.

We should like to bring to the notice of the editors some points in connection with the poems. They have begun with Rabindranath. Tinn-Bharal Chakravarti the creator of the modern lyric in Bengali is excluded. This master, we think, the lover of Bengali lyric can ill afford to lose. By his exclusion the source of this branch of poetry is hidden from us. It is a pity that the editors could not secure the permission of Mr. Mohitlal Majumdar to publish his poems in the collection. We also miss the late Mr. Bhupen Chandra Mitra. Some of his poems have been laid under contribution but their poems are not characteristic, e.g. those of Messrs Jyotirnanath Sen-Gupta, Jasimuddin and, to some extent D. L. Roy. Amongst these love-lyrics the poems on other topics by Mrs. Sarala Devi and Messrs Gopinath Chandra Das, Rajanikanta Sen, Parimal Kumar Ghosh, Chandicharan Mitra are discordant and out of place. The humorous side of love has been ignored except for the single poem by Mr. Kirandhan Chatterjee.

Something should be said about the pictures. The head and tail pieces are of good decorative value, and they have added to the charm of the book. The idea of illustrating the poems of Tagore is also to be lauded and many of the pictures in colour are good and will appeal to the lovers of the pictorial art. But *bric-a-brac* of Mr. Chandra Kaya and *Ida-sangun* by Mr. Purna Chandra Chakravarti match ill with Tagore's verses. The picture of Mr. Arabinda Datta was meant for different occasion than what is hinted here.

In spite of the care bestowed on printing there are some serious drawbacks. The poem of Mr. Nabakrishna Bhattacharyya included in the table of contents is not printed at all in the body of the book, and a poem of the late Mr. Kamlani Mohan Ghose has changed places with another. There are some printing mistakes.

Being the only book of the kind this collection will serve its purpose to a considerable degree.

RAMES BAST

HINDI

A VERNACULAR DICTIONARY OF LAW TERMS.

The State of Baroda has just published a vernacular dictionary of legal terms in 912 pages (12½" x 8½"). The *Sarye-Samant-Sabdar-Kalpo-Tara* (सयसी शासन शब्द कल्पतरु) has been prepared at the command of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad by a committee headed by Mr. Vishnu Krishna Ray Bhurendha, the Nyayamantri of the Baroda State. The scheme of the work is this: terms in English are given in the first column then follow in columns 2 to 8 the equivalent in Gujarati, Marathi, Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian

To glean from the numerous appreciations constituting this book is well-nigh impossible. Its reading is useful as a means to an end, viz., to get acquainted with the work of the author himself. The reader is delightfully stimulated to get hold of the works of the master himself. If the appreciation achieves this end, I am sure the contributors to this volume will feel that their labours were well worth.

Indeed! Mr. Arora is very anxious that the States should utilize their opportunity and make a profitable bargain for themselves; and he makes an eloquent appeal to "the States" to order whether he regards

Mr. Amra is not concerned with what happens to British India or to the Federated India. What does it matter if an unworkable constitution is preferred or the new constitution leads to a united India or even a real Federal India or not? What matters to him is that the States should be the real givers and that the Princes should emerge triumphant. In spite of a number of questions now many legal luminaries I doubt whether Mr. Amra understands the full implications of a true federation—otherwise so I am sure he would not have talked of the "fusion into Federal India" on the one hand and the "independent sovereign States" on the other.

Dr. Burns describes the modern world, full of energy and immense potentialities, and insists that the "new industrial revolution" makes fresh demands on human intelligence and that the

and the end of the era, such as the rail and the cinema, have as much significance for political theory as the propositions and ideals of Plato and Aristotle. The chief characteristic of the new influence is that all life has become more mobile, and Dr. Burns has little sympathy with such as Lord Inchcape who, preferring policemen to prophets, stands for immobility. "Politicians and business men are attempting to modernize the old village pump; the majority still believe in the old pump; and an antiquated history and an absolute sentimentalism are decorating it. But what we want is a new water supply." One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that dealing with the post-war dictatorships. He points out that the dictatorships have risen in the most backward parts of the world where there is a large peasant class who are naturally acquiescent, uncritical, and fatalistic, and where the percentage of illiteracy is largest. The dictatorships are really like the benevolent despotism of the eighteenth century, whose business is to expedite society so that it may live on a modern plane. When the dictatorships have produced a people that is modern in its requirements and education, then the conditions which created it will have disappeared and it may well follow suit. "Modernism by dictatorship may be the destruction of dictatorship." The dictatorships, however, stand for the forces of localism, insulation, and immobility, and Dr. Burns points out that as the world steadily becomes smaller co-operation becomes more and more imperative. All people are slow to change existing customs and institutions, however barbaric and senseless they may be, but possibly the present economic distress may force people in Europe to realize that it is senseless to spend annually on armaments £54 millions which can only increase the possibilities of a fresh war.

Dr. Burns then has written an eminently readable book, but it is a book which is better borrowed than bought, since the price is comparatively high, and the book will soon become "dated."

C. ACKROYD

BENGALI

KAVYA-DIPALI. Edited by Radhakrishna Datta and Narendra Datta. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 15, College Square, Calcutta 1935 B. S. pp. 383. Price Rs. 4.

Modern Bengali lyric poetry is rich in many directions, and special in the treatment of love. The output of this stuff during the past fifty years is considerable. It was an well-advised scheme to publish an anthology of love-lyrics in Bengali. The credit of producing this well-printed and profusely illustrated collection in its second edition goes to the publishers who did not spare anything so far as the other side of the task goes. The work under notice is not a mere reprint of the first edition but is almost a new collection both in poems and pictures.

The aim of the editors seems to be to make the work popular and they have not spared themselves no pains to make it a success in that respect. It is a store-house of love-poems of the present age in Bengali literature, the age of Rabindranath Tagore. 163 poems and songs by 97 poets have been selected out of thousands of such

compositions. Here there is scope for difference of opinion with the editors. Selection or exclusion of a particular poem may be contended by others. We think the basic principle in making such collections of poems should be to take in only the best poems and not to represent as many poets as possible. Along with many really good poems many more which are indifferent, if not bad, have crept in in this big collection. If this be the connoisseur's point of view, the editors' aim of making the book a popular gift-book has not suffered.

We should like to bring to the notice of the editors some points in connection with the poems. They have begun with Rabindranath. Thus Bhikmal Chakravarti, the creator of the modern lyric in Bengali, is excluded. This matter, we think, one lover of Bengali lyric can ill afford to see. By his exclusion the source of this branch of poetry is hidden from us. It is a pity that the editors could not secure the permission of Mr. Maniklal Majumdar to publish his poems in the collection. We also miss the late Mr. Baskim Chandra Mitra. Some of the poets have been laid under contribution, but their poems are not characteristic, viz., those of Messrs. Jyotirananath Sen-Gupta, Jashovardhan and, to some extent, D. L. Roy. Amongst these love-lyrics the poems on other topics by Mrs. Sarala Devi and Messrs. Gunda Chandra Das, Rajankanta Sen, Parimal Kumar Ghosh, Chandrakant Mitra are discordant and out of place. The humorous side of love has been ignored except for the single poem by Mr. Kirandhan Chatterjee.

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In spite of the care bestowed on printing there are some serious drawbacks. The poem of Mr. Nareshkrishna Bhattacharyya included in the table of contents is not printed at all in the body of the book, and a poem of the late Mr. Ramani Mohan Ghose has changed places with another. There are some printing mistakes.

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RAMES BASU

HINDI

A VERNACULAR DICTIONARY OF LAW TERMS.

The State of Baroda has just published a vernacular dictionary of legal terms in 312 pages (15½ x 8½"). The *Sigaji-Nyasa or Shiksha-Kulpa-Taru* (सिवाजी शासन शब्द कल्पतरु) has been prepared at the command of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad by a committee headed by Mr. Vishnu Krishna Rao Bhurendha, the Nyayamantrin of the Baroda State. The scheme of the work is this: terms in English are given in the first column then follow in columns 2 to 5 the equivalents in Gujarati, Marathi, Sanskrit, Urdu. P—su

Hindi and Bengali, column 9 gives the word, used at present in Baroda official papers, and in column 10 suggestions are given for new options. Suggested terms arise in view of wider utility extending beyond Baroda which is a Gujarati-speaking area; they tend to be more classical so that they may become current universally in other vernaculars and be understood beyond the State. Technical terms have been ascertained, as far as possible from all the eight sources.

Thus lexicon reminds us of Shyam's *Ramprasad-kośa* which gave equivalents of Persian court terms into Sanskrit. The *Sanskṛt-kāpita* is a much larger undertaking, and it has been well executed.

Many Baroda legal terms have become already current coin in Western India e. g. *ahmāpāṭi* (Summons), *Vyākṛāṇḍī* (Court House), *Vyākṛāṇḍī* (न्यायावधि - Court), *Maṇḍal* (मंडल), *maṇḍal-pāṭi* (मंडलपत्र) *apāṭi* (अपत्र) - Legal Remembrance etc.

The work will be found useful all over the country and is one of many contributions which endear that State to Indians.

K. P. JAYSWAL

GUJARATI

GUJARATI MARAT by Prof. Chandra Bhāṭa Jhātī. Published by Gauri Sahitya Mandir, Surat, pp. 160. Price Rs. 2.

Spain in the 16th century was as great an imperial power in Europe as Britain is to-day. She used to hold sway over many a nation. The people of Holland resolved to overthrow the yoke. Their efforts were crowned with success and only the pen of a Motley could record the glorious events of the brave struggle of the Dutch people.

Only last year India was engaged in a death-struggle with an equally well-organized imperial power. Malay's *History of the Dutch Republic* would, under the circumstances, be only a beacon light to the struggling human mass of this vast continent trying to free itself from Britain's grip. At the suggestion of Mahatma Gandhi, Prof. Chandra Bhāṭa Jhātī of the Gujarat Vidyapath adapted the immense work in Hindi in a concise form, reducing the original 1,500 pages to 500, thus making it more readable to those who are hard pressed for time. The Hindi *Narmadh* was warmly received by the Hindi-reading public.

Narmadh is a Gujarati rendering of Hindi *Narmadh* of Prof. Jhātī brought out by the Gauri Sahitya Mandir of Surat and will be warmly welcomed by Gujarati. The translation is bold and admits delightful reading. Besides it is very opportune. This got up and punting leaves nothing to be desired. The book is priced very cheap at Rs. 2 only.

R. M. K.

The Muhammadans and the Education Policy of the Government

By RAMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

THE slow and sure working of the pernicious principle of setting the Moslems against the Hindus in the nation-building institutions is not known to all. This principle displays itself in multifarious ways—in the distribution of scholarships and stipends to students, in the reservation of seats in schools and colleges, in the distribution of grants-in-aid, in the selection of text-books, in deciding upon the syllabus of studies for certain schools and even in the direction given as to the dress to be worn by Moslem students. In a word, nothing is left undone to make the Moslems feel from their boyhood, that they are the special protégés of the British Government, and they should regard themselves as ex-rulers of the land of the Hindus poor de us on

nearer to the present rulers than the down-trodden Hindus.

The statement given below, compiled from the Education Code and the Report on Public Instruction (1929-30), both published by the Government, and the Report of the Calcutta Sanskrit Association (1931), will speak for itself. Readers will note that there is no mention made here of the special posts created for Moslems in the Education Department (e. g. Assistant Director for Muhammadan Education), nor of the large percentage of appointments (15 p. c.) in all other departments reserved for them.

STATEMENT

A.—SCHOLARSHIPS AND STIPENDS

Total number of Government scholarships under the Calcutta University etc. for

Matriculates and upwards) is 271, of which 38 are reserved for Moslems, 11 for the Depressed Classes and the rest for all.

Of the 66 scholarships under the Dacca University, 35 are reserved for Moslems, 3 for Depressed Classes, the rest for all.

The total number of Government Scholarships for Middle and Primary Examinations is 515, of which 79 are reserved for Moslems, 206 for Depressed Classes, and the rest for all.

Scholarships endowed by Hindus under the Calcutta University at the disposal of Government—20, open to all.

Scholarships endowed by Moslems for Moslems in the Calcutta University—6.

Endowed by Hindus for Moslems—3 (in the Calcutta Madrasah).

Total Number of Mohsin Scholarships and stipends distributed in schools and colleges throughout the province is 526. Jafar Muhammadan Scholarships—6 (of Rs. 90 each annually).

(This fund was created by Muhammadan settlement officers of Fardpur in 1906.)

B. EDUCATION EXCLUSIVELY HINDU AND EXCLUSIVELY MOSLEM

Government institutions for Hindus

1. Sanskrit College.

No Government scholarships or stipends Government institutions for Moslems:

1. Islamia College, Calcutta
2. Islamic Intermediate College, Dacca.
3. Islamic Intermediate College, Chittagong.
4. Rajshahi Madrasah.
5. Dacca Madrasah.
6. Hooghly Madrasah
7. Chittagong Madrasah
8. Calcutta Madrasah

N. B.—There are 30 Government scholarships in the Calcutta Madrasah of a total monthly value of Rs. 376. There are 8 scholarships in the Hooghly Madrasah. Of the 14 Trust Funds for stipends and prizes in the Calcutta Madrasah, 3 are permanently endowed by Hindus, viz.—Scindia Fund, Darbhanga Fund and Gwalior Fund. Besides all these there are 18 Mohsin scholarships.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON SANSKRIT EDUCATION

(The figures are from the "Education Code," the "Report on Public Instruction" and the

"Statement on Tols" published by the Calcutta Sanskrit Association, 1931).

Sanskrit College	Rs. 65,431
Stipends to Tols	16,188
Grant to 2,004 Tols	29,932
Grand total	1,11,551

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON MOSLEM EDUCATION

For 763 Madrasahs	4,92,606
24,391 Maktabas	10,64,294
Islamia College	31,191
Grand total	Rs. 15,88,091

The above expenditure alone on Moslem education is four approximately 15 times that spent on Sanskrit education.

(N. B. The expenditure on 3 Islamic Intermediate Colleges, 622 Quran schools and 6 Muallim training schools is not given in the report.)

Then again, there is the Dacca University itself, which is run for patronising the Moslems and which costs the Government about 4 lacs every year. Another noteworthy fact with regard to Government favouritism to Moslems is that the minimum grant-in-aid to a High Madrasah is fixed at Rs. 200, whereas most High schools of the province, that are open to all, cannot aspire to get such a handsome grant.

C. RESERVATION OF SEATS IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES FOR MOSLEM STUDENTS

"25 per cent of the seats in all Government Arts Colleges, other than the Chittagong College and the Dacca Intermediate College, must be reserved for Moslem students. The percentage is 30 in the Chittagong College and 40 in the Dacca Intermediate College" (*Education Code*).

Percentage of reserved seats for Muhammadans in the Sibpur Engineering College and the Ahsanullah School of Engineering is 25 and that in the David Hare Training College is 30.

Percentage of reserved seats for Moslems in the 35 Government High Schools of Bengal:—

5 p. c.	in 1 school.
6 p. c.	in 1 school.
10 p. c.	in 3 schools
17 p. c.	in 1 school.
20 p. c.	in 2 schools.
25 p. c.	in 2 schools.
24 p. c.	in 1 school.

33 p. c.	in 2 schools.
35 p. c.	in 1 school.
40 p. c.	in 2 schools (Malda and Chittagong)
50 p. c.	in 11 schools.
51 p. c.	in 1 school.
60 p. c.	in 1 school (Barru).
62 p. c.	in 1 school (Jessore)
80 p. c.	in 2 schools (Dacca).

For all aided high schools the departmental rule is that a certain percentage (to be fixed according to "local conditions") of seats must be reserved for Moslem students. Also, in all aided schools, Government insists on the appointment of a number of Moslem teachers as such. Some members of the Managing Committee, as well as the appointment of a Maulvi, no matter whether the number of Persian and Arabic readers is 2 or 1 or even nil.

D. RESERVATION OF PART-FREESHIPS FOR MUSLIMS

The general departmental rule is that non-Moslems and Moslems will have free studentships to the extent of 5 p. c. of their enrolments. But Moslems are given a further 10 per cent. That is, they will have 15 per cent. of their own enrolment as free-studentships in all Government and aided schools.

No such reservation exists anywhere, of course, for Hindus.

The Presidency College is an exception to this rule of reservation. There are 75 part-free-studentships open to all; and 100 special part-free-studentships for Moslems. It may be noted that Moslems can also avail themselves of 40 Mahsin stipends in this college.

E. GOVERNMENT GRANT FOR FULL OR HALF-FREE BOARDERSHIPS

Hooghly Madrasa	Rs. 1,152
Dacca Islamic Inter. College	618
Chittagong do do	1,500
Rajshahi Madrasa	510
Total	Rs. 3,810

N. B.—This is a permanent annual grant. Nowhere else is any grant made for the boarding of students, not to speak of Hindu students.

F. GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGEMENT TO MUSLIM SEPARATISM

The vernacular taught in Maktabas and in Madrasahs is a travesty of the Bengali

language and even by the name of Muslim Bengali as if the vernacular of a province can be different with the Hindus and Moslems. The language of Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra is unacceptable to our Moslem brethren. This monstrous act of partitioning the mother tongue is sanctioned and encouraged by the Government. Then again, in the Calcutta Madrasa which is no doubt the ideal of other Madrasahs, the Hindu period of the history of India is proscribed, so that Moslem young men may thrive in ignorance of the most glorious age of Indian history. The syllabus of study of the Calcutta Madrasa is of course framed by the Education Department of the Government of Bengal.

G. NAMAZ AND FIZ

Government's solicitude in this matter is shown by the following words:

"In consonance with the general policy of Government to ensure the proper education and upbringing of Moslem youths, such youths, when students either of institutions of a general or communal character, should be required to perform their *Namaz* and to wear the customary Islamic head-dress' (*Education Code*)

Apparently, the proper upbringing of Hindu youths is no concern of the Government.

To facilitate *Namaz*, however, all Government schools must close at 12-30 on Fridays instead of Saturdays; or work shall be suspended for one hour on Fridays.

CONCLUSION.

The Education Department's (as every other department's) open and systematic favoritism to the Moslems will be conclusively proved by the facts and figures quoted above. It could be tolerated only if we knew that Moslems were getting the real education, the education that would make them men and not mere tools or sticks to beat the Hindus with. But that education is not imparted in pampered Maktabas or Government schools. What can be the motive behind this transparent policy? Surely the crushing of the Hindus, the political opponents of the Government. The Moslems, after receiving overwhelming favours from the Government cannot but be pliable instruments in the hands of the Government in the laudable work of suppressing the Hindus.

The Moslems are not a minority in Bengal, whereas the Hindus are. Moslem students have the enormous resources of the Mohsin Fund to help them in all the schools and colleges of Bengal (and partly in Bihar). The Hindus have no such fund exclusively for their own benefit. Formerly the Hooghly College was maintained out of the Mohsin Fund; but Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif put a stop to this practice of helping, though indirectly, the Hindus, because the majority of the students there were Hindus. The reader can have an idea of the financial strength of the fund from the fact that, in 1917, the Fund gave Rs. 43,726 by way of stipends and scholarships to Moslems.

Then, again, a large number of Madrasas used to be maintained by the Mohsin Fund. But they were subsequently made a charge on the provincial revenue, so that the money thus released might be used as stipends and scholarships for Moslem students.

TO SUMMARIZE,

- (1) Moslems have the very large number of Mohsin scholarships for them only.

- (2) In addition, there are special stipends and scholarships given by Government.
- (3) All other scholarships, etc., are also open to them, though they are endowed either by Government or by Hindus.
- (4) There is no scholarship, etc., given by a Moslem which is open to Hindus.
- (5) There is no scholarship etc., endowed by Hindus which is not open to Moslems.
- (6) There are at least three funds endowed by Hindus which are for Moslems only.
- (7) Government spends on purely Moslem education considerably more than 15 times the money than it does on purely Hindu (Sanskrit) education.
- (8) Government encourages the separatist tendency among the Moslems by patronising "Muslim Bengali," *Namaz* and *Fez* and by proscribing the Hindu period of Indian history in Madrasas. Even in the Primary Examination, the Moslem children must be given separate questions on vernacular Bengali and often on history

An Educational Programme for Bengal

By JOGESCHANDRA RAY

THE present system of English education has been attacked from all sides. But the most pressing charge is that it does not enable its recipients to earn their livelihood. This criticism seems to me unfair. For English education was not introduced as a means of acquiring wealth or even decent livelihood. The University of Calcutta whose motto is 'Advancement of Learning' should not change it for 'Advancement of Wealth'. It is true, most people in all countries and at all times value learning and so much of it as can lead to fortune at least to competence. But that is no reason for lowering the standard or deviating from the right path. If graduates cannot find employment it is not the fault of the University. The fault lies elsewhere. Unfortunately no provisions were made by the Government in other directions than literary save for three highly technical professions

which cannot have wide field for practice. This is the root of the whole trouble. I need not dilate upon the point which has been the topic of discussion for years. The pity is the disillusionment has come rather late and the situation has been allowed to become serious. For unemployment is not limited to the educated few; it is more widespread than many of us imagine it to be. Trades have slipped out of the hands of Bengalis, and all indigenous industries save a few of the modern type are in a decaying condition. This gloomy state of affairs has not been due to the present economic depression but has been the result of many causes working since long.

Can our schools, such as they are now, help in improving the situation? I do not think they can to an appreciable extent. And there are two reasons for my pessimism. One is that the problem of unemployment is

too deep to be mended by flaking on the surface. It is partly due to the influence of Western civilization, partly to English education and greatly to economic causes. English education as imparted in our schools and colleges has not been an unmixed blessing. It tends to make its converts un-Indian in mental outlook and imitative of the externals of the West. This is the direct result of inordinate importance attached to the acquisition of the English language from childhood. A foreign language can be learnt only by imitation of the foreigner in his speech and way of thinking. It is not enough for our boys to understand the language, they are expected to talk and write like the foreigner. And this practice is forced upon them when they have hardly any ideas of their own and the capacity to express them in their own language. This system kills all originality, and our undergraduates cannot be blamed if they try to go along the beaten track. I do not for a moment underrate the value of English education. It liberates the spirit to roam in regions undreamt of in our country before and enables us to come in touch with the outer world, knowledge of which is as necessary for our existence as that of our own country. What I deplore is the system which reduces us to mere copy-books. An Englishman remains an Englishman in spite of his proficiency in many languages other than his own. Why should be the case different with us? So long as the system is not radically changed it will continue to produce job-hunters.

My other reason for misgivings was related long ago by Vidyasagar. From an interesting account of his life given by M. M. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri we learn that an impertinent Bengali student of Lucknow College asked Vidyasagar why all students under the Calcutta University were alike in their knowledge of English. The witty sage related some conversation of opium-smokers and ended by saying that a school or a college was a machine out of which goods of the same quality and same pattern could only be expected. This truth forces itself upon us on all sides. The sameness is the most disheartening feature of the educational machinery. It is difficult to distinguish a student of one college from that of another, a pupil of one school from that of another. The reason for this state of affairs is not far to seek. But it cannot be wholly due

to multiplicity of rules. They no doubt circumscribe the area of vision during the life in an institution but fish in consequence. Growth and free development are incompatible with a total control. It seems the thought of the University Examination overshadows individual expression. Drawing is not a subject of the Matriculation Examination, and it is very often neglected. Of the subjects taught in the schools, Geography has direct bearing on the question before us. Geographical description of a place gives us first information regarding its possibilities for trade, manufacture and agriculture. It is not possible for a young boy to comprehend fully the significance of the information, but study of Geography unfolds before his eyes what to observe, and developed faculty of observation leads him on to fresh fields and pastures new.

Taking the schools as they are at present and having regard to the ulterior object for which boys are sent to them I am not sanguine of success of vocational training and agricultural classes in the High Schools. A school meant for one thing can seldom take to another with zeal. The schools will be rather out of joint. It is true, young children delight in physical activity and are eager to try their hands in construction. With a few exceptions their interest, however, lags as they advance in age. Joinery and even smithery will attract a few who have the natural bent for them, others will leave them as soon as the novelty is gone. Compulsory manual training from early boyhood and introduced as a part of liberal education is more promising than the narrow vocational training. It must be noted that an instance here or an instance there does not prove anything. Very much depends upon the head of an institution and there are instances of schools whose boys can weave cloth as satisfactorily as professional weavers. But we are considering here a general case and not isolated instances.

As to imparting instructions on agriculture in H. E. Schools, the experiment was tried and proved a failure at least at Cuttack. The Superintendent of the Cuttack Government Agricultural Farm used to lecture on agriculture to the boys of the upper two classes of the Collegiate School. They were taken to the farm once a week in 'gharries' at Government expense, the distance being six miles, for practical demonstration. No better arrangement could be made for

ensuring success. I watched the experiment with considerable interest for, if it succeeded, other experiments might be tried along similar lines. But so far as my information went, none of the boys gave up their studies for pursuit of agriculture. Long before this result was known the number of boys attending the lectures gradually fell off and the classes were discontinued.

Agricultural classes may have succeeded in the Panjab but Bengal is different in environment and mental outlook, and the lessons will fall flat on the boys. There are two reasons for this. One is that the practice of agriculture has nothing in it to sustain interest of boys and the other is parents do not send their boys to schools to learn what can be learnt, if desired, cheaply in villages. Besides to own a big farm and be a gentleman farmer is not the same thing as to cultivate a few acres of land, which is insufficient to maintain a family. Moreover, it has yet to be proved that cultivation of land in all parts of Bengal at all pays. In this connection I am reminded of a story I heard many years ago. It is to this effect. A village boy of a primary school was reading one evening his text-book and repeating the sentence "the cow has four legs." His father, a peasant, was smoking his *hookka* after the day's toil heard the boy repeating the sentence and others of the same sort. After a few minutes he lost his patience and exclaimed, "Don't you, blockhead, know that the cow has four legs and not two? Is it for this nonsense that I am sending you to school?" (This remark of the peasant has lessons to teach to the writers of text-books.)

Times have undoubtedly changed of late, but I believe not to the extent to justify expenditure which the scheme requires. The Agricultural Department has the requisite staff for propaganda. Young school boys will not be able either to learn the science or the art of agriculture. If the object be to create interest in the subject a better way will be the study of the life-history of a selected plant, say, the cotton plant. If something ambitious must be attempted I think horticulture has a better chance of success than agriculture. Fruit culture is new, and the occupation is not beneath the dignity of a gentleman. Moreover, it is profitable and the western parts of western Bengal are in particular need of fruits.

You will be called upon to carry out the proposed scheme. It behoves you therefore to consider it carefully from the points of view of practicability and Psychology. Yet schools are certainly the places for giving a direction along new lines contemplated in the proposals of vocational training and agricultural lesson. In my humble opinion a thorough reorganization of the system has been urgently necessary. I therefore venture to place before you for your consideration a scheme I suggested more than a decade ago. An outline was published in the three successive issues of the *Prabasi* for B. S. 1927 commencing with the *Kartik* number. The main idea is to bifurcate school education from the M. E. stage into two lines, drawing boys of the right type and right age, one for literary and the other for industrial career. There will be three classes of schools as now, viz., Primary, Middle and High. Boys and girls will read together in Primary schools which they are expected to leave at age twelve. The schools will be free, attendance compulsory, and the course complete in itself. In the Middle schools English will be introduced and taught as a second language. There will be two branches, one preparing pupils for the Matriculation Examination and the other for industrial occupation. As the pupils will be taught in Bengali they are expected to reach the Matriculation standard in three years. In the industrial section besides Bengali, English, Hygiene, Arithmetic, Practical Geometry, Geography and History, there will be compulsory manual training in the first year. The course for the next two years will consist of Bengali and English, Mathematics and Geography and training in an occupation selected in accordance with demand. In most places the demand is not continual and the course has to be changed as soon as a particular demand is satisfied. This part of the training will be given in peripatetic schools. This will save expense and prevent superfluity of men trained in one line. The boys on the completion of the course will be fit to be attached to workshops and the more deserving boys paid stipends. Similarly, there will be two classes of High schools, one literary and the other industrial and a full three years course will enable the boys of the literary section to pass both the I. A. and I. Sc. Examinations. Separation of studies into two groups of science and non

science at the Intermediate stage prevents all-round education which should be the common property of all. On the industrial side they will be competent to set up in business if they like or proceed further in technical colleges. The colleges will then be of three classes, Arts, Science and Applied Science or Technical. There are at present various schools and colleges. Many have come into existence piecemeal. The scheme outlined here comprehends them all assigning each its due place and involves least disturbance.

We must not be satisfied only with improving the schools and adjusting them to the necessities of the times. The adults cannot be let alone and we cannot wait a decade for a better state of affairs. The teachers can help a great deal in educating the masses. Each school ought to be a centre of light. For instance, in the district of Bankura the number of H. E. and M. E. and M. V. schools is at present 75. The number of Primary schools must be very much larger. Each has a house of its own and a staff of teachers. The school houses are occupied only for five or six hours. Suppose Lower Primary classes are held in the morning from 7 to 10 a. m. and the Upper Primary in the afternoon from 2 to 5 p. m. in winter and 2-30 to 5-30 in summer. The same set of teachers will do for the two branches. Some will be found ready to teach adults from 6 to 9 in the evening, of course on receiving an allowance. In the Middle Schools classes for girls (by women teachers) will be held in the morning up to 10 a. m., those for boys in the afternoon and for adults in the evening. There will be no classes between 10 a. m. to 2 or 2-30 p. m. I believe three hours' school teaching is enough for literary section. One book for the Lower Primary, two for the Upper, and three for the Middle classes will be enough for them. For example, of the three books for the Middle Schools two will teach language and include lessons on Hygiene, Geography and History besides the usual lessons on morals. The third book will be a book on Arithmetic and include practical Geometry and Mensuration. In the industrial classes the morning will be devoted to manual training and the afternoon to the reading of books.

The arrangement suggested here will not be enough for adult education. Very few will care to learn the three R's, but all must have an opportunity for education. The

teachers employed in the evening classes will read to them useful and entertaining books including religious books and newspapers, say twice a week on fixed days. Formerly a village Pathshala was the meeting-place for the villagers where topics of various kinds were discussed. The practice may be revived, the teacher giving a lead to the topics.

But in spite of best teachers, it will not be possible to keep up enthusiasm and attract a large audience. There should, therefore, be peripatetic teachers illustrating their lectures by magic lantern slides. Two such teachers for each district will be enough. They will have sets of useful books for circulation. The recent Library Movement will find suitable fields for its activity through the peripatetic teachers. Series of books have to be written by competent persons who can write gracefully. The idea of bringing education to the doors of the people occurred to me long ago. I have written several articles on mass education on this line and one which appeared in the *Shroban* number of the *Bharatbaran* for B. S. 1324 will give some idea. The method is now well recognized and has been adopted by the League of Social Service and also by Health Officers. But there is yet no co-ordination, no comprehensive plan. There ought to be no place for misty ideals.

A scheme as proposed above will, of course, involve large expenditure from the provincial revenue. The idea of spreading education on modern lines by private liberality must be given up once for all. It can help but cannot take the place of the State. I have every hope that the State will soon realize as Japan has done long since that expenditure on education is not waste. On the contrary the outlay is reproductive. Look at Turkey and Soviet Russia. The latter has been borrowing money for education. They have not been deterred by the thought that there are no trained teachers. At first we must be content with choosing young and intelligent men. They will be given manuals on the art of teaching, assembled twice every year at certain centres by turns at State expense for attending a week's lecture given by competent teachers. They will be required to pass a simple examination and given a certificate. In the course of two or three years certificated teachers will be the majority. Moreover in the new regime the Inspectors will be expert advisors to teachers and demonstrators of

lesson instead of practically being reporters as now. There will be real difficulty in finding suitable teachers for Industrial Schools — a teacher and a good hand combined in one person is rare. We shall have to leave the principles to be explained by the common teacher and to appoint good hands for demonstration, the latter will be shifting their workshops from one school to another.

Many talk of the revival of the indigenous cottage industries, but none define the process. All are however agreed that with the decay of village industries pressure on land has increased to such an alarming extent that in many villages pasture land has been converted into arable land and that the profit from agriculture has been reduced to the lowest margin. There should no longer be doubt in our mind that agriculture cannot alone save India and that industry should form a conspicuous feature of the occupations. Roughly it may be said that agriculture should absorb 60 p.c., industry 30 p.c., other occupation 10 p.c. of the population. India was never a purely agricultural country.

Educational policy has to be varied according to the requirements and capabilities of each place. Let me illustrate this by taking the case of this district, at least one-third of whose population consists of landless labourer such as the Santal, the Bauri, the Bagdi, the Lohar and a few other castes. No one will think of a common uniform programme of education for them. The boys and girls must no doubt

be given Primary education. But the course after this should be varied as much as possible. The period of training should also vary. It may be three months, six months, a year or longer, and the number of students 10 or 15 or 20 at one time. Many may be trained as brick layers who will find constant employment in large towns. Some may be trained as carpenters or sawers, a few as smiths. Many of you will be surprised to learn that labour is very dear in this district — dearer than in Calcutta. The reason is it is untrained and undisciplined. The indolent habit makes it uncertain. There are places where labour is abundant. It must be taught to realize by actual demonstration the benefits of co-operation and encouraged to work together in turning scrubby jungles into orchards and rearing lac and *tussar* insects. Co-operative work among farmers of small holdings is one thing needful for improving their lot. It is not new. It has been in existence since time immemorial. It is known as *ganta* in Bengali. Unfortunately it is not extensive in practice. The object of education should be to produce simple, happy, and honest citizens capable of looking beyond their little world, appreciating their worth as humanity, resting their thoughts on One pervading the Universe, and realizing the Divine in man.*

*An extract from the Presidential Address by Prof. Joges Chandra Ray before the Conference of Bankura Teachers' Association held on the 13th July, 1931.

Nationalism and Conservatism

By DHIRENDRA N. RAY, P.H. D.

IT is quite amusing to see on a public platform in some Oriental country, men from the West preaching peace to the people. Some give them inspiring oration on love and common brotherhood, some seek to point out how best to raise the moral standard of society, some enthusiastically dilate upon the spiritual uplift of man. Their oriental audience probably like such noble enterprise as it touches their finer feelings and makes them more devoted to their traditional idealism.

But what is amusing indeed is that those

who so graciously undertake such humanitarian work are more needed in their own lands than in the Orient. The Orient is so mystically peace-loving that to preach peace to them is like talking prohibition in a land where temperance is not a virtue. The people who are not only innocent of disturbing world peace but are mostly helpless victims of such disturbance can find consolation only when these Western idealists think seriously of their task at home. Of love and universal brotherhood, where in the Orient can one find such deadly poison of hatred as

it is in the West! And as to the moral and spiritual side of life, no other part of the civilized world is so consciously and sophisticatedly devoid of it.

And they tell the people of the Orient to cultivate the spirit of internationalism. This is more a tragedy than a joke. The people who have so long been fairly immune from the infection of nationalism and have, therefore, been used as a sort of pavement to be trodden on, are advised to be international,—an idea as wonderful as one of drawing a circumference without a centre. It is that much vaunted nationalism of the West that has told the world with an air of superiority that excepting Japan there is no nation in the East Japan having grown into a nation has caused a great uproar of "yellow peril". India has been ridiculed as having no idea of what a nation is and China is described as a sheet of loose sands. With a true cultural spirit the people of these oriental countries could not think of hammering human minds into a uniform pattern and selling human souls to a mechanical system of organization. Right now the East needs but little of internationalism that will seek to safeguard its own independent achievements for the sake of the world at large.

But this nationalism consistent with the idealism of the East should not make it dangerous like the West. Nationalism, of course, is a western idea. It has its natural history in the European soil. Before Northern Europe received any inspiration of highly organized civilization, there were going on in the South some clashes of ideals preliminary to final adjustment among the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hebrews. The Greeks fell before Roman imperialism but not till they infected their conquerors with Greek egotism of looking upon all foreigners as barbarians. The Hebrew egotism of God's chosen people being subtly instilled into the new faith that could not have any humane consideration for "heathens" added further stimulus when Rome through Constantine had accepted it. The ideals of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Hebrews under the new absolutistic creed came to a final adjustment in that most intensive egotism which naturally impelled the Romans to force themselves upon the northern people. The Romans introduced civilization into Northern Europe but not without its egotistic cult. Thus in faith, in government, and in social bearing Europe has assimilated it quite to its satisfaction, and

the northern European people being comparatively more virile, have developed it into a real art,—nationalism.

Thus nationalism defines itself both positively and negatively. It means not only love of your own country but hatred of other countries. It means not only whatever you have is the best but also whatever others have different from yours, is vile and not to be tolerated. That is the idea of "carrying civilization to other people," that is the meaning of "the white man's burden." It is an inveterate habit of the West, born of this dangerous cult to think of itself as divinely ordained to mould others in its own pattern, for that is, it thinks, the best. Of the modern Western nations, Spain was in that respect the pioneer and then the others have begun to follow. The first record that Spain made was in Mexico with regard to the great Aztec civilization. It is so touching that I can hardly refrain from quoting Oswald Spengler:

"For, as it happens, this is the one example of a Culture ended by violent death. It was not starved, suppressed, or thwarted, but murdered in the full glory of its unfolding, destroyed like a sun-flower whose head is struck off by one passing hand. All these states—including a world-power and more than one-federation—with an extent and resources far superior to those of the Greek and Roman states of Hannibal's day; with a comprehensive policy, a carefully ordered financial system, and a highly developed legislation; with administrative ideas and economic tradition such as the ministers of Charles V. could never have imagined; with a wealth of literature in several languages, an intellectually brilliant and polite society in great cities to which the West could not show one simple parallel—all this was not broken down in some desperate war, but washed out by a handful of bandits in a few years and so entirely that the relics of the population retained not even a memory of it all. Of the literature three books survive, but no one can read them." (*Decline of the West*, Vol. 2, pp. 43-44.)

The Spaniards similarly carried their civilization to South America which meant the total destruction of the Incas in Peru. And what is happening at present throughout the non-European countries in the name of that "White man's burden" cannot be

quite so audible as the oppressed people are virtually gagged by a subtle method of propaganda in which the ugliest nationalism passes for philanthropy and shuts out all possibilities of convincing protests. But the last war brought some ray of hope to the oppressed people when the West in its intoxication of nationalism was about to commit suicide and thus betrayed its eccentricities to the world. The East perceived the unmasked West in its brutal nakedness and realized the danger of being under its suggestion. So the East is striving to assert itself.

The East is almost goaded to this self-assertion. It has only recently begun to be suspicious of foreigners. The traditional politeness and hospitality of the Oriental people, instead of making the Western visitors grateful and appreciative, turn many of them into blind critics often indulging in most offensive judgments. They come as guests and the tradition of the Orient enjoins kindest and most candid treatment of them but forbids accepting anything as a host. Yet some of them become positively intrusive and advise replacement of things native with those they have. Instead of trying to adjust themselves to the usages of their Oriental hosts they demand the adjustment of the hosts to their own thing. Of the peculiar method of their penetration into Asiatic lands everybody is well aware,—first the Bible then the bottle and then the civilizing bayonet for these are the things they mean by carrying civilization. All these things have been going on uninterruptedly for a long long time and yet the mystical East preferred to keep peace and dreaming. But somehow its eyes are now open to perceive at last that the peace it has had may mean the peace of its own grave if it would not even now arise and assert itself.

Nationalism may be the name given to this self-assertion, but the East should be wiser from the conditions of the West and careful to keep it clean from its negative meaning. Hatred, prejudice, humiliation, aggression, false propaganda and the last of all though not the least, violence should not be allowed to contaminate the sacred cause of nationalism. Let it cultivate love, an intense love for one's own country but with no ill-feeling towards other countries. Let it teach each people to try to realize its own soul, to learn and make its own history,

to respect its own culture and tradition above all others and to depend upon its own capacities. Let it inculcate upon the people that imitation characterizes a child and they should not feel proud to imitate another people. Imitators can never feel equal to those they imitate. Let it discourage the habit of comparison. To every devoted soul his country must always be above comparison. The spirit of comparison is unwholesome inasmuch as it tends to offend others and may unconsciously offend one's own. Let it teach the people that wherever they may go their life must vindicate their country's ideal without being offensive to others. Let it teach every man to make it a motto of his life to contribute something to the cause of his country so that when he dies he can die with the happy thought that he has his share in his country's good name. Above all, let no man consider any sacrifice great when it means upholding the honour of his sacred motherland.

Some may contend that such nationalism will tend to make the people conservative, that extreme love for one's own and indifference to even the good things of other nations will only arrest the progress of the country. In this age of progress the country that pays no attention to the good things of other countries is bound to fall behind. Thus it will be regarded as a backward country.

The contention is based upon a mistaken conception. This nationalism refers to the people of those countries that are under foreign subjection. No people under foreign domination can have any real progress, for what is considered to be so, refers more to the rulers than the ruled. Whatever good is accomplished in a subject country is a tribute to its alien rulers and a justification for their being so. The people are surrounded by situations that constantly seek to exalt the position of the rulers and the value of all things that go by their names. This means a proportional dissipation of people's loyalty to their own. When there is a talk that some country under a foreign government has made considerable progress it is either a false propaganda of the ruling people to hoodwink the world or what is worse it means a condition in which the people are being drawn away from their soul and are within the grip of assimilation and then absorption.

There should be no superstition about

a name. Conservatism is the only wholesome nationalism of a subject people. It is the only state in which the subject people show their true vitality, for it means the maintenance of their corporate life in a common devotional spirit to things of their own. It is the only state through which they can attain true independence.

It does not make the civilization of the land static as some would think. As long as the civilization of the subject people continues to be invigorated by their unflinching devotion there is no danger of its being static in the sense of being inactive. In a subject country the civilization of the alien rulers continually seeks to press upon and strike at the native civilization. There is thus a ceaseless conflict between the two until one drives out the other or the two find some sort of adjustment. The former case means two possibilities--independence or absorptions; the latter gives only one fact--the civilization of the rulers temporarily adjusting that of the ruled to itself. It is temporary because preliminary to final absorption. The civilization of the subject people does not adjust that of the rulers to itself, for the latter forces itself upon the former with its claim to superiority and thus precludes all possibilities of such adjustment. At any rate, the conflict between the two is inevitable. Now, a conflict is not possible with a thing static, for it cannot resist; it may be only pushed or pulled. Evidently, so long as a civilization maintains its power of resistance it is never static. On the other hand it is no small job for the civilization of a subject people to maintain its own inspiring individuality.

The nationalism of a subject people lies, therefore, in its cultivation of the spirit of conserving its own. There should be no replacing of anything by a thing which is not produced in the country, for it means an effective blow at its self-respect. It is all right when the country is free to accept things of foreigners, for they come to adorn and not to be enthroned;—its own government keeps the throne safe for its soul.

There is again a great deal of swearing by what is usually known as modernism. We must be modern and keep abreast of the time. That sounds very good indeed, but there seems to be a sort of slave-mentality in it. By things modern the people means things Western as if everything modern must

have its origin in the West. To be modern does not imply to be a shadow of the Westerner. Each people can be modern by improving upon its own things in its own peculiar way.

Nationalism thus conceived and reared is a pure form of self-assertion and is free from the taint of offensive egotism. It fosters no motive of retaliation for the harm done, as it begins with a thorough searching of heart and develops with the progress of self-discipline the end of which is complete self-assertion, a synonym for independence. Shorn of its destructive meaning it is quite consistent with the moral and spiritual tradition of the East and is therefore, a danger to none. It deserves the sympathy of all unselfish minds including those of the West, for it is not a preparation to meet evil with evil but an attempt to convert evil into good.

Consider what it would mean if the mystical Orient instead of adhering religiously to its own standard of civilized life, accept the Western standard. The West may temporarily feel flattered that the East is following it, but the final result may not be all promising. Fifty years ago, or a little more than so, Japan was living a quiet agricultural life immersed in her own wonderful art. The West came, knocked at her gate, got in and passed a judgment that she was uncivilized. All on a sudden she became civilized as she shoved her efficient hands in killing thousands of Russians. She is now thoroughly militarized and in the manner of the West she is civilizing the Koreans and the Formosans. Japan, therefore, is now one of the five greatest powers. If this temptation succeeds in recruiting other Oriental countries to the Western standard of civilized life that would mean beside others, China's 100,000,000 and India's 350,000,000 of people accepting the cult of aggressive nationalism and militarism. With Japan's population it would mean half of the world's population taking up the challenge of the West to be equally aggressive. Consider then what it would mean to the world.

But something must be done. These Oriental countries with their long and glorious history, their immense wealth of culture cannot endure organized humiliation for too long. Nor can they vanish from the face of the Earth like the Aztecs and the Incas. Constructive nationalism is the

remedy they have discovered. It will cure the West as well. The peaceful but inimitable self-assertion of the East will not excite the passion of the West. On the other hand its sturdy self-confidence will

slowly change the attitude of the West. When the West will find little recognition of its own ways of life in the East it will also begin a self-study and thus recover its better self.

The Landholders of Bengal

Their Burden and Responsibilities

By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., PH.D.

GENERALLY speaking, the landholders of India have not shirked their due share of the duties and responsibilities of a citizen nor have they neglected the special charge which has been entrusted to their care. It is with considerable hesitation that I have to state these facts, not certainly without a tinge of regret; because I am viewing with alarm the growth of certain tendencies in the public mind which are inimical to the interests of the landholders as a class.

One of these tendencies which has of late assumed a proportion that can no longer be neglected is in regard to the much misunderstood Permanent Settlement of Bengal in certain parts of the country. The question has now been raised in an acute form on account of the financial difficulties of Bengal under the existing financial arrangement, and public mind has been alert in seizing upon the Permanent Settlement of land revenue in this province as inevitable when the rest of the people of the province are bearing an increasing burden of taxation. Considerable pains have been taken to show that the Permanent Settlement does not preclude the imposition of a general tax falling upon all classes, inclusive of the Zemindars *e.g.*, the taxation of their income or profits from agriculture as part of a general scheme of income-tax. The objections to the Permanent Settlement have been brought to a focus in the report of the Statutory Commission where arguments have been advanced for their proposal to tax agricultural incomes.

It is not necessary to question the plausibility of some of these arguments and the justification of the others. There is no

doubt, for instance, that if the agricultural incomes were taxed, not only should a large range of incomes, hitherto exempt, be brought under the assessment but in respect of those landholders who enjoy non-agricultural incomes, the tax should be at a higher rate if the agricultural incomes were added. It is also true that there is a large number of intermediate interests which at present pay no tax at all, and it may be desirable to bring them under some general scheme of direct taxation. Moreover, it is contended that the Permanent Settlement has led to certain glaring discrepancies in the incidence of the land tax in Bengal. "There is land in the city of Calcutta," as the Statutory Commission remarks, "the owner of which pays in land revenue a greater part of a rupee per acre, although the annual value of the land runs into thousands of rupees."⁺ Another discrepant result has been that some of the districts which were fully developed 130 years ago, now contribute much more by land revenue than some far bigger and far richer districts in remoter parts of Bengal.[†]

Few would deny that these arguments, based as they are on strict economic principles, look *prima facie* sound and substantial. In order to appraise these arguments, however, it is necessary to refer to the text and the context. Before I do so, I may just be allowed to refer to one peculiar flaw to which any deductive reasoning in finance is liable. The Government is administered not so much according to theories or well-reasoned precepts as by

⁺ Vol. I. p. 340

[†] *Ibid.* p. 340.

a set of filtered means expedients based on experience. The public demand on land presents a striking illustration of this fact. Land taxation is governed by many considerations, of which custom and tradition are not the least important. In India, any attempt to over-ride custom and tradition which have grown up round the various interests in land and to supplant them by the forces of economic competition is bound to result in grave consequences to society. The land-holder and all the interests subordinate to him stand in a certain relation to the land, which has acquired the sanctity of custom and tradition. Any official measure that is likely to disturb that relation will be striking at the very root of social solidarity and well-being. The Regulation I of 1793, which introduced the Permanent Settlement, was essentially based on this recognition and it is an established fact now that but for the Permanent Settlement, the security of revenues would have been clearly impossible and the stability of the province seriously endangered. Economic principles are often adhered to in utter disregard of political considerations. The contentment and well-being of the landed interests of the country provide an asset which in value and importance exceeds the material assets that could be obtained by squeezing them on strict economic principles. It is a significant tendency of modern times that the maximum that could be taken as land revenue is being steadily diminished in areas which are not permanently settled and the period of settlement is also being steadily lengthened in the case of the temporary settled areas of the country.

In these circumstances, the observations of the Statutory Commission could only be appreciated with reference to the conditions obtaining in the country. On the basis of the Permanent Settlement, alienations of land have been made and a large number of interests has been allowed to grow up between the cultivator and the landholder. It is not true that all these interests are in the nature of parasites. Reclamation of jungles or inaccessible plots of land required experienced hands supported by energy and industry, and if a landholder for the purpose has created a separate interest, he has done what every other man with ordinary intelligence and common sense would have done. The intermediate interests

are the various limbs that, at a certain rate of profit, connect the landholder with the ryots. It is not contended that all of these interests are necessary or inevitable but everyone who has any intimate knowledge of how a big zamindari is managed will agree that most of these interests represent a useful link in the system of agriculture. The analysis, given by Major Jack in his "Final Report on Bakarganj Settlement," of the processes of sub-infeudation in Bengal shows that two of the six causes leading to sub-infeudation are based on economic necessities, namely, development and promotion of agriculture and that another cause, namely, the interpolation of tenures, is also partly prompted by the requirements of managing a large and scattered estate. Family arrangements are also responsible for a considerable degree of sub-infeudation but these together with fraudulent transfer can be set off against pious benefactions such as the Mohan endowment which have benefited the community as a whole. On the whole, it would be wrong for anybody to make a definite statement that sub-infeudation in Bengal was an avoidable evil and that no consideration is due to the zamindars for the interception of the rent which they receive from the ryots by the intermediate interests. It is clear that in most cases economic necessities, custom and tradition have been responsible for the large body of interests that are maintained on the land.

To deal with this question of minute sub-infeudation which renders the land revenue system of parts of the country so inelastic it is necessary to proceed in a cautious and statesmanlike manner with a due recognition of the large interests involved in the complex system of land tenures obtaining in our country. To accuse roundly the existence of these intermediaries that separate the zamindar from the ryot and to assume, as many responsible writers have done, that the landholders have been generally enjoying a huge "unearned increment," due to the Permanent Settlement of the public demand on land are theses which anyone intimately connected with the land systems of India will find it difficult to support. There are individual instances where the landholder by means of good management, thrift and local circumstances which may have prevented any considerable degree of sub-infeudation as in

Midnapore, has been able to increase his own revenue. So far as this is the case, a part of the increased revenue may represent what is called unearned increment due to the growth of population, rise of prices and other incidents of economic progress. But even here it must be remembered that a considerable part of what is mis-called an unearned revenue is due to the reclamation of vast lands and jungles, formation of new soil not assessed to revenue at the time the settlement was made. As regards this, it is certainly open to question whether such a possibility was or was not contemplated when the phrase "in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" was inserted in Section 7 of the Regulation I of 1793. I think, therefore, that the critics of Permanent Settlement today should guard themselves against making any misleading statement regarding "unearned increment," a term more misunderstood than abused, or declaring roundly against the existence of unnecessary parasites between the zamindars and the ryots.

If the force of the arguments in the two preceding paragraphs is admitted, the main plank of the attack upon the Permanent Settlement will be gone. What I have aimed to show above is that the Statutory Commission, since it was no part of their duty to investigate in any detail the actual forms of land tenures that have grown in Bengal, particularly in the districts of Eastern Bengal, they failed to get a correct measure of the implications involved in any proposal trenching on the Permanent Settlement.

I now propose to emphasize another aspect of the question which is too forgotten. I refer to the genesis of the Permanent Settlement. It is well-known that the prime necessity of the Permanent Settlement was the establishment of public credit and the stabilization of public revenue. Art. VI of the Proclamation (Sec. 7 of the Regulation of 1793) specifically explains that the great object of the Permanent Settlement was to put an end, for ever, to the practice of all former Governments of altering and raising the land tax from time to time. This explanation is further followed up by the concluding paragraph of that section in which it is laid down that

"The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the

cultivation of their lands under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and no demand will ever be made upon them or their heirs or successors, by the present or any future Government, for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates."

Commenting on the state of affairs then obtaining in the country, Mr. Pattle, a former Member of the Board of Revenue, makes the following observations :

"The country brought under the Decennial Settlement was for the most part wholly uncultivated. Indeed, such was the state of the country from the prevalence of jungle infested by wild beasts that to go with any tolerable degree of safety from Calcutta to any of the adjacent districts a traveller was obliged to have at each stage four drums and as many torches; besides, at this conjuncture, public credit was at its lowest ebb, and the Government was threatened with hostilities from various powerful Native States. Lord Cornwallis's great and comprehensive mind saw that the only resource within his reach in this critical emergency was to establish public credit and redeem the extensive jungles of the country. These important objects, he perceived, could only be effected by giving to the country a perpetual land assessment made on the gross rental with reference to existing productiveness and therefore promising to all those who would engage the encouragement of an immense profit from extending cultivation. Admitting the sacrifice was very great, I think it cannot be regretted when it is considered what difficulties it conquered, and what prosperity it has introduced and achieved. For my part, I am convinced that our continuance in the country depends on the adoption of that measure, and that our stability could not otherwise have been maintained unaltered."

I could multiply such quotations from responsible authorities and show that the *raison d'être* of the Permanent Settlement was the political necessity of a stable revenue at a time when no other sources of revenue were available to the Government. Year after year the zamindars have borne the burden of that revenue which in the initial period was admittedly heavy, if not ruinous, in its incidence upon the landlords. Even now the zamindars of Bengal are responsible for about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the revenues of the exchequer of Bengal. Nobody says that the zamindars ought to be compensated now for having been compelled to bear the substantial portion of the revenue burdens of the Government at a time when no other classes had begun to contribute on anything approaching the scale of the land revenue demands. Till lately, that is, till the emergency increases in the income-tax rates were sanctioned,

land revenue bore a greater share of the revenues of the country than either customs or income-tax. Even if the landholders were capable of bearing additional taxation—an easy hypothesis against which I have entered a caveat—the question was not whether they should do it, but whether the burden which they are already bearing is not adequate or proper as compared with the burdens borne by the other communities in India. No impartial observer would deny that the landholders as a class are bearing their just and proper share of the expenses of the Government, not to speak of the past, when they alone bore a major share of the liabilities of the Government.

Assuming that the State has the theoretical or legal power to change or revise previous legislation, I can certainly claim that Regulation I of 1793 stands on a different footing. On the basis of that regulation a settlement has been made involving a contract, the sanctity of which cannot and should not be injured. It is only the interpretation of the Settlement that concerns us. I do not however propose now to take upon myself the interpretation of that document on which a vast literature, quite a *theatrum legale*, has evolved. It will be sufficient to stress here the fact that even the Judges of the High Court who are no partisans of any side, have differed in their interpretation of the terms of the Regulation. I recognize that in a recent case* the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has given an adverse verdict. But that indirectly supports my argument that as a matter of financial or public policy the Permanent Settlement of Bengal need not be examined in its legal or judicial aspect but in its bearing, in the first place, on the financial system as a whole and in the second place on the ability of the zamindars to pay more.

On the first question, I have already indicated my opinion, namely, that the zamindars are already bearing a fair and adequate share of the burdens of taxation and that the recent tendency in other parts of India is to restrict the public demand on land and to increase the period of settlement. From practical considerations, therefore, the attempt to interfere with the Permanent Settlement or to impose fresh

taxes on the zamindars is not a move in the right direction. Politically also, it is unwise, because it is likely to entrench severely upon the stability of a class that could always be depended upon, on account of their status and influence, the creation largely of the Permanent Settlement, to promote the foreground of order and progress. Further taxation of zamindars will create a panic among them or at any rate acute discontent. If we except the intermediate interests subsisting on land the taxable margin of the zamindars becomes small. Any further burden on it would inevitably lead to the disappearance of a large number of zamindars as land would then cease to yield, in many cases, even a normal return on investment.

The "Final Report on the Settlement Operations in Midnapore (1911-17)" discloses the fact that taking the advanced portions of the district, the percentage of proprietor's assets taken as revenue (under Permanent Settlement) comes to 58.4. The assets of the proprietors are the rents paid by tenure holders and ryots directly under them and a valuation of the cultivated area in direct possession of the proprietors. The percentage comes down to 31.2, if the total rental value of the land is considered instead of the proprietor's assets. The rental value is the rent paid by the ryots plus a valuation of the area in direct possession of the proprietors.*

We have got corresponding figures for some of the biggest zamindari of the Bakarrunj district in Major Jack's Report. The proportion of the revenue to the assets of the proprietors is very nearly the same as in Midnapore, and cases are not rare in respect of some of the largest estates that 75 p. c. of proprietor's assets are taken as revenue†

If we take these two districts as typical of Bengal, in a large measure we find that on the average about 50 p. c. of the assets of the proprietors are retained by them after paying revenue. From this we are to deduct the expenses of managing an estate and other incidental charges. Thus in the case of the most profitable zamindari, an annual receipt of 20 or 25 p. c. of the rents received from the immediate interest below may be expected. If the land revenue demand

* *Probat Ch. Barua v. The King Emperor*, May 1930 L. R. 57 Ind. Ap. 228.

* Final Report, p. 85

† Final Report, 1900-1908 table on p. 96

is taken to be about one third of the annual rental value of land, then the return to the zamindars on this rental value will come up to about ten to fifteen per cent of the rental value according to the degree of sub-infeudation. The return is not very high. This is further proved by the fact that in cases where land has been purchased in recent times, the purchase price of an estate has never been less than fifteen to twenty times the income of the estate-holder which brings down the return to so low a figure as six or seven p. c. It has been already shown that it is not easy to dispossess or expropriate all these interests without jeopardizing the agricultural economy of the province.

This disposes of the question of the zamindar's ability to pay. Is the zamindar comparatively better off than the other classes of the community? As a matter of fact, on account of the restrictions imposed by tenancy legislation and of litigation the resources of the zamindars fall far short of what would be regarded as a comfortable margin for additional taxation. It would be proper to regard the land revenue as the counterpart of the income-tax or the historical genesis of both these impositions indicates. This is also recognized officially. Thus the Government of India state that the "land revenue and taxes on income are the complement of each other, the former being a levy on agricultural incomes and the latter on industrial and professional income."* Again, as Baden Powell observes, "the land revenue becoming more and more in effect a tax on agricultural income, the tax on other incomes is its direct and logical counter-part."† From economic considerations, it would be unfair to assess the zamindars to income-tax in addition to the land revenue, or for the matter of that, to any other tax, general or special. As regards local taxes, levied for local improvement, I may take the liberty of mentioning that the zamindars have never shirked their responsibilities in this matter and that today the zamindars contribute about 76 p. c. of the total income of the district boards and this contribution amounts to about one crore of rupees.

I may now, for a moment, return to the Regulation I of 1733. The words "in

consequence of the improvement of their respective estates" which occur in that Regulation, were not inserted in vain. The zamindars, I submit, have not been remiss in this respect. I have already quoted the description given by Mr. Pattle, a former Member of the Board of Revenue, about the condition of the country when the Decennial Settlement was made. A comparison of these conditions with the conditions now obtaining will indicate the part which the landlords have played in organizing labour and capital towards increasing the extent of cultivation and the productivity of the country. They have undertaken philanthropic works such as the construction of roads and bridges, excavation of tanks and establishment of schools, colleges and charitable dispensaries, donations to universities, hospitals and religious institutions and have contributed to all useful organizations like child welfare, agricultural and other exhibitions. Many of the roads and bridges in several districts bear testimony to the generosity and sense of responsibility of individual zamindars. In Bengal, they have constructed water-works in Serampore, Bally and Uttarpara, Chinsura, Midnapore and other places. If a reference to the various famine reports were made, particularly to that of Sir Richard Temple of 1873, it would be found that the zamindars gave ungrudgingly, free of cost, all the land required for roads and tanks which were constructed during all those sorceries. Towards the education of the country, the zamindars have made no niggardly contribution. The annual volumes of the earlier reports of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal testify to the munificence of zamindars for educational endowments. As for large benefactions, we have the Tagore Law Professorship, the Colleges at Rajshahi, Berhampore, Krishnagore, Baidyan, Hetampur, Bharaipore, the Association for the Cultivation of Science, the Medical College of Bengal, the Darbhanga Library Endowments of the Calcutta University, the Benares Hindu University and various other monuments of the philanthropy of the zamindars and taluqdars of India. The establishment of Maktabas and Madrasahs on the one hand and of the Toles on the other points to the part which the landholders have played in the maintenance of the indigenous culture of India. The benefactions of the Nawabs of

* *Finance and Revenue Accounts 1923-30* p. 110.

† Baden-Powell: *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. I p. 344 f. n.

Murshidabad and Dacca and of Muhammad Mohsin have been equalled by those of very few merchant princes of our country. Rent-free lands of value of more than a crore of rupees were assigned by the zamindars, of their own free will, for the support of men professing and pursuing Sanskrit culture.

Thus, from whatever angle we view the problem, the conclusion is irresistible that the charge that the zamindars have not borne their fair share of the burdens of administration of the east of progress is not only unfounded but mischievous. The zamindars have amply compensated the State for the permanent settlement of the revenue. I feel I would not be exaggerating if I say that the incidence of taxation has been heavier in the case of the zamindars than in the case of the other classes of the community. They provided the largest and the only substantial source of revenue in the past. Till lately they have provided more revenue than the income-tax, they must pay their revenues in due amount and time whether there is scarcity, drought or famine and whether they receive their rents or not. No Government ask the merchants to pay tax on profit which do not accrue. It is a well-known fact that on account of the harsh operation of the sale laws and the heavy assessment of revenues, many zamindaries had to change hands for arrears of revenue. Even now, many of the landholders, as already shown above, live undoubtedly on a precarious margin of profit. Many of these holdings are the results of partition or sub-division increasing further the cost of management. On the other hand, under the existing tenancy legislation, the land-lords have only very restricted powers of enhancing the rate, not at any event within the fifteen years follow-

ing the last enhancement. The rate of increase allowed is also very small. As a result we find that the average incidence of rent per acre paid by occupancy tenants varies from three to four rupees but the average yield in value may be estimated at about Rs. 45 per acre for unhusked rice and more than Rs. 60 in the case of jute. The incidence of the rent is thus very small. It must also be remembered that in times of scarcity or distress rents are in many cases remitted. The Act of 1929 has further safeguarded the interests of the tenants.

I believe I have made out a case for the revision of some of the current ideas and misconceptions prevalent on this subject. I am aware that Bengal needs additional sources of revenue but I hold that the abolition of the Permanent Settlement is not the proper way to do it; on the other hand an additional imposition will make the position of a large body of zamindars, tenure holders and ryots extremely precarious. A definitive judgment on the Permanent Settlement of Bengal is not to be summarily reached. Too many interests and considerations are involved in the question and I would earnestly ask for a dispassionate and unprejudiced examination of the problem with all its implications. I am not unaware of the shortcomings of the landholders, but such shortcomings are visible also in other communities. It will, however, be admitted that the landholders have played a useful rôle in the social and economic life of the people and in the changing circumstances that await them, they will, I hope, rise fully to the occasion and continue to make an active contribution to social, economic and political progress.



India and Lancashire

I—The Case for Lancashire

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER

IS it inevitable that either the Lancashire cotton-spinners or the Indian villagers must suffer? Some people think it is. I am not convinced.

Let us admit, in the first place, that India has just as much right to determine her own fiscal policy as any other country. I at least readily agree to that. Then let us consider what is India's true interest. Opinions will, of course, vary. I can only state my own. The true economic interest of India must mean primarily the interest of consumers—that is to say, the peasants and the workers in the towns. Now, if the peasants could spin and weave all their own cloth, without interfering with more profitable undertakings, that would, to my mind, be an ideal solution for them, though it would certainly be disastrous to Lancashire. But, if I am rightly informed, that really is not a practical solution *at the moment*. It may come, but surely not at once. If, then, surplus supplies are needed, shall they come from the Indian mills, or from England, or from Japan? I should say, let them come from whatever mills can (without exploitation of the mill-workers) produce the best goods at the cheapest price. If a tariff is put on to favour the Indian mills, all experience of tariffs suggests that the mill-owners will raise the price. Even if this leads to better wages to the Indian mill-workers, it will injure the far larger number of consumers. This might be prevented, I suppose, by a statutory price; if the consumers' interest were powerful enough to enforce it.

But, even so, are the Indian mills at present in a position to supply all the kinds of cotton goods that India wants? I have been assured that the finer counts are not yet being produced in any considerable quantity in India. If this is true, might it not be to India's advantage, no less than to Lancashire's, to make a temporary arrangement for supplying these finer counts, at least until such time as the Indian mills produce

them, or until they can be produced by hand-spinning and weaving, if that is practicable? This would give Lancashire the opportunity of adapting herself to the change of circumstance that is inevitable.

I do not suppose there are many Indians who want to make Lancashire workers suffer, unless such suffering is unavoidable in the interest of the people of India. So I put forward these suggestions, realizing that they may be based on an imperfect appreciation of all the facts, in which case they must fall to the ground, but hoping thereby to achieve the economic prosperity of India without bringing greater misery to Lancashire.

The Lancashire workers proved at the time of the American Civil War that they could place the emancipation of an alien race above their own material interest. Many Lancashire workers to-day are strong supporters of the Indian demand for freedom. But they are not convinced that a complete boycott of their cloth is going to benefit the people of India. I must confess that I, too, find the economic argument unconvincing.

One more consideration is in my mind. There is one argument that Mahatma Gandhi apparently uses which seems to me very unconvincing. He seems to suggest that because Lancashire has "exploited" India by flooding her with cheap mill-made cotton-goods, the present depression in Lancashire is an inevitable and just retribution. Quite apart from the use of the word "exploited" in a sense that I do not quite understand (I am not at all denying the scandalous methods employed in the early days for destroying Indian trade and building up English trade in its place), I do not believe it is right to acquiesce in this idea of retributive justice. That human development does often lead to great suffering, as often for the innocent as for the guilty, cannot be denied, and so far human wisdom has not been sufficient to anticipate and so to avoid these (on one side) disastrous changes of fortune.

Murshidabad and Dacca and of Muhammad Mohsin have been equalled by those of very few merchant princes of our country. Rent-free lands of value of more than a crore of rupees were assigned by the zamindars, of their own free will, for the support of men professing and pursuing Sanskrit culture.

Thus, from whatever angle we view the problem, the conclusion is irresistible that the charge that the zamindars have not borne their fair share of the burdens of administration of the cost of progress is not only unfounded but mischievous. The zamindars have amply compensated the State for the permanent settlement of the revenue. I feel I would not be exaggerating if I say that the incidence of taxation has been heavier in the case of the zamindars than in the case of the other classes of the community. They provided the largest and the only substantial source of revenue in the past. Till lately they have provided more revenue than the income-tax, they must pay their revenues in due amount and time whether there is scarcity, drought or famine and whether they receive their rents or not. No Government ask the merchants to pay tax on profits which do not accrue. It is a well-known fact that on account of the harsh operation of the sale laws and the heavy assessment of revenues, many zamindaries had to change hands for arrears of revenue. Even now, many of the landholders, as already shown above, live undoubtedly on a precarious margin of profit. Many of these holdings are the results of partition or sub-division increasing further the cost of management. On the other hand, under the existing tenancy legislation, the land-lords have only very restricted powers of enhancing the rate, not at any event within the fifteen years follow-

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But to-day we are surely learning a higher morality. Whatever crimes have been committed by one section of humanity against another, we are striving to create a society which may be for the benefit of all; and so long as our proposals advantage any one section of mankind at the expense of real suffering for another section, they are

short of perfection. I believe that as we learn to be generous and loving to those who have injured us, we are making it easier for them to face up to their own evil deeds, and so to produce a real change of heart. And a change from evil to good in the heart of man is, I fancy, the only revolution that can redeem mankind.

II—The Case for India

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THIS article is not a complete presentation of the case of Lancashire *vs.* India. It consists of a few comments on Mr. Horace G. Alexander's article.

In answer to his first question I say, Lancashire need not suffer. After considering all the facts and figures during his present sojourn in England, Mahatma Gandhi has arrived at the conclusion that only 3 per cent of the decrease in the export of Lancashire textiles is due to the Indian political boycott, the rest being accounted for by the world-wide economic depression and Japan's competition in the textile market. It is not perhaps beyond the business ingenuity of England to find markets for this 3 per cent in countries which do not produce cotton and cotton goods, or in the alternative to divert the activity of the producers of this 3 per cent to some other kinds of manufacture.

Mr. Alexander says that the true economic interest of India must mean the interest of the peasants and the workers in the towns. And in their interest he would allow the 'surplus supplies' of cloth to come from whatever mills (in India or abroad) can produce the best goods at the cheapest price. In the next paragraph of his article he wants only the finer counts to be supplied to India by Lancashire. Now, the peasants in our villages and the workers in our towns, the direct economic interest of whom alone he takes into account, do not consume the fine stuff of Lancashire;—they make use of coarser goods, which both India and Japan can and do supply better than Lancashire. So if the finer counts are to be allowed to

come to India, either it must be in the interest of the wealthier classes of India whose interest Mr. Alexander does not and need not take into account, or the finer counts would displace some of the coarser stuff worn by the (rural) peasants and the (urban) workers. The latter development, which alone I need consider, would be undesirable for three reasons. First, though we want the masses of India to be healthy and comfortable, we do not want them to have any craving for or be accustomed to luxuries like the finer stuff of Lancashire. In the second place, even if the finer stuff of Lancashire could be sold here cheaper than our coarser Indian fabrics, the cheapness would be only apparent. For our coarser goods last longer than Lancashire's finer stuff. In the third place, the ousting of our coarser fabrics by Lancashire's finer ones would injure our mills. This cannot be allowed.

Let me now consider whether it is really to the interest of our peasants and workers to be supplied with the cheapest fabrics irrespective of the country of their manufacture.

My first contention is that we should not go in for any temporary cheapness, for I am sure India will ere long be able to produce with power-looms both coarse and fine fabrics cheaper than Lancashire, as she did a century ago with her hand-looms alone. In proof of the last statement, I quote the following passage from the evidence of Mr. Robert Brown who "had extensive dealings in cotton piece goods from India," before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1813

Can you state the difference between the price which British white calicoes from the [British] manufacturers fetch per yard, and that at which Indian white calicoes of nearly the same dimensions and quality sold [in Britain] at the March sales of the [East India] Company?—From a calculation I have recently made, I find that the difference is from 30 to 60 per cent that is to say that [Indian] goods at the last March sale sold by the East India Company at from 30 to 60 per cent less than the same qualities, width, and descriptions could be bought from the [British] manufacturers.

My second contention is that, even if Indian textile manufacturers could never compete in the Indian market with British manufacturers without a protective tariff and a popular boycott of Lancashire goods, which is extremely unlikely, it would be to the advantage of the masses to pay a higher price for Indian goods. For, in the first place, some of them would gain directly by producing more cotton, some by spinning and weaving in their cottages, and some as wage-earners in the increasing number of cotton mills. In the second place, they would gain indirectly also. As more money would flow into the hands of the mill-owners, their agents and retail sellers and various other classes in the country, Government would have more revenue to spend for education, sanitation and agricultural and industrial development; and as Government must sooner than later become national, such increased expenditure for the benefit of the masses is certain. Another indirect gain to the masses from various classes in India getting richer would be that these classes would spend more for the removal of illiteracy and ignorance by opening and conducting schools, colleges and universities and for the relief of people in distress from epidemics, scarcity and famine, floods, storms, earthquakes, etc. Mr. Alexander can ascertain what the British philanthropic mill-owners and mill-hands have hitherto done for India along these lines.

If Indian mill-owners raise prices by taking advantage of a protective tariff, we know how to fight them. In any case, if they do get rich by raising prices, I have shown how even that will be of direct and indirect advantage to the Indian masses, which the enrichment of Lancashire has never been and will not in all probability be in future.

As to the kind of temporary arrangement suggested by Mr. Alexander for Lancashire's advantage I do not know

how that can be practically arranged. For, as the days and weeks and months and years pass, the number and productive capacity of India's spinning wheels, hand-looms, spinning mills and weaving mills have been increasing. If an exact sliding scale of imports from abroad adapted to this continuous increase could be devised, it would be worth considering. Supposing such a scale could be devised, India could give preference to Lancashire only on the condition laid down by Mahatma Gandhi being fulfilled, namely, that Great Britain would agree to India being as free in her internal affairs and external relations as Great Britain herself. Otherwise there is no reason why Lancashire should be preferred to Japan—it was not Japan which ruined Indian industries by deliberate misuse of political power.

I am not, of course, admitting that we should import any textiles from abroad. We should, if necessary, consume less cloth than we do. India's power of adapting herself to voluntary and involuntary semi-nudity cannot be measured. Under a National Government, I would support, if necessary, stringent sumptuary regulations as to each family's and individual's consumption of cloth.

As for Lancashire getting sufficient time to adapt herself to India's doing without Lancashire goods, I think Lancashire, if she were righteous and wise and farsighted, has had ample notice.

She got the first serious notice during the Bengal anti-Partition agitation 25 years ago. The second notice was given 10 years ago at the inception of Non-co-operation. The third notice was given last year. But Lancashire has grown neither wiser nor righteously. Instead, British capitalists are conspiring with the separatist Moslems to sell their goods in India with their help, and now with the help of the British Imperialist dodge of tying the rupee to the tail of the sterling I shall believe in Lancashire's sincere support of India's demand for freedom when I find some more tangible proof than words, words, words.

Regarding the use of the English word exploitation, as Mr. Alexander is an Englishman, it is not for a foreigner to convince him that Mr. Gandhi has used it in a correct sense, though personally I am sure he has.

As regards retribution, I have not read anywhere that Mahatma Gandhi has actually

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come to India, either it must be in the interest of the wealthier classes of India whose interest Mr. Alexander does not and need not take into account, or the finer count would displace some of the coarser stuff worn by the (rural) peasants and the (urban) worker. The latter development, which alone I need consider, would be undesirable for three reasons. First, though we want the masses of India to be healthy and comfortable, we do not want them to have any craving for or be accustomed to luxuries like the finer stuff of Lancashire. In the second place, even if the finer stuff of Lancashire could be sold here cheaper than our coarser Indian fabrics, the cheapness would be only apparent. For our coarser goods last longer than Lancashire's finer stuff. In the third place, the ousting of our coarser fabrics by Lancashire's has one—would injure our mills. This cannot be allowed.

Let me now consider whether it is really to the interest of our peasants and workers to be supplied with the cheapest fabrics irrespective of the country of their manufacture.

My first contention is that we should not go in for any temporary cheapness, for I am sure India will ere long be able to produce with power-looms both coarse and fine fabrics cheaper than Lancashire, as she did a century ago with her hand-looms alone. In proof of the last statement, I quote the following passage from the evidence of Mr. Robert Brown who "had extensive dealings in cotton piece-goods from India," before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1813

The Colonial Office therefore appointed a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Hilton Young in November 1927 "to consider certain questions relating to the closer union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa and allied subjects."

The Imperial Government said in their white paper of 1923:

"In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising trust on behalf of the African population and they are unable to share or delegate this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the Native Races."

They also declared in very clear and precise terms their policy regarding the position of immigrant communities. Referring to this the white paper said:—

"Primarily Kenya is an African Territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interest of the African Natives must be paramount and that if and when these interests and the interests of immigrant communities should conflict the former should prevail."

The Indian community accepted this position readily as they saw that it was for the good of the children of the soil. The Europeans understood it in the light of make-shift and make-believe. They knew that Government could never use this policy against them in Kenya.

The appointment of a commission to enquire into the possibility of closer union was utilized to wriggle out of the position accepted by settlers in 1923. This is clear from the following clauses in the terms of reference of the commission.

"To make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and compositions of various legislative councils of the several territories (a) as a result of the establishment of any federal council or other common authority (b) so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country."

In 1923 it was regarded that Imperial Government can not delegate or share this trusteeship of Natives. In 1927 the Royal Commission was charged to find out how to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant races domiciled in country.

So suspicious were Indians of the intentions of Sir Edward Grigg that seeing his influence in the appointment and terms of reference of the Commission, strong movement for its boycott began. It was with very great difficulty and due to the presence of the

representative of the Government of India, who were sent there to help the Indian community, that the oppositionists were prevailed upon to withdraw their resolution from the open session of the Congress.

THE COMMISSION SUBMITTED ITS REPORT

The recommendations did not satisfy the settlers as the principle of Native Trusteeship enunciated in the white paper of 1923 was rejected and upheld. The Commission did not give them official majority in Kenya Council. Closer Union was recommended with the appointment of a High Commissioner and the creation of an advisory Council. To this central body important subjects had to be transferred.

The Commission did only partial justice to the claim for common franchise put forward by Indians. Referring to this question they said:—

"Our view is that in as much as the progress of the territory must depend on co-operation between the races the ideal to be aimed at is a common roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races."

Thus excellent view was hedged in by a very strange condition which in effect nullified the value of the Commission's view. They said:—

"It is at the same time clear that this ideal can be realized only by consent and that the consent of the European community can only be obtained if they are given a feeling of security that their interests and institutions are not in any danger of being overwhelmed by the more number of other communities."

The point to be remembered here is that this so called "theory of consent" is to be applied to one side only, namely, to the Europeans. No consent has to be sought when the communal form of franchise is to be applied to Indians against their strong desire and protests. Europeans are not prepared to consent to a common roll as they have declared their opposition to it from the very beginning. The Local Government was not of course keen on finding out means of getting the consent of Europeans. Consent was not forthcoming, so the common roll was not to be introduced and although claim for a common roll was considered to be "an ideal to be aimed at and attained," that was to remain a pious wish of some five well-meaning and benevolent gentlemen of the Commission.

As in India after the signing of Gandhi-Irwin truce deliberate attempts were made by the Civil Service to break the truce so

But to-day we are surely learning a higher morality. Whatever crimes have been committed by one section of humanity against another, we are striving to create a society which may be for the benefit of all; and so long as our proposals advantage any one section of mankind at the expense of real suffering for another section, they are

short of perfection. I believe that as we learn to be generous and loving to those who have injured us, we are making it easier for them to learn to their own evil deeds, and so to produce a real change of heart. And a change from evil to good in the heart of man is, I fancy, the only revolution that can redeem mankind.

II—The Case for India

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THIS article is not a complete presentation of the case of Lancashire vs. India. It consists of a few comments on Mr. Horace G. Alexander's article.

In answer to his first question I say, Lancashire need not suffer. After considering all the facts and figures during his present sojourn in England, Mahatma Gandhi has arrived at the conclusion that only 3 per cent of the decrease in the export of Lancashire textiles is due to the Indian political boycott, the rest being accounted for by the world-wide economic depression and Japan's competition in the textile market. It is not perhaps beyond the business ingenuity of England to find markets for this 3 per cent in countries which do not produce cotton and cotton goods, or in the alternative to divert the activity of the producers of this 3 per cent to some other kinds of manufacture.

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My first contention is that we should not go in for any temporary cheapness, for I am sure India will ere long be able to produce with power-looms both coarse and fine fabrics cheaper than Lancashire, as she did a century ago with her hand-looms alone. In proof of the last statement, I quote the following passage from the evidence of Mr. Robert Brown who "had extensive dealings in cotton piece-goods from India," before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1813:

Can you state the difference between the price which British white calicoes from the [British] manufacturers fetch per yard, and that at which Indian white calicoes of nearly the same dimensions and quality sold [in Britain] at the March sales of the [East India] Company?—From a calculation I have recently made, I find that the difference is from 30 to 60 per cent that is to say that [Indian] goods at the last March sale sold by the East India Company at from 30 to 60 per cent less than the same qualities, width, and descriptions could be bought from the [British] manufacturers.

My second contention is that, even if Indian textile manufacturers could never compete in the Indian market with British manufacturers without a protective tariff and a popular boycott of Lancashire goods, which is extremely unlikely, it would be to the advantage of the masses to pay a higher price for Indian goods. For, in the first place, some of them would gain directly by producing more cotton, some by spinning and weaving in their cottages, and some as wage earners in the increasing number of cotton mills. In the second place, they would gain indirectly also. As more money would flow into the hands of the mill-owners, their agents and retail sellers and various other classes in the country, Government would have more revenue to spend for education, sanitation and agricultural and industrial development; and as Government must sooner than later become national, such increased expenditure for the benefit of the masses is certain. Another indirect gain to the masses from various classes in India getting richer would be that these classes would spend more for the removal of illiteracy and ignorance by opening and conducting schools, colleges and universities and for the relief of people in distress from epidemics, scarcity and famine, floods, storms, earthquakes, etc. Mr. Alexander can ascertain what the British philanthropic mill-owners and mill-hands have hitherto done for India along these lines.

If Indian mill-owners raise prices by taking advantage of a protective tariff, we know how to fight them. In any case, if they do get rich by raising prices, I have shown how even that will be of direct and indirect advantage to the Indian masses, which the enrichment of Lancashire has never been and will not in all probability be in future.

As to the kind of temporary arrangement suggested by Mr. Alexander for Lancashire's advantage I do not know

how that can be practically arranged. For, as the days and weeks and months and years pass, the number and productive capacity of India's spinning wheels, hand-loom, spinning mills and weaving mills have been increasing. If an exact sliding scale of imports from abroad adapted to this continuous increase could be devised, it would be worth considering. Supposing such a scale could be devised, India could give preference to Lancashire only on the condition laid down by Mahatma Gandhi being fulfilled, namely, that Great Britain would agree to India being as free in her internal affairs and external relations as Great Britain herself. Otherwise there is no reason why Lancashire should be preferred to Japan—it was not Japan which ruined Indian industries by deliberate misuse of political power.

I am not, of course, admitting that we should import any textiles from abroad. We should, if necessary, consume less cloth than we do India's power of adapting herself to voluntary and involuntary semi-nudity cannot be measured. Under a National Government, I would support, if necessary, stringent sumptuary regulations as to each family's and individual's consumption of cloth.

As for Lancashire getting sufficient time to adapt herself to India's doing without Lancashire goods, I think Lancashire, if she were righteous and wise and farsighted, has had ample notice.

She got the first serious notice during the Bengal anti-Partition agitation 25 years ago. The second notice was given 10 years ago at the inception of Non-co-operation. The third notice was given last year. But Lancashire has grown neither wiser nor righteous. Instead, British capitalists are conspiring with the separatist Moslems to sell their goods in India with their help, and now with the help of the British Imperialist dodge of tying the rupee to the tail of the sterling I shall believe in Lancashire's sincere support of India's demand for freedom when I find some more tangible proof than words, words, words.

Regarding the use of the English word exploitation, as Mr. Alexander is an Englishman, it is not for a foreigner to convince him that Mr. Gandhi has used it in a correct sense, though personally I am sure he has.

As regards retribution, I have not read anywhere that Mahatma Gandhi has actually

used the argument ascribed to him by the writer. Personally I do not wish the Lancashire people to suffer. But if it was natural for Lancashire capitalists and workmen to profit by the iniquitous policy which enriched Britain and impoverished India, it is not for a humble individual like myself

to call in question the justness of the law which may make them also suffer the consequences of that unrighteous policy.

I am neither a teacher of higher morality nor a philanthropist. So I must not attempt to soar into the heights where Mr. Alexander roams with such ease.

INDIANS ABROAD

By BENASRIDAS CHATURVEDI

[Here is the article of Mr. R. B. Pandya, Director of the *Kenya Daily Mail*, referred to in our notes in *The Modern Review* of Oct. 1931.

BEENASRIDAS CHATURVEDI]

The Coming Struggle in Kenya

"Kenya Lost Everything Lost."

This S. O. S. was sent to India by the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri some years ago.

Time is fast approaching when the same S. O. S. will have to be repeated because India's outpost is again threatened and is in imminent danger of being overpowered.

In order to appreciate the situation and understand it in its proper perspective, knowledge of principal events leading to the appointment and sitting of Joint Parliamentary Committee is essential.

The hostilities began in 1919 when Indians were excluded from the franchise given to Europeans. Representations were made as a result of which agreement was reached between the India Office and the Colonial Office. This agreement is known as "Wood-Winterton Agreement." It is of interest to remember that Mr. Wood is the present Lord Irwin, the ex-Viceroy of India. The Kenya Government rejected the agreement against even the wishes of the Colonial Office. The White settlers of Kenya threatened rebellion and arrangements were actually made to spirit away the Governor and ship the Indians back to India if the Colonial Office insisted on keeping to the terms of the agreement.

The Colonial Office issued a white paper in 1923 where it gave Indians communal franchise and five seats on the Legislative

Council as against eleven for Europeans. Highlands were reserved for the Europeans only. The Indian community summarily rejected this white Paper proposals, non-co-operated with the Government and, to show their intense feeling of resentment, resorted to the policy of non-payment of the Poll Tax. Backed by strong public opinion in India the community stood fast. The Imperial Government stated that the question was kept open. Then in order to show that they were always reasonable in their attitude, Indians agreed to have themselves represented by nomination on the Councils till the question of franchise was settled. Sir Edward Grigg, the then Governor of Kenya, misinterpreted this spirit of co-operation while he was in England and said in one of his speeches that Indians had accepted the communal franchise and that the franchise question in Kenya had been solved. Sir Edward at this time was in England for some very important purpose. The Colonial Office had summoned the Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika for the purpose of discussing the question of the advisability of federation or the closer union of these territories. Sir Edward Grigg had very high ambitions. He had a sort of understanding with the Kenya settlers in the matter of federation. The settlers desired to have Swaraj first and they had asked that as a price of their consent to federation to which they were otherwise opposed. The Governor of Uganda was lukewarm about these proposals whilst the Governor of Tanganyika was opposed to any sort of federation with Kenya.

The Colonial Office therefore appointed a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Hilton Young in November 1927 "to consider certain questions relating to the closer union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa and allied subjects."

The Imperial Government said in their white paper of 1923

"In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising trust on behalf of the African population and they are unable to share or delegate this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the Native Races."

They also declared in very clear and precise terms their policy regarding the position of immigrant communities. Referring to this the white paper said.—

"Primarily Kenya is an African Territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interest of the African Natives must be paramount and that if and when these interests and the interests of immigrant communities should conflict the former should prevail."

The Indian community accepted this position readily as they saw that it was for the good of the children of the soil. The Europeans understood it in the light of make-shift and make-believe. They knew that Government could never use this policy against them in Kenya.

The appointment of a commission to enquire in to the possibility of closer union was utilized to wriggle out of the position accepted by settlers in 1923. This is clear from the following clauses in the terms of reference of the commission.

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In 1923 it was regarded that Imperial Government can not delegate or share this trusteeship of Natives. In 1927 the Royal Commission was charged to find out how to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of Government the immigrant races domiciled in country!

So suspicious were Indians of the intentions of Sir Edward Grigg that seeing his influence in the appointment and terms of reference of the Commission, strong movement for its boycott began. It was with very great difficulty and due to the presence of the

representative of the Government of India, who were sent there to help the Indian community, that the oppositionists were prevailed upon to withdraw their resolution from the open session of the Congress.

THE COMMISSION SUBMITTED ITS REPORT

The recommendations did not satisfy the settlers as the principle of Native Trusteeship enunciated in the white paper of 1923 was rejected and upheld. The Commission did not give them official majority in Kenya Council. Closer Union was recommended with the appointment of a High Commissioner and the creation of an advisory Council. To this central body important subjects had to be transferred.

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This excellent view was hedged in by a very strange condition which in effect nullified the value of the Commission's view. They said:—

"It is at the same time clear that this ideal can be realized only by consent and that the consent of the European community can only be obtained if they are given a feeling of security that their interests and institutions are not in any danger of being overwhelmed by the mere number of other communities."

The point to be remembered here is that this so called "theory of consent" is to be applied to one side only, namely, to the Europeans. No consent has to be sought when the communal form of franchise is to be applied to Indians against their strong desire and protests. Europeans are not prepared to consent to a common roll as they have declared their opposition to it from the very beginning. The Local Government was not of course keen on finding out means of getting the consent of Europeans. Consent was not forthcoming, so the common roll was not to be introduced and although claim for a common roll was considered to be "an ideal to be aimed at and attained," that was to remain a pious wish of some five well-meaning and benevolent gentlemen of the Commission.

As in India after the signing of Gandhi-Irwin truce deliberate attempts were made by the Civil Service to break the truce so

in Kenya also deliberate attempts were made by the Imperial Government to shelve the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission in so far as they affected the White settlers.

The Conservative Colonial Secretary then deputed Sir Samuel Wilson, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, to go to Kenya and find out points of agreement with Europeans and to bring an agreed solution which the Government could put into force immediately.

Government of India deputed Mr. Sastri to help the Kenya Indians at the time of the arrival of Sir Samuel.

It was believed that Sir Samuel will try to have agreement on the question of franchise and for that purpose will not fail to take advantage of the presence of Mr. Sastri who most probably was selected by the Government of India for this very purpose. Sir Samuel evaded the proposals of the Indian community on this question and applied himself to the task of having an agreed solution of other political matters on which there was difference of opinion between the Government and different sections of the European community of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

When Sir Samuel Wilson's report was published it proved so reactionary in its proposals that it met with a chorus of opposition from the East African Indians. The report was also condemned by prominent public men and the Press in India.

Fortunately, however, there took place a change in the Government of Great Britain. Sir Samuel Wilson was a nominee of the Conservative Government and he had to report to the Labour Secretary of State. Knowing perhaps the intention of the late Government in sending Sir Samuel Wilson to Kenya, Lord Passfield, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, appended a small note in which he declared that the report of Sir Samuel Wilson was not to be taken in any way as committing His Majesty's Government to the acceptance of the proposals or agreement with the views expressed therein.

Next came the publication of the statement of the conclusions of His Majesty's Government as regards closer union in East Africa. In this very important document far reaching conclusions were recorded after very careful consideration.

The Government definitely ruled out the

possibility of non-official majority in Kenya Council. The statement says :-

"The goal of constitutional evolution, in Kenya as elsewhere, is admittedly responsible government by a Ministry representing an electorate in which every section of the population finds effective and adequate voice. But that goal can not be reached at an early date, in a community where it has so far been practicable to entrench less than one per cent of the population and where the idea of any substantial extension of franchise finds little general support."

As regards the common franchise the statement says :-

"With regard to Franchise for the legislative council of Kenya His Majesty's Government are of opinion that the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained with an equal franchise on a civilization or education character open to all races. They have not however sufficient evidence before them either from political or geographical standpoint to say in what manner this desirable end can be reached. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government propose that an enquiry should be undertaken by the High Commissioner, when appointed as to what is the most practicable action to be taken in this direction in the immediate future."

On the subject of native policy the Government in unequivocal terms declared for the "paramountcy of native interests". The memorandum published by the Government on this subject bears the following very important note from the Secretary of State :-

"The officers administering the governments of these territories have been asked to take immediate steps to ensure that the policy in regard to native administration in these territories is brought into strict conformity, if in any respect this is not at present the case with that laid down in the memorandum."

It is well to point out however that these specific instructions have been deliberately disobeyed by the Government of Kenya. The Kenya native policy is a flagrant breach of the Imperial native policy and the Secretary of State who proved himself so broad-minded and generous in writing the memorandum, showed himself to be utterly powerless in making his policy effective in Kenya.

Europeans in Kenya were greatly enraged on the publication of the statement of Government and their memorandum on native policy. All sorts of threats were made by the European journals and prominent settlers. Particularly ; the organization of settlers, the Convention, went into hysterics over these papers.

The drama of enquiries, however, was not yet over. The statement recorded the con

clusion of His Majesty's Government but the conclusions were not final. They were as yet to be submitted to the Joint Parliamentary Committee where again the drama of evidency and statements of witnesses was to be staged.

The final scene of evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee is now over. The representatives of various communities who had been to London have returned.

The representatives of settlers in their evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee have very strongly pressed for the continuation of communal franchise and for finally declaring that to be the policy of Government. They wanted other political problems to be postponed but wanted this particular problem of franchise to be settled once for all and that too in their favour.

Indians are primarily concerned with one thing—the common roll. They want neither federation nor closer union. They want their rights to be adequately and effectively safeguarded. They want the highlands to be made open for every one and they want segregation to go root and branch. They can not afford to wait for the solution of these important problems as they have been waiting for the very same thing all these years since 1919.

The report of the Indian delegates from London on their return to Kenya is alarming enough. At the dinner given to them in Nairobi Mr. Phadke said, "We are not in a position to tell you all that has been told us. We are under pledge of confidence. The position ends in this. Our case is just but administrative exigencies prevent the British Government from doing it full justice."

The delegates' report regarding the interest taken by the India Office in this affair is also very disappointing. Mr. Patel who visited the India Office while he was in London said in his speech at the dinner "The India Office knew no more of Kenya than they knew about the man in the moon. They even knew nothing about the Wood-Winterton Agreement! The India Office was the channel of communication between the Colonial Office and the Government of India and no more."

Mr. Phadke, with the consent of his colleague, Mr. Patel, said.

"A time is coming when non-payment of taxes may have to be resorted to. Politics are always fluid and what may be poison at one time may be the remedy at another, and I have come to believe that non-payment of taxes is going to be one remedy against this contagious disease of administrative exigencies."

It is to be particularly remembered that both Mr. Patel and Phadke are leaders of responsible political opinion in Kenya.

The *Kenya Daily Mail* makes the following comments over this situation :—

"Both Messrs. Phadke and Patel have been disillusioned about the fairness and justice of the Imperial Government and they have not been able to see any difference between the Labour party in office and the Conservatives. Mr. Phadke in his speech anticipates that it may be necessary to resort to the non-payment of tax struggle in this country by the Indian community in order to draw attention to the seriousness of the situation both in India and England. Mr. Phadke enjoys the reputation of a man of well-balanced and moderate views and being a lawyer he does not express them without due regard to urgency and importance. We are frankly alarmed at the seriousness of the situation and we give all the more importance and attention to it because it comes from Mr. Phadke who is never out for any clatrap leadership and fame. It is essential that public opinion in India be kept informed as regards the present position. It will entail a very great sacrifice on the part of Mr. Patel, but we hope he will be able to make that sacrifice and go to India to discuss the whole situation with the Indian leaders and the Government of India before it is too late. We can assure both Mr. Phadke and Patel that whatever they advise in the best interest of the community would have very careful consideration and if the Congress decides to recommence the struggle by non-co-operation and non-payment of tax they will find the whole community solidly united at their back."

In the renewal of the struggle for their rights it is to be remembered that Kenya Indians are not fighting for their own selfish interests only. They are fighting the battle of twenty-five lakhs of Indians abroad and they are fighting for the self-respect and honour of India, and they expect that they will get all the moral support from the motherland which they entirely deserve.

The Aftermath of the North Bengal Flood

By Prof. REBATIMOHAN LAHIRI, M.A.

WITHIN the last decade, flood has visited the North Bengal twice. It made its first appearance in 1922 towards the close of the autumn. Its devastation was then confined to parts of Bogra and Rajshahi districts only. The country responded splendidly to the call of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Roy and a huge sum of money was collected within a short time and every possible attempt was made to lessen the sufferings of the people struck by the unforeseen calamity. But these were palliative measures dealing with the side-issues of the problem and no serious attempts were made to strike at the root cause of the havoc. At that time I sent a letter to the Press in which I pointed out among other things that the Sara-Sirajganj railway, which prevented the free passage of the surplus water that flowed down from the Brahmaputra, was mainly responsible for the sad catastrophe and asked the railway authorities to construct a greater number of culverts which would carry the large volume of water that could not find any other natural outlet.

The question was taken up by the late Sir Ashutosh Chandhuri who paid a visit to our village (situated on the Sara-Sirajganj railway line) and held a discussion with us. Mainly through his efforts one large culvert was constructed near the Saratnagar station and the matter unhappily ended there. The aim of the present article is not however to devise means to prevent the recurrence of floods. We are not of those who think that these floods are natural calamities and are such are beyond the control of human agencies. The silting up of many old rivers and the shrinking of river-beds due to the construction of railway bridges are many of the causes that lie at the root of the floods.

This year the flood made its appearance in the earlier part of the autumn when the cultivators of North Bengal were preparing to gather the seasonal harvests. This time the strain on the people has been very severe. The flood appearing in the wake of general depression and the political turmoil from which the country at large has been suffering

for the last two years. Thus the cup of misery was already full to the brim. The rest was done by this devastating flood which in its mad fury has washed away the entire pite and paddy crops. So complete has been the work of destruction that many middle-class families which were once so prosperous and hospitable have been compelled to seek the aid of charitable organizations for their means of subsistence.

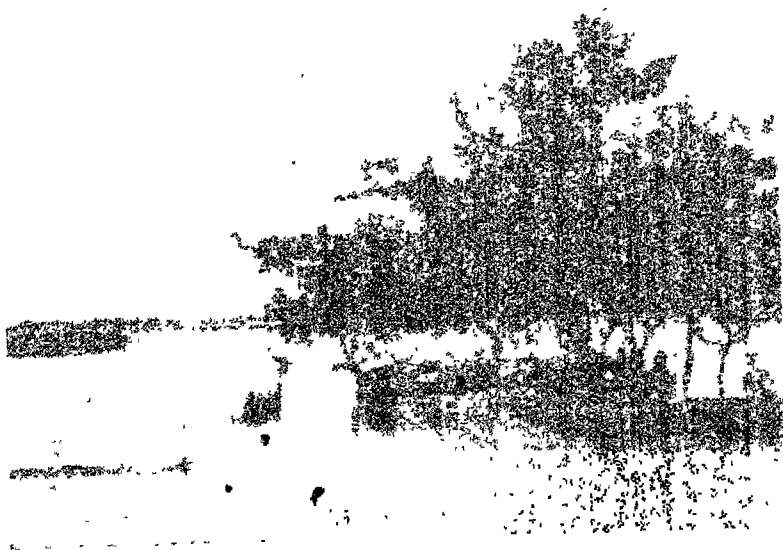
The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha opened a relief centre at Lahirimohapur (Pabna) to relieve the distress of the flood-stricken people at a time when the people had hardly recovered from the first shock of the flood. The centre at first began its relief operations with 18 villages, comprising an area of 16 square miles. Day by day its work expanded as the distress and sufferings of the people went on increasing. At present, 700 families belonging to 80 different villages are getting regular help from the Hindu Sabha. The centre has already covered an area of 25½ square miles and the days of greater hardship are yet to come. This part of the Pabna district—stretching from Ullapara to Dilpasha has been the worst affected; even the dwellings of many people have been washed away. The Bagdi community of Patabera are still living in the huts which they raised provisionally when their permanent houses collapsed at the impact of the floods. Famine and pestilence, the twin sisters of destruction, are staring the people in the face. Asiatic cholera has broken out virtually in many parts of this wide area. At Patabera five persons belonging to two families have died in course of a few hours. To arrest the further spread of this terrible disease the local Hindu Sabha authorities have adopted preventive measures. The services of six physicians were requisitioned and they inoculated 600 people last week, when they gathered to receive the weekly dole of rice from the Mohanpur centre.

The situation, far from showing any sign of improvement, is worsening day by day. For want of sufficient funds we have been compelled against our will to withdraw our

F LITTERMATH OF THE NORTH BENGAL FLOOD



Provincial Hindu Sabha bringing relief to the victims of the floods



The flooded area as of North Bengal

Amalpur and Rahimpore
centres.
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greet us with its awful visits
six years. It has been found



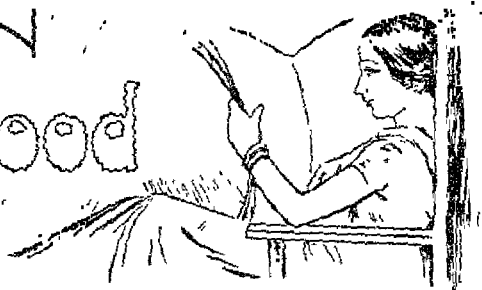
Some more victims of the floods

hat people suffer most because they depend on agriculture and have no means of livelihood. Attempts are being made by the Hindu Sabha to introduce cottage industries in this part of the district. We have started a *hiri* factory, which is now working. The water has subsided and the land has returned to its normal level. The land has become fit for sowing. As a solution of the problem, let the agricultural experts think of some crops which can be used as a substitute for paddy. They may be sown and harvested in less time. The people are living on *saluk* and, as a consequence of it, suffering from diarrhoea and dysentery. It is not possible for a single person to feed and clothe these countless people for months together—specially when no funds are not forthcoming. We shall be under the painful necessity of begging our unhappy flood-stricken brethren

in the grip of winter. The fast approaching winter has forsaken at a moment our help most.

To-day is a day of brotherly love and good-will over the world in a befitting manner. We have peace to friends and peace in this part of the world. The pale-looking and the countless stream before the gate of the for a handful of time calamity has age-long tradition effect of the flood work. Shall we conquer it? The civilization and it

"INDIAN Womanhood"



those ex-students of the
University who are registered
elected members of its

The first election took
place among the ten elected are
SMTI ASHA ADHIKARI, M.A.,
SMTI MATHUR AND SELMATI
M.A.

MRS. SUJATA RAY, first to
obtain M. Ed. degree of Lec
now Lady Principal Kamru
School, Dacca.



Smti Mathur



Mrs. Sujata Ray

S. PURNIMA BASAK has taken a
B.A. diploma from the University of
a

The New Delhi Women's Association

s association, devoted to social welfare
and women's uplift, was founded in
and has recently completed its three
of existence.



Mrs.



The New Delhi Women's Association

Christ as a Revolutionary and a Nationalist

The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon publishes an article by the Rev E C Dewick, M. A., on some recent tendencies of German biblical scholarship and their significance for India. The occasion for this is the publication of a notable book by Dr. Robert Eisler, a German scholar, in which the author presents a very novel view of the personality of Jesus. The basis of Dr. Eisler's reconstruction is the discovery by him of some slavonic accounts of Jesus, which are supposed to be parts of the original text of Josephus, omitted from the Greek version.

The most striking part of Dr. Eisler's presentation of the personality of Jesus is that in which he delineates Jesus as a Jewish revolutionary nationalist. About this point Mr. Dewick says :

A more serious challenge to traditional Christian belief is raised by those passages which suggest that Jesus was closely connected with the Jewish Revolutionary Movement. From one point of view, it might seem that, for the Christian teacher in India, such a conclusion would be actually of assistance, in commending the Christian message. For in the present state of tense Nationalist feeling in India, it is difficult to enlist sympathy on behalf of anyone whose teaching does not seem to support the claims of a nation struggling for its liberty against Imperial domination. But in the New Testament record Jesus definitely abstains from any direct support of the Jewish Nationalist Movement, while He shows no disposition to cinge before Roman Imperialism, and condemns the Jewish 'minions' of the Roman Government with contemptuous denunciation, at the same time. He decisively and repeatedly refuses to ally himself with Jewish Nationalism. This political neutrality of Jesus is frankly disappointing to the Indian Nationalist, who fails to find here any direct support for his own political policy. But if Dr. Eisler is right in his contention that Jesus was closely associated Revolutionary Jewish Nationalism this would seem to offer an immediate point of contact between the policy of Jesus and the desires of Young India to-day.

Moreover, the Christ of Eisler is not without a beauty, pathos and charm of His own, of which Dr. Eisler himself is by no means unconscious. His book contains some striking references to Jesus. In one passage he speaks of Him as :—

"The great King who never reigned, the servant of the Lord who has yet left on all mankind an imprint, compared with which those of all the great world-conquerors and world-destroyers

both before and after him must be regarded as trifling and insignificant" (p. 35).

In another, he speaks of Him as :—

"A man—if it is possible to call this regal beggar, glowing with faith in his God, and filled with divine inspiration—this poor and crippled wandering workman, whose words have now for almost two millennia resounded through the world by the same miserable name which designates also the human level." (p. 368).

Yet, in spite of this note of generous appreciation, we cannot disguise the fact that the figure of Jesus Christ, as painted by Dr. Eisler, has in it defects, weaknesses and errors which would make it impossible for such a figure ever to hold that central place in the devotion of mankind which Jesus Christ has held in historic Christendom. A leader who is so much entangled with the less noble elements of political controversy, so ready to surrender his own ideals of non-violence when they fail to achieve success, so willing to adopt the method of armed revolt against Rome as a regrettable necessity (Eisler p. 376)—such a leader may compel our admiration and our pity, but he cannot claim our whole-hearted allegiance still less our worship.

The Effects of Rationalization

Professor Gustav Cassel writes in *The Mysore Economic Journal* on the disturbances in the world economy, and in course of his article deals with the effects of rationalization.

Industry has endeavoured to gain compensation for the high wages of those improvements in technique and organization, which are usually summed up under the term 'rationalization.' In part, these endeavours have been very successful and have provided a greatly extended market for certain products, such as automobiles. But rationalization is very unevenly distributed, and moreover it seems to have but slightly affected those branches of production and distribution which chiefly have in view the requirements of the consumer. This is yet another explanation of the increase in the cost of living as compared with other prices.

The prevalent view that rationalization has created unemployment is hardly correct. But of the thoroughgoing rationalization which has been carried out, industrial goods produced with such costly labour would have been too expensive, the market would have been more curtailed, and unemployment would have been on a still larger scale. Rationalization must therefore be regarded as the means whereby the increase in the price of the products has been limited, and a market provided despite rising wages. Indeed, rationaliza-

tion has in a large measure thus rendered possible an increase in wages which would otherwise have been out of the question.

The combined effect of rationalization and the increase of wages is that the standard of quality of labour has been raised. Highly rationalized industries have no use for second-rate labour. Indeed, the risk that this labour may in a large measure be exposed to permanent unemployment is one of the leading social economic problems that have arisen in connection with recent developments. We shall evidently be confronted with the social problem of finding suitable forms for the employment of second-rate labour.

In agriculture also rationalization has been carried out on a very extensive scale, thus rendering possible the production of certain goods at prices which are far below what was previously conceivable. The most striking example is perhaps the production of rubber. Also in the case of other produce, such as sugar and wheat, rationalization has rendered possible a considerable reduction in the costs of production. But from the point of view of the world economy this reduction has scarcely been an advantage. If rationalization is to be of any value in the social economy, it must, of course, be accompanied by the closing down of establishments which do not pay, thus by the concentration of production to highly rationalized business. But so long as almost every country refuses to desist from a production of, *e.g.*, sugar and wheat which is no longer remunerative under present conditions, rationalization in these fields will merely entail overproduction and an accumulation of unsalable stocks.

Indeed, it may be stated in general that the intensification of protectionism which has been characteristic of the post-war period, and which is closely connected with increased unemployment, is, in a great measure, robbing the world of the fruits of rationalization. Whilst production is being equipped with the most consummate technical aids and a great deal of capital is being invested in increasing the output capacity, uneconomic production is, at the same time, maintained. The division of the world market into areas which are being fenced off from one another in increasing measure thus entails a needless extension of the world's productive machinery. The consequence is, an acute shortage makes itself particularly felt in the colonial and agricultural countries, which still require an abundant supply of capital for the development of their natural resources. The shortage in the supply of capital to these countries is further aggravated by the heavy taxation of capital in the money-lending countries. This tendency greatly retarded the development of the world economy after the war and is evidently still exercising its repressive effects.

Islam's Contribution to the Library Movement

Mr S. R. Ranganathan tells us in *Trivani* what Islam has done for the library movement:

While the Library movement, as we understand it today, is quite modern, some of the fundamental notions of the modern Library

movement have been in existence even in the long past. The Muhammadans of Western Asia should be said to have been pioneers in Library matters ever as early as the 10th century. We are told that the city of Baghdad had as many as 35 public libraries about the end of the 10th century. About the same time Cairo had a famous library known as the House of Learning but we get some interesting details which have a peculiarly modern flavour from the Persian town-Ramhurmuz. The public library of this town not only had a rich collection of books but, what is more important, a learned librarian, well-versed in Philosophy. The other officers of that library were chosen from the *elite* of the town. It will be easily recognized that the notion that some of our libraries of today have about the kind of persons that should be recruited as librarians, is so much at variance with the practice of Ramhurmuz. It is not infrequently believed that the library is a place for ill-educated never-do-wells of all sorts. If a teacher is found to be incompetent, it is not unusual to send him to the library. Not long ago I received a pathetic letter from a high placed official asking whether I could not take on my staff a middle-aged man who had failed in the School Final Class on a dozen occasions and hence could not get entry into any other office. When I myself was appointed Librarian of the University of Madras, seven years ago, some of my well-wishers keeping high positions in the educational world were sorry that I was so soon getting into a place which was only fit for a superannuated old man unfit for any hard work and incapable of any initiative. While such crude notions prevail even in the twentieth century, it is indeed very remarkable that the Muhammadans of Persia should have evaluated the functions of a librarian in such a different manner in such far-off days.

While in these matters the Muhammadan libraries of the middle ages appear to anticipate most of the latest developments of the modern library movement, the greatest contribution that the Islamic people made to the furtherance of libraries lies elsewhere. The contribution which they made is perhaps no less important than the contribution which Caxton and his countrymen made in the 15th century. This important and far-reaching contribution of Muslims consisted in the improvements made by them in the art of paper making in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Till that period books had to be written on parchment or papyrus and hence they were very expensive and beyond the reach of average men. It was the Muhammadans that introduced the use of cotton and linen as the basic materials for making paper. This made paper cheap, and Egypt and Arabia became the chief paper centres of the world about the end of the eleventh century. Most of the European countries had their paper supply from Muslim countries in those days.

The Drink Evil and the Indian Worker

While discussing the report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, a writer deals with the question of the drink evil

noting Indian workers in the 1917
C. I. Co. al Pe e.

The drink evil is far more widespread among the industrial workers than we are led to infer from the family budget enquiries undertaken in some centres. The worker who drinks is, in many cases, naturally reluctant to give information regarding the expenses he incurs on drink, and for this reason the results yielded by family budget enquiries are certainly under-estimates. As a matter of fact, nearly all such enquiries show a substantial amount under this head. The Commission are of opinion that the consumption of drink, and particularly of spirituous liquors is a feature of the majority of industrial areas and has created considerable havoc in some of them. As the Commission felt that, as they were dealing with only a small section of the population and their welfare, anything like indicating a national policy on the subject was no part of their function. But they express the conviction that 'a reduction in the consumption of liquor would increase the welfare and efficiency of the industrial workers.'

The only recommendation that the Report makes is that 'efforts should be made in all industrial centres to reduce the number of drink shops and to restrict the hours during which liquor may be sold.' The greatest difficulty in the way of restriction on sales is recognized as arising from the importance of the excise duties to provincial revenues; in Madras country honours alone contribute over a quarter of the total provincial revenue, and in Behar and Orissa nearly a fifth of the total. Nevertheless, the Commission record their conviction that reduction of drinking 'in the health, efficiency and improvement of the workers.' The hope is that improvement will in due course improve their taxable capacity is however based on the assumption that when the drink revenue vanishes the administration of the country can be carried on only by having recourse to additional taxation.

The Mineral Wealth of India

Scientific Indian summarizes an address by Sir Edwin Pascoe, a former Director of the Geological Survey in India, in which the latter gives an account of the mineral fuel resources of India:

If India's minerals be arranged in order corresponding to the nature of their output, the first five are found to be: coal, petroleum, lead, manganese and gold.

The most critical of all minerals are the fuels—petroleum and coal. The position in India may be stated thus. The most important of the oilfields—Yenangyaung—has already passed its zenith and its production is maintained at its present high figure only by intensive development. Its place as the premier oilfield of Burma is being gradually taken by the less exploited Singu field, and in this way it will be possible to meet the capacity of the Rangoon refineries for many years to come. The oilfield of the North-West Punjab is capricious in its behaviour, but it is expected to make a

tan a addition to India's total for a considerable period in the future. The same may be said for the fields of Upper Assam, the yield from which continues to show a steady increase year by year.

Oil-shale is known to exist in commercial quantities in the Amherst district of Lower Burma. Our knowledge of these deposits is incomplete, but they may be of considerable size and importance, at present they cannot compete with any great success with natural petroleum.

India possesses large reserves of coal, the latest estimate—a conservative one being over 50,000 million tons. Something like ten-fifths of this, however, lies too deep to be mined with profit under conditions as they are today, and only about 7 per cent of it can be described as first-grade coking coal; most of the latter comes from Behar and Orissa. In brief, there are large reserves of second-grade coal, little of which can be remuneratively worked, and an amount of first-class coking coal insufficient for the future requirements of the country's iron and steel industry. The construction of canals between the coal-fields and their markets would facilitate and cheapen distribution, and might make it economical to work more of the second-class coal.

India's Industries and the Government

Mr. M. P. Gandhi writes in *The Calcutta Review* on the sympathy of the Government towards developing Indian industries:

If the Government of India shakes off its attitude of indifference towards the fate of industries, and adopts a bold and courageous policy like Japan, Belgium, Germany, etc., of industrializing the country, I am hopeful that we can create a record of industrial development within a short period, as India is no less advantageously situated in regard to the possibilities and potentialities of industrial development. With this change in the attitude of the Government towards industries, capital will not remain shy and industrial-mindedness will be created amongst the people who will be induced to invest their money in industrial enterprises instead of locking them up in gilt-edged securities and landed properties, as a result of the confidence created in their mind. For a rapid industrialization of the country, it is absolutely essential that necessary banking facilities which are today unavailable to the people of the country, should be provided. At present the people do not get the facilities for starting industries. The Imperial Bank of India is precluded from advancing money for a period of more than six months. There are no large-sized indigenous joint-stock banks which can finance industries. The Exchange Banks confine their attention only to foreign trade. There is no industrial bank to which the people could turn for assistance. In addition to this lamentable drawback in regard to banking facilities, there is no adequate provision for primary education, technical education, and scientific research. For making labour more efficient it is essential that they should have the benefit of primary education. It is sad to think that in spite of the rule of over a century and a half of

the British Nation over India, no provision has yet been made for compulsory primary education for the people on the ground of want of funds. The State should also hurry the aid of scientific research for promoting industrial development. This can be done by the establishment of a research institute on the lines of institutes of Western countries under the guidance of experts. This expenditure by the Government would be more than repaid by the benefits that would result to industry therefrom. I hope and trust that these factors which militate against the rapid industrial development of India will be removed before long. I also trust that adequate banking facilities will be provided to the people by the establishment of industrial and land mortgage banks and by creating conditions favourable to the growth and development of Indian joint-stock banks. It is difficult to achieve industrial autonomy without banking autonomy and I hope that the Government will realize the dependence of industries on financial facilities and, in appreciation of this fact, will do all in their power to promote and foster the development of banking in India.

Hindu Women's Property Rights

Stri-Dharma has the following note on Hindu women's property rights.

Mr. Joshi of Varanasi has earned the gratitude of millions of women in this country for his excellent and learned treatise on the Hindu women's property rights. His intelligent and clear exposition of the old tenets, the *Dvalbhaga* and the *Mitakshara* laws relating to the Hindu women's rights over property and his denunciation of *Sati Dharma* cannot but appeal to all just and fair-minded people. He has vividly brought out in his booklet on this very interesting subject that the legal and the economic status of the Hindu women as conferred on her by the ancient Hindu law-givers was far above that occupied even to-day by the modern emancipated women in the most advanced European countries.

To quote his own words: "We ought to feel proud that our legal codes in the form of the *Smritis* and the commentaries yield us principles which would surpass even the most advanced notions any people have ever reached. Persons tempted to import western notions in aid of reforms, must bear in mind that even the present highly advanced western legal conceptions as regards women's rights are not perfect in themselves but are only transitional in character and that they would afford but scanty relief, should one be prepared to hazard this dangerous experiment. The absolute independence of husband and wife in their properties, which the western law aims at achieving, has its baneful disadvantage, in so far as the woman is denied the right of owning property jointly with her husband, who, as a matter of fact, earns more and possesses more. It is such a relief to know from such a high and learned authority as Mr. Joshi that our ancestors never intended that their women should occupy such a low and dependent position in family and society. Even over 100 years before, the greatest and first reformer, Raja Ram Mohan quoted *shastric* tenets to support the right of Hindu mothers, wives,

widows and daughters over the sons, the husbands, the father's and even the joint family property. Since then, only piecemeal legislation has been effected here and there to give relief to the suffering Hindu women. No comprehensive legislation to restore lord and the economic status has yet been passed. Even the Mysore bill falls very much short of the demands of the modern women of India. Therefore we welcome the wise suggestions of Mr. Joshi to reform the Hindu women's property rights.

St. Francis

The C. S. S. Review has published a special Franciscan number. In it Mr. Lawrence Hausman writes on how St. Francis 'comes home':

But does any Saint exist who makes goodness so attractive as does St. Francis? And why, and how, does he make it attractive? what is his secret—his method of lifting up Christ (himself the human instrument), and drawing all men unto Him? Why has the *Saintliness* of St. Francis a peculiar quality of loveliness which is all its own?

I would suggest two reasons: there may be—there surely are, others. First St. Francis had the artistic temperament, warm and emotional; he was a lover of beauty, and when he took up the religious life he saw goodness in terms of beauty, and applying his artistry both to the life of Christ and to the lives of his fellow men, he drew out the beauty that was in them, and showed that the beauty sprang from goodness—that the goodness and the beauty were one. Also being an artist, in applying his artistry to the service of men, he was eminently skilful in his handling of human nature. And the way he handled it brings me to my second point. Francis did not present goodness to his fellow men as something foreign to human nature—something outside themselves, it was there already in them, their true nature, waiting to be brought out. And again and again, by assuming that the love of goodness lay deep in the hearts of even the worst sinners, he led them to the discovery that it was there in them all the time—only overlaid and forgotten through disuse. That native love of goodness, linking man to the divine, made the Franciscan conception of Christ a more native thing than it had ever been before. It was like the miracle of Pentecost when men heard—each in his own language the gospel message. So, through St. Francis, to the Italian, Christ became native, no foreigner; and to every man who sees Christ in the Franciscan way, Christ is native, familiar, no stranger in race or blood—but always and equally for all, the Way, the Truth, and the Life of that embracing Brotherhood which God means the human race to bring into being here on earth, so that His Kingdom may come.

If all Western Christians had that Franciscan view of what their religion meant, there would be no problem today of East and West. And if Indian Christians could make Christianity native to themselves on those terms, they would come nearer to a solution of the problem which now confronts them and us than any of our statesmen

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Part 1 means should and must be used ; but it will not be the descent of the political dove alone—however big the olive-branch it bears—which will make men hear each in his own tongue, (the tongue wherein they were born) the true Christian message of peace and goodwill.

The Revolt of Youth and its Object

The editor on *Prabuddha Bharata* makes the following observations on the revolt of youth :

There is a world-wide change of psychology in the younger generation at the present time. The older generation finds it difficult to understand the true import of the new psychology. To attack old traditions and to seek a better state of things is the most natural phenomenon in the events of all youth movements of the world. The revolt of youth that expresses itself in different avenues in the present-day world is regarded by some thinkers as of a new character. Some take it to be the precursor of a new era with a novel message hitherto unknown to the older generation. That it may prove to be very constructive in its application is hoped by many. "And now, whether we like it or not, the older generation faces two pitfalls. The first is the pitfall of berating and suspecting and still seeking to dominate youth. The second is the pitfall of pretending to agree with youth and pretending to sympathize with it in all its new points of view simply because the older generation is in terror of being cut off shut out, regarded as Victorian. In both these ways the elders fail the younger generation—is they have failed so many times before." This is the view lately observed by Mr. Zepa Gale, one of America's best-known novelists and a recognized student of changing society, in *The New York Times Magazine*. The writer deals mainly with the juvenile psychology of modern America. Nevertheless, his article breathes a deeper idea so far as the revolt of modern youths in general is concerned. "Whatever we may call the rebellion of youth," continues he, "it is never ultimate. Already among the sophisticated, among that small group of those who rebound most sensitively from any standardized behaviour, there is to be noted a certain return. Perhaps it is because of the fundamental sanity of the American, even of the human temper and spirit ; or, perhaps, it is because of the old-new shadow of humanism ; or it may be only because of Victorian clothes ; but for some reason this return, a flair for decorum, is observable now among certain young people. There is here and there even a slight spiritual renaissance. Before the war in France there was a society of young intellectuals formed for and dedicated to the worship of The One, The Being. In the American Colleges there is a frank seeking for new values, for a standard more reasonable than that of despair. All these are symptomatic

of actors on the long, long road, the eternal road, of the quest of the young human spirit. In less than another hundred years there may be a younger generation that is serious and spiritual and inordinately bored by the vagaries and intoxications of the generation older."

The younger generations, in whatever ways of revolt they may try to express themselves should be imbued with a spirit that can construct a future which will enable mankind to interpret human life and activities in terms of spiritual values. The idealism that lacks a far-reaching result on the ultimate good of man has but a temporary value as patching up the contemporary evils.

Americanism

Dr. Sudhindra Bose writes in the *Hindustan Review* on the transformation of the English language in the United States of America :

Advocates of Anglo-American unity do not like to admit that America differs from England not only in things social and political, but also linguistic. There is a wide divergence in vocabulary and pronunciation between the two peoples. Englishmen complain about the "nasal twang" of Americans and Americans are not one bit slow in returning the compliment. They retort by saying that the English guttural is unpleasant, that the English accent is very disagreeable, and that the English speech is not infrequently unintelligible. If Americanism is sneered at in the British Isles, so is Britishism in the United States.

Shortly after the Great War I happened to be in England where I saw an enterprising London tobacconist put up a sign bearing the legend, "American is spoken here" to the front of his shop. He was imitated by various other London, Liverpool, and Paris shop-keepers.

Many Americans tell me point blank that they do not speak English. They speak the American language. They do not like to be called Englishmen with their language a mere loan from England. Englishmen may detest American-English but it is developing along its own lines and is slowly and inevitably differentiating itself from the British English. Americans are creating an American language of their own. The King's English is all right at the King's own United Kingdom among his subjects, but it plays little part in American life and manners. It seems to me that on some not too distant to-morrow the pretence of a "common language" between the United States and England will have to be given up.

The American language is not inferior to English spoken by Englishmen in their native land ; it is different. Just as Americans have built their skyscrapers differently making them a product of this country ; just as they have inaugurated their own ways of systematizing and conducting business so they have shaped their language to suit their needs. Americans are a strong nation and therefore their language is vigorous and colourful.

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The Revolt of Youth and its Object

The editor on *Prabuddha Bharata* makes the following observations on the revolt of youth:

There is a world-wide change of psychology in the younger generation at the present time. The older generation finds it difficult to understand the true import of the new psychology. To attack old traditions and to seek a better state of things is the most natural phenomenon in the events of all youth movements of the world. The revolt of youth that expresses itself in different avenues in the present-day world is regarded by some thinkers as of a new character. Some take it to be the precursor of a new era with a novel message hitherto unknown to the older generation. That it may prove to be very constructive in its application is hoped by many. "And now, whether we like it or not, the older generation faces two pitfalls. The first is the pitfall of berating and suspecting and still seeking to dominate youth. The second is the pitfall of pretending to agree with youth and pretending to sympathize with it in all its new points of view, simply because the older generation is in terror of being cut off, shut out, regarded as Victorian. In both these ways the elders fail the younger generation—as they have failed so many times before." This is the view lately observed by Mr. Zona Gale, one of America's best-known novelists and a recognized student of changing society, in *The New York Times Magazine*. The writer deals mainly with the juvenile psychology of modern America. Nevertheless, his article breathes a deeper idea so far as the revolt of modern youths in general is concerned. "Whatever we may call the rebellion of youth," continues he, "it is never ultimate. Already among the sophisticated, among that small group of those who rebound most sensitively from any standardized behaviour, there is to be noted a certain return. Perhaps it is because of the fundamental sanity of the American, even of the human temper and spirit; or, perhaps, it is because of the old-new shadow of humanism; or it may be only because of Victorian clothes; but for some reason this return, a flair for decorum, is observable now among certain young people. There is here and there even a slight spiritual renaissance. Before the war in France there was a society of young intellectuals formed for and dedicated to the worship of The One, The Being. In the American Colleges there is a frank seeking for new values, for a standard more reasonable than that of despair. All these are symptomatic

of factors on the long, long road, the eternal road, of the quest of the young human spirit. In less than another hundred years there may be a younger generation that is serious and spiritual and inordinately bored by the vagaries and intoxications of the generation older."

The younger generations, in whatever ways of revolt they may try to express themselves should be imbued with a spirit that can construct a future which will enable mankind to interpret human life and activities in terms of spiritual values. The idealism that lacks a far-reaching result on the ultimate good of man has but a temporary value as patching up the contemporary evils.

Americanism

Dr. Sudhindra Bose writes in the *Hindustan Review* on the transformation of the English language in the United States of America:

Advocates of Anglo-American unity do not like to admit that America differs from England not only in things social and political, but also linguistic. There is a wide divergence in vocabulary and pronunciation between the two peoples. Englishmen complain about the "nasal twang" of Americans and Americans are not one bit slow in returning the compliment. They retort by saying that the English guttural is unpleasant, that the English accent is very disagreeable, and that the English speech is not infrequently unintelligible. If Americanism is sneered at in the British Isles, so is Britishism in the United States.

Shortly after the Great War I happened to be in England where I saw an enterprising London tobacconist put up a sign bearing the legend, "American is spoken here" to the front of his shop. He was imitated by various other London, Liverpool, and Paris shop-keepers.

Many Americans tell me point blank that they do not speak a degenerate English. They speak the American language. They say that they do not like to be hyphenated imitation Englishmen with their language a mere loan from England. Englishmen may detest American-English but it is developing along its own lines and is slowly and inevitably differentiating itself from the British English. Americans are creating an American language of their own. The King's English is all right in the King's own United Kingdom among his subjects, but it plays little part in American life and manners. It seems to me that on some not too distant to-morrow the pretence of a "common language" between the United States and England will have to be given up.

The American language is not inferior to English spoken by Englishmen in their native land; it is different. Just as Americans have built their skyscrapers differently making them a product of this country: just as they have inaugurated their own ways of systematizing and conducting business so they have shaped their language to suit their needs. Americans are a strong nation and therefore their language is vigorous and colourful.

Loss of the National Spirit

Can a nation lose its spirit? There are many Indian thinkers who believe that the adoption of the English language and European ideas would result in the disappearance of all that is distinctive in Indian life and thought. To this contention the editor of the *Japan Magazine* says--'no'. On the strength of what has happened in Japan, he argues that such a result is not possible.

Some Indians appear anxious lest the spread of the English language and English ideas in India should lead to what they call 'loss of the nation's soul.' How about Japan, where English is studied almost as in India? By 'soul' the Indians probably mean national spirit. But a nation that loses its spirit by studying a foreign language possibly has no spirit to lose, or at least one not worth preserving. There is no danger of Japan losing her national spirit, because the Japanese are a united people speaking one language. India, on the other hand, embraces many peoples speaking as many languages, with diverging ideals. When the Indians speak of a national spirit do they mean the spirit of the Hindu, the Mohomedan or a blend of these? In Japan *Yamato Damashii* means the same thing from one end of the Empire to the other. There can be no doubt that India's study of the English language and acquirement of English ideas have done much for the improvement of that country. The present movement toward independence and modern government is the direct result of English studies, and the same is true very largely of Japan. If such studies have not weakened the national spirit of Japan they are not likely to have a different effect in India. A study of the English language and English literature, as well as of English institutions, can injure neither India nor Japan, but what does injure these countries is the talking of the evil with the good in western civilization. In this way the foreign poison has done the greatest evil to Oriental civilization; and next comes the importation of communism, but neither of these evils has come from English studies. Another evil result of these influences is that they give the Oriental student a taste for decadent English authors, and the mistaken notion that the decadents are typical of English literature which is a most poisonous mistake.

Lunacharsky on Bernard Shaw

In the *Soviet Culture Bulletin* Lunacharsky contributes an estimate of Bernard Shaw:

Bernard Shaw, having attained a good old age and at the same time world-wide fame, represents one of the freest minds of the civilized world.

The first characteristic to cross one's mind is this, a free mind—a free man. Bernard Shaw's freedom has become famous, has become a great factor in contemporary culture, because coupled with potential strength of mind and sharpness of wit, justly defined as the art of discovering the finest resemblances and the finest distinctions. His wit he reduces to paradoxes. But his paradoxes make one reflect and the bright flashes of humorous rackets often, quite unexpectedly, light up the gloom of the advancing night of capitalism.

The freedom of Bernard Shaw, in the strength and brilliancy of his intellect, has enabled him to extricate himself from the web of bourgeois sophistry, hypocrisy and prejudices. With his eagle eye of artist-impet he has seen through all the ugly sordidness of the capitalistic form of government and in a manner remarkably clear, intricate and at once convincing, has drawn up his indictment against the bourgeoisie. In this lies the great merit of Bernard Shaw.

To this must be added, that he is not merely an anti-bourgeois writer. He has boldly made his deductions. He has declared himself to be a believer in socialism. Nevertheless, that freedom taken by Bernard Shaw too much in the abstract has rendered it impossible for him to become a real socialist, a socialist in all the sense of the word. Socialism can only be realized by means of ruthless struggling against capitalism. For this are necessary organizations of many millions and besides, disciplined masses. These masses must be disciplined, yet free. They are free because of their class interests and their aim must be a common cause in which the interests of the individual give way before those of the mass.

But people such as Bernard Shaw, brilliant representatives of the intelligentsia, turn out to be too free. They commenced to doubt: is this not a kind of new slavery, some new dogma, some new orthodoxy? And here they begin to speak ironically.

While with Lenin, we declare that science must be a party science and art too, Bernard Shaw and these others smile ironically, for they consider themselves on a higher plane of mental freedom. To his mind, the party should look for support to the tribunal of free art, at the same time that free art and free science consist of separate free individuals and each of them is master unto himself.

This individualism of Bernard Shaw, together with his socialistic sympathies, leads to an original result. Bernard Shaw is an enemy of capitalism and he frequently pricks, as with the edge of a lancet, the bourgeois bubbles showing them to be empty or filled with evil-smelling gas. In spite

o a his the bourgeoisie do no hate Bernard Shaw s they nght On the contrary, the English bourgeoisie sometimes forget that Bernard Shaw is an Irishman and are very proud of him. He has come to be the curiosity of England, he, so to say, is the great English juggler of words. Our Bernard Shaw—one may hear from nearly everyone. At times, indeed, the fashionable bourgeoisie receive a tremendous slap in the face from him at which they cannot refrain from frowning or getting annoyed. Immediately, however, they rein up. Oh! that quaint old man, Bernard Shaw, isn't he unique? One simply can't be angry with him. He is so fond of paradoxes, he wouldn't spare his own father for a good jest, let alone the bourgeoisie. The attitude towards Bernard Shaw is half-serious. He, himself, takes everything half-seriously. He is wont to manifest in all problems, the great subtilty of his mind and his sparkling style. Therefore, it seems to many (as it seemed of Heinrich Heine) that to him essentials are not essentials and that he is an original formalist in irony. In reality this is not so. Bernard Shaw can be bitterly indignant, he is inclined sometimes to good, broad paths. But he is a perfect individualist, he cannot be and does not want to be of any party.

Is America Dead to Things of the Mind?

No, says M. André Maurois, in *The Atlantic Monthly*. He writes:

Of all the false ideas that you can bring with you, the most senseless is the legend of an American indifferent to the things of the mind. You will find in this country a literature and an architecture. A school of painting? I'm not so sure. What I have seen has seemed to me too much influenced by European modernism to be original. But America's books are among the best of our time. What ought you to read? Among novelists: Earnest Hemingway—he has the style of a tube of nickelled steel.—John Dos Passos, Thomas Wolfe, Glenway Wescott, Michael Gold: or if you prefer a more classic strain, Willa Cather, Thornton Wilder, Louis Bromfield, Christopher Morley. I don't need to mention the most famous: Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Dreiser, whom you already know. Among poets: T. S. Eliot, Stephen Benet. Among essayists: Walter Lippmann, Thomas Beer. Among philosophers: Santayana, John Dewey. Among critics: Edmund Wilson, J. W. Krutch. Among dramatists: Eugene O'Neill, Elmer Rice. I mention them haphazard from memory and perhaps forget the best, but the length of this sketchy list may give you some idea of the riches that await you.

I am not acquainted with the intellectual life of Pittsburgh or Detroit, but I believe that you will find New York one of the cities most exciting to the mind that there are in the world. New York is the 'clearing house' for the ideas of the universe. All the important books of every country are translated there. One finds there a public for Virginia Woolf, for André Gide, for Thomas Mann. The book most read in America to-day may be by a Swede, tomorrow it will be by a Frenchman, a Russian.

This universal curiosity is, naturally, not without its dangers. The life of the mind suffers, in the United States, from ills which are those of our epoch; but over there they have taken on a virulent form. The gravest is a swift exhaustion of ideas. It has been said that the American people as a whole, adopt a scientific idea as they adopt a fashion in footgear. To a certain extent this is true. Freudism, Behaviourism, the humanism of Irving Babbitt, the relativity of Einstein, have successively, and in an elementary form, penetrated the middle classes much more deeply than in Europe. But the American wearers of systems as quickly as he gobbles them up. With him, intellectual fashions are transitory. Because the most brilliant minds of Europe come here to parade their paradoxes the American brain, blasé, demands that its spiritual viands be highly spiced. The critical mind is lacking, not among the best, but among the masses. You will retort that the masses in Europe are sufficiently destitute of it. That may be, but in France they have common sense not free from impatience, a traditional distrust; in England a splendid indifference and a profound contempt for ideas, which go flying through the brain and keep the motors of the mind from stalling. In the United States there is a greater freshness of spirit—a more naive curiosity. All that is congenial, but carries the danger of formidable mistakes.

The Use of Parliament

That Parliament no longer exercises the same control over public affairs as it used to do formerly is a matter of common knowledge. The daily-increasing encroachments of the Executive and the Bureaucracy have deprived it of a greater part of its effective power. But this has not, argues Mr. Stephen Gwynn in *Time and Tide* deprived it of its usefulness in another way. Mr. Gwynn says:

It is the fashion to cry down parliamentary government, more especially in this country which invented it. Yet I cannot but think that its suitability to great and complex uses was never better demonstrated than just now. A parliament is not an instrument of precision; it cannot be and is not meant to be; it has to answer too many purposes, which, taken together, render possible that difficult plan of government by the consent of the governed. It must therefore have a voice in policy, negative in the main, but including the right to alter policy in detail. It has the duty to maintain these rights, as against the executive; but occasions come when this perpetual clog on the executive's freedom of action must know how to release the brakes. This means a great suppleness in working, and also a power to decide when such suppleness is necessary. At the present juncture Parliament has been able, in spite of internal divisions to permit swift action to those with whom the initiative rests. It has discharged its essential function in a time of crisis by giving up some of

the rights on which at ordinary moments it is bound to insist. But another function remains more vital than ever at such a moment. Parliament must instruct itself, and in doing so must instruct the electorate, on the issues before it.

In the present picture the average member of Parliament and the average elector were confronted with problems quite beyond their unaided comprehension. There was, indeed, no shortage of guidance: the press teemed with erudite and competent opinion, often admirably expressed. But for purposes of education and instruction it was not decisive. To begin with, each paper was, as a rule wedded to one of the opposing views, men wanted to hear both, but not in isolation but connectedly, as argument and counter-argument. Controversy by the medium of successive written memoranda has its uses: but it lacks the quality of debate where man answers man in an atmosphere of challenge. There personality tells; and both Parliament and electorate, in a perplexing issue, need two distinct yet mutually supporting perceptions. They need to learn the relative value of arguments: they need also to judge the quality of the men by whom they are urged. In this respect no other form of publicity is comparable to the House of Commons, for none other has such hold on the public imagination. What passes there of importance never passes unperceived: perhaps owing to its traditions, perhaps to the sense that the reality of power is present, any momentous debate creates an atmosphere which is not soon forgotten. The vast majority of time spent in the House is tedious; so it was in trenches; but when things become exciting, they are more exciting than I ever knew in war. Personality had more chance to display itself, and to tell. The result is that during hours of acute collision a temper is generated which makes itself felt immeasurably beyond the immediate environment. For this, no doubt, the press is in great measure to thank, the British press whatever its party bias, does as a rule faithfully reproduce the spirit of what passes in the House of Commons.

A fortnight ago, when the forces, so strangely reassembled, grouped themselves on the benches, personality counted far more than argument, yet in order to count, personality had to convey itself through argument and against argument. Nowhere else, and indeed in no other way, could the myth of the "tankers' camp" have been so swiftly disposed of. Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Stowden thought it wise to convey their personal views to the widest public by broadcasting: but, doubt if they won half, or a tenth part, as much support through the uninterrupted transmission of their actual views as by the printed account of their interventions in a stormy debate.

Sex and the Law

In practically all parts of the United States the America woman is threatened by arcane laws concerning sex offences. This forms the subject of a very interesting article in the *Scribner's Magazine*. The writer points out some of the oddities of the laws which are a legacy of old Puritan days:

Perhaps the nearest that laws against sex expression ever have come to representing the will of the people was in the very early Puritan days in New England. Yet even here the laws were repressive rather than expressive, and therefore attended by ill consequences. Then very soon, as the population became less single-minded the situation was out of hand, as it had always been in England and as it has been in America ever since.

Yet the laws of the colonial Puritans are, according to the statute books, the law of the United States to-day, the newer States copying the laws of the colonies, even to the identical lurid adjectives—lewd, lascivious, wanton—which had voiced Puritan sentiment in these matters. The laws remain, but the forms of punishment have changed. The whipping-post and the scarlet letter have given way to fine and imprisonment. And the administration has changed most of all. If the Puritan was stern, he was equally stern with men and women, rich and poor alike. His morality, however misguided, was sincere. To-day, as V. F. Calverton recently pointed out in these pages, a hypocritical respectability, not morality, is the criterion. Women are oppressed by laws that prove inapplicable to men: rich women escape the punishment that falls grievously on the poorer woman's head. The Park Avenue mistress comes and goes at will, but the tenement prostitute is harried from one cheap address to another.

Occasionally a locality particularly oppressed with its sense of sin still voices that feeling in the traditional Puritan way. The law still stands, I am told, on the books of one State prohibiting a man's kissing his wife on Sunday, the Lord's day when all expressions of carnal emotion are wicked. Six years ago, with a recklessness worthy of the medieval Christians themselves the citizens of an Arkansas town forbade sexual intercourse anywhere within the corporate limits, even to the married, unless they were prepared to prove that their act had not been of a "grossly improper and lascivious nature."

Still, changes do come. The anthropologists have shown us that in other latitudes and longitudes other races have not always agreed with us in our sex taboos. The historians have showed us that we have not always agreed with ourselves. The new sciences of psychology and sociology and the newer developments in physiology, together with a greater refinement in ethics, have raised many questions in the minds of sincere people as to what standards should prevail. To demand a uniform conduct for all does not seem as wise as once it did.

The Liberty of the Press in America

The New Republic has a very interesting editorial note in which light is thrown on the liberty of the American Press:

The New York Times, which is in many ways America's leading newspaper, last week celebrated its eightieth birthday. Among the numerous letters of congratulation was one from President Hoover, who seized the golden moment to pen a few imperishable thoughts about the duties and

sh ites of t e p r e s De ocracy annot f.a.n.t.o.n, said he ex ept when accompanied by a free and constructive press. There is great responsibility on the press that the news shall be accurately presented without colour or bias.' These are handsome words, but when we compare the President's preachments with his recent practices, and those of his aides, in helping the press to give a correct picture of what the government in Washington is doing, we confess to a state of bewilderment. Within the past few days about a hundred of the leading Washington correspondents have signed a petition to the National Press Club asking that body to appoint a committee to investigate the present disgraceful misrepresentation and suppression of important news by the government of which Mr. Hoover is the head. They charge, among other things:

That Mr. Hoover himself has so frequently refused to answer questions put by newspaper men, and has cancelled so many of his semi-weekly meetings with the press, that most of the Washington correspondents have in despair almost abandoned the White House as a source for news.

That when Governor Roosevelt wrote to President Hoover on the important subject of New York's right to be represented in the St. Lawrence Waterway negotiations, the White House secretariat denied that any such letter had been received, though afterwards, when Governor Roosevelt made the text public, it explained that this letter had in fact been received and referred to the State Department.

That the Federal Farm Board has repeatedly refused to give out important news which the public has a right to know: and that its chairman went so far as to profess ignorance of the sale of Farm Board wheat to Germany, even after the purchase had been officially announced in Berlin.

That the United States Shipping Board, which many well informed persons in Washington believe, will some day furnish a scandal comparable to the naval oil leases, has for many months pursued a policy of silence, equivocation and falsification. This has notoriously been true of Chairman O'Connor, who has gone to the length of keeping newspaper men waiting four hours and then sneaking out the back door to avoid seeing them.

That other government departments, for all of which President Hoover has ultimate responsibility as he has for those mentioned, have pursued similar tactics.

Under the circumstances, what is one to make of President Hoover's letter to *The New York Times*? We should be glad to hear from any of our readers who can explain the paradox.

Stalin at Home

Essad Bey writes in the *Prager Tageblatt* regarding the family life of Stalin, and is translated in *The Living Age*:

Although Stalin has little time for any private life, he leads one that differs in its peculiar Asiatic way from the lives of the other Communists. In his youth Stalin married a young Georgian girl who died of an infection of the lungs before the Revolution. He had one son by her. Later, at the age of fifty and at the peak of power, he married a

girl of fifteen, Nadja Allenia, a mountaineer's daughter who, in Oriental fashion, is slavishly obedient to him.

Stalin is a good husband but an Oriental. The wives of the leading Communists dwell in the Kremlin, behaving as women usually do when they have suddenly come up in the world. From the Eskimo wife of Ordjonikidze to the distinguished English wife of Litvinov, they all devote themselves to gossip, petty intrigue, and feminine chatter. Scandal is the order of the day. Since all governmental life is confined to the Kremlin, these women have rich opportunities to give free rein to their feminine nature.

Stalin's wife is the one exception. During the whole history of Soviet rule Stalin's wife has not uttered one single word of gossip, and there has never been a breath of scandal about this 'mightiest woman in Russia'. Shy and silent, she dwells behind the walls of the Gorki Castle. It is said that every morning when Stalin leaves his house he locks up his wife in good Oriental style and puts the key in his pocket. Though this is only a joke, it accurately reveals the position Stalin occupies in his family.

The truth is that little is known about Stalin's wife. She speaks almost no Russian, understands nothing about politics, is very young, and has borne the fifty-year-old dictator two children. Stalin is, as I have said, a good father and family man. The wife of a world-renowned Socialist has described some scenes she witnessed during a visit of a few days with the dictator. Stalin, his wife and the wife of the Socialist were sitting near the cradle containing Stalin's five-months-old baby. Stalin's wife had to go to the kitchen, and asked her husband to look out for the baby while she was away. Stalin, who kept smoking his pipe, nodded his head without saying a word. Hardly had the mother left when the child began to cry. Stalin approached the cradle, played awkwardly with the child, and blew tobacco smoke in his face, apparently to soothe him. But the baby at once protested loudly. Stalin thereupon lifted the child out of the cradle and, as a sign of his paternal affection, put his pipe in the baby's mouth. The child shrieked as if it had been impaled on a skewer, whereupon Stalin grew angry. He dropped the child carelessly back in the cradle, exclaiming, 'Just a rascal. Not a Bolshevik at all.' Stalin's evening was spoiled. He kept finding fault and complaining until he went to bed.

Yet Stalin can act kindly and takes care to provide his family with things he himself does not need and even despises. His mother, a dress-maker, now lives in a palace in Tiflis surrounded by regal elegance. Her power in Tiflis is unlimited, and even the mighty ruler of that city, Comrade Eliava, bows respectfully and politely when the old Georgian lady enters his office and makes some demand of him. To any of his visitors who do not know the old lady, Eliava whispers anxiously, 'That is Stalin's mother,' whereupon all present stiffen with respect. When Stalin's grown son failed to get through the technical school in Moscow and showed no enthusiasm for science, Stalin at once exiled him to a remote part of Georgia, giving him this wise advice, 'If you don't want to be an engineer, be a cobbler.' But when Stalin's

ister married a Czech Communist, he celebrated the event with Asiatic pomp in an affair that combined Tsarist lavishness and barbaric splendour.

Ammunition Manufacturers and Wars

It is a notorious fact of present-day international politics that ammunition manufacturers deliberately obstruct efforts towards securing universal peace. A writer contributes a very interesting article to the Paris *Cronaillat* on this subject, some passages from which are quoted below:

But this is not all that happens. Since traffic in arms is a private affair, private corporations are not forbidden, provided they have enough capital, to equip armies at their own expense. When the Standard Oil group and the Royal Dutch Shell group were competing for petroleum land in Mexico, a revolution broke out. The moment the Mexican government took measures that favoured one or the other of these two rival companies, and the two armies always marched on Tampico, where the petroleum wells were situated. One army was invariably equipped with heavy artillery, machine guns, and airplanes manufactured in America, and the other with armaments made in England. Thus Mexico for twenty years was the scene of civil war, and it has only become peaceful again because the two oil companies recognized that too much crude petroleum was being produced and agreed not to exploit any more new territory.

China offers a similar spectacle on a still larger scale. For twenty years that country has been the prey of a dozen or more war makers who raise armies of mercenaries. These armies are equipped in European style, and if anyone wants to know where their munitions come from he has only to follow the newspaper accounts of visits from Creusot, Krupp, or Vickers officials. The big ammunition firms provide them with abundant heavy artillery, machine guns, and ammunition, and are paid out of the proceeds from pillage in the provinces. All Chinese generals have their sleeping partners, whose names can be discovered at the banks of Hong Kong, Paris, London, New York, Yokohama, or even Moscow. Simple removals of capital divide or join whole armies, depending on whether the sleeping partners are changing their generals or whether the generals are changing their sleeping partners. This system has released on the unfortunate Chinese nation all the horrors of the 'Thirty Years' War, and conditions will remain the same until some Chinese Wallenstein brings peace to the Celestial Empire.

The League statistics give an indication of the role that munition makers play in this drama. China is revealed as having spent \$5,155,000 on armaments during the year 1925, and Mexico spent \$2,168,000. Believers in historical parallels can see in these two countries in the twentieth century the same type of army that existed in the *condottieri* of the fifteenth century.

Private commerce in armaments inevitably engenders private wars. Of course the governments of the great powers pretend to ignore this traffic

With Olympian severity they maintain their official representatives at Mexico City and at Peking or Nanking, whichever happens to be the momentary seat of power. No matter how remote the theatre operations may be, the armies always destroy goods, railways and European property. Concessions are pillaged, diplomatic and customs agreements are violated. First, the rebels come in conflict with the various foreign governments, and then the foreign governments disagree among themselves. The victory of one Chinese general over another provokes an exchange of menacing notes between Japan and the United States or England and Russia, and the sudden arrival of Mustapha Kemal at the Dardanelles led Lloyd George to demand general mobilization of the Empire to safe-guard the Straits. But the House of Commons, repelled by overthrowing the statesman it had followed through all the vicissitudes of the Great War. In like manner the parliament of any great state may find itself unexpectedly threatened with war simply as the result of a traffic in arms over which it has no control.

Book Ballyhoo

Mr. Hugh Walpole contributes to the *Week-End Review* and imaginary dialogue on literary ballyhoo:

Mr. Malthus has just been staying with me. I hope that he has enjoyed himself, because he has a fine, serious spirit, cares for the right things and sees life both steadily and whole. Last evening the final one of his visits we had a little conversation that should be given, I think, a wider publicity.

It began as we were sitting on the lawn, looking at a sleepy, sulky lake (already called by Mr. Malthus 'Wordsworthian'), by my guest's suddenly remarking, 'Mr. Galsworthy says that there is too much enthusiasm about new books. Every day he says a new genius is announced.' (Malthus always calls authors 'Mr.' however well he knows them. He thinks that this is due to their talents.)

'Mr. Galsworthy,' I replied, 'is undoubtedly right.'

'Mr. Irvine says so, too,' remarked Malthus. 'Mr. Irvine is undoubtedly wrong,' I replied—not at all because I meant it, but because I was half asleep and answered mechanically. And, anyway, Mr. Irvine is always wrong, most especially about the Scandinavians, who must be aching, if they have any proper pride, to boil him in oil.

'Yes, but,' continued Malthus (this is his favourite conversational gambit), 'don't you think yourself that publishers and book societies and personal friends of the author and truly enthusiastic people like yourself are making altogether too much noise? Now I can't open a paper any morning without seeing a photograph of Mr. Shaw...'

'Mr. Shaw is making a noise about himself,' I replied. 'While we others...'

'It comes to the same thing, the end,' Malthus answered.

'Yes, but not intentionally,' I replied.

'Yes, intentionally,' said Malthus.

By this time I was thoroughly awake. 'Now look here, Malthus. Listen to me. The other day I said of a certain book that it reminded me in its

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literariness of Borrow. In every other respect, I said, it had no resemblance to Borrow whatever. But the publisher of that work announced hugely week after week simply my comparison with Borrow. Everything else he omitted.

'Yes, but,' said Malthus, 'publishers must do what they can for their authors. And you weren't born yesterday. Why do you do such things? Will you never learn?'

'Probably not,' I replied. 'But I am not the question. We are considering Mr. Galsworthy. Mr. Galsworthy is serious and honest and very seldom interferences—therefore he *must* be considered. Now, Malthus, is there too much noise about new books? Can there possibly be?'

'Not if they are the right books,' said Malthus, cautiously.

'Ah,' I cried, throwing my pipe into the lake. 'There you have the root of the matter. I observe that everyone thinks that he or she knows just *what* the right books are, and yet the right books are all different. Everyone from Mr. Galsworthy to "Beashomber," everyone from Miss Rebecca West to myself. We all, in fact, have our confident judgments. Only this week, for instance, I learn that Mr. John Cowper Powys thinks

that Miss Dorothy Richardson is more than Dostoevski, that Mr. Harding with Geoffrey Deans a genius, that Miss Vera and Miss Winifred Holtby think Mr. Mitchison's last novel incomparable—'

'Who,' asked Malthus, 'are Miss Dru Miss Holtby?'

'They are the Miss Bass and Miss contemporary letters.'

'Well, but,' went on Malthus, 'who are However, I brushed him aside. It is to be brushed aside by all sorts of people you see, Malthus,' I went on, 'that every is enthusiastic shouts and disapprove shouting of every other person.' And has been so since the beginning of time. Jonson shouted about Shakespeare. Dr. (a very bad judge of letters) about R. Scott about Joanna Baillie, and so on and on. And then the "publisher takes advantage" shouts in his favour—nor can anyone blame

'Yes, but,' said Malthus, 'the ballyhoo worse now than it has ever been before.'



A German View of the Round Table
Gandhi in the lion's den
E. Schalling, in 'Simplicissimus' (Munich)

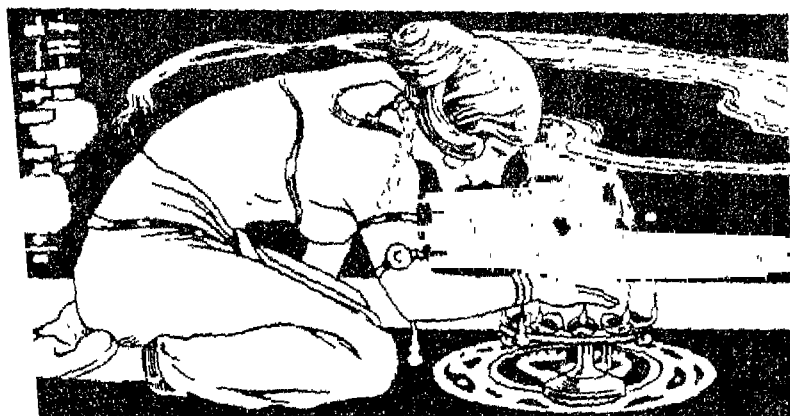
To Gautama Buddha

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[Written in view of the opening of the Mulagandhali
Vihara at Sarnath]

Bring to this country once again the blessed
which made the land of thy birth sacred
to all distant lands
Let thy great awakening under the *bodhi* tree
be fulfilled,
Sweeping away the veil of unreason
And let, at the end of an oblivious night,
freshly blossom out in India
thy remembrance

Bring life to the mind that is inert,
thou Illimitable Light and Life !
Let the air become vital with thy inspiration
Let open the doors that are barred,
and the resounding cymbal shell
proclaim thy arrival at Bharat's gate.
Let, through innumerable voices,
the gospel of an immeasurable love
announce thy call.



NOTES

Meaning and Value of Mahatma Gandhi's Life

The completion of the 62nd year of Mahatma Gandhi's life on October 2 last has been an occasion for rejoicing in India and wherever abroad he is known. His life marks the beginning of an epoch in the history of India in particular and of the world in general.

The ascetic view of life, combined with the service of humanity and of all that lives, is not new. But whoever cherishes and lives up to it in all sincerity, as Mahatma Gandhi does, is entitled to loving homage. Not that it is a complete view or ideal of life. But that need not be discussed here.

In ancient and modern times, others have laid stress above all on the spiritual element in religion, on freeing oneself and society from the trammels of outward observances which have become lifeless and meaningless, on following the dictates of reason and on listening to the inner voice and walking by the inner light which is heard and which shines when the lust of the flesh is renounced, when thought, word and deed are pure, and wealth and power cease to be sought for the earthly advantages and enjoyment they bring. But as no morning is a copy of any previous morning, so is no pure and inspired life a repetition of any previous one. Every such life, as Mahatma Gandhi's is, has elements of singular power and beauty.

That there have been social reformers before Mahatma Gandhi and there are such persons among his contemporaries now, does not in the least derogate from the value of the reforms which his precepts and practice have been helping to bring about. Though he has not denounced caste with the thoroughness of some other reformers and has in fact defended it according to his conception and interpretation of it, he has been instrumental in lessening its rigours. The campaign against "untouchability" started by him, by word and deed, is being prosecuted with unprecedented vigour and on a more extended front than ever before. The *satyagraha* movement initiated by him has given an unexampled

and unexpected fillip to the movement for the broadening and deepening of woman's life in India and for restoring it to its pristine power and effulgence, which began in the last century.

The sublimation of politics by the infusion into it of spirituality and asceticism has been carried further and higher by Mahatma Gandhi than by any previous political worker. He has enthroned truth and open dealing in political negotiations and other political work. In the movement for winning freedom for India his inner spirit and word and work have installed full confidence where there was doubt, hope where there was despondency, self-reliance where there was cringing beggary, calm courage where there was either fear or bluff or bravado or violent outbursts of daring.

There may be, as there is, difference of opinion regarding the value and probability of ultimate success of the movement for clothing India with hand-spun and hand-woven textiles. But its principles and objects are valuable and laudable. It seeks to make India self-sufficing as regards clothing, to make the peasant industrious throughout the year by filling up his idle months and moments, to supply a second string to his bow, to make man superior to the machine instead of his being a slave and part of it, to keep the spinner and the weaver in the wholesome environments of the village home and the village society, and to put an end to the exploitation of the unorganized and backward peoples by industrial nations and magnates.

A war is an epitome of all crimes, a moral equivalent of war has been a desideratum. The worthiest object of war has ever been the gaining of freedom and independence by subject peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has sought to gain this worthy object by *ahimsa* (non-violence) and *satyagraha* (soul-force and unflinching devotion to truth). He has been the first man in history to wage a bloodless war for independence. It required a man of his spiritual elevation, self-control and profound faith in the perfectibility of human nature to make this new departure.

Sufficient pressure of some kind had to be brought to bear on Great Britain to make it agree to India's acquisition of freedom. Mahatma Gandhi started *satyagraha* for that purpose, as, on the one hand, he was opposed on moral and spiritual grounds to all violence and therefore to any armed war of independence and, on the other, he believed that civil disobedience, coupled with the endurance—without even the thought of retaliation—of all sufferings, even unto death, which it might bring on the civil resisters, was an active force sufficient for winning freedom.

The success of *satyagraha* in India would be a gain, not only to India, but to all mankind. Armed warfare for independence or for the settlement of international disagreements would then no longer be absolutely necessary. That would mean the saving of much expense on both sides. The economic ruin brought on by war would also be prevented. But the moral and spiritual gain would be far greater. The chief redeeming feature of war is the heroism it evokes. In war men bear endless suffering, carry their lives in their hands and meet death with perfect non-chalance. In *satyagraha*, while the *satyagrahis* remain non-violent, their opponents can be and often are violent and oppressive. Hence *satyagraha* makes men not less heroic than war. The excitement of battle makes it easy to forget fear. The calm courage of unresisting *satyagrahis* is more difficult to attain. Thus in *satyagraha* there is no loss of heroism, and in addition there is great moral and spiritual gain.

Ordinary war is violent. *Satyagraha* is non-violent. The former necessarily involves bloodshed; the latter does not. There is certain to be hatred at some stage or other of ordinary warfare, if not throughout, but in *satyagraha* as actually carried on by Mahatma Gandhi there was not any, could not be any hatred. In ordinary wars, keeping one's plans secret, taking the enemy by surprise, ambushes, camouflage and other falsehoods, treachery and trickery of various kinds are not only considered legitimate and permissible but are taught, recommended and enjoined. In Mr. Gandhi's ideal of civil fight everything is open and aboveboard and honourable. His objective and plans have been made known to all the world. He has placed all his cards before his antagonists, has kept nothing concealed up his sleeve. He has, when necessary, been generous, too, to his opponents as

some well-known episodes in his South African career testify.

In war, pillage is not considered wrong is often ordered and sometimes held out as an inducement to soldiers. In *satyagraha* there is nothing of the kind. Though in war ravishment is not recommended nor enjoined, few campaigns of any large proportions and long duration have been free from this cruel and odious crime and outrage on womanhood. Also, an army of fallen women often accompanies bigger armies of far more sinful men. Civil resistance is entirely free from menace of either kind to womanhood. What is more, in Mahatma Gandhi's last *satyagraha* campaign it so appealed to the heart of India's womanhood that mother and wife and maid flocked to its standard.

There is no question, then, that *satyagraha* as understood, expounded and conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, can be a more economical, more humane, more moral and more spiritual weapon than war. Whether it can prove more or equally effective in fact must await the course of events. We think that it can and ought to, and that it is the part of wisdom for all men to see that it does prove effective.

Majority Rule and the British Empire

Separatist Indian Muslims—or rather probably Indian Muslims in general—want Moslem domination in Bengal, the Panjab, Sind etc., made sure by the coming constitution of Federated India, on the ground that Moslems are in a majority in these provinces. And British imperialists support this demand.

To be consistent, Indian Moslems and their patrons, the British imperialists, ought to make strenuous efforts to give the British Empire the benefit of the domination of the majority of its inhabitants, assured by a new British Empire Constitution to be framed for the purpose.

The Statesman's Year-book for 1931 gives the population of the British Empire, generally according to the census of 1921, as 419,583,000. In that year the population of India stood at 318,942,000. This year its population stands at 352,986,876. In other parts of the British Empire, too, there has been an increase of population. So it may be assumed that at present the population of the British Empire is not less than 500 millions. Of these five hundred

more than 300 millions live in India. Hence, the principle, advocated by British imperialists and Indian Moslems, according to which Moslem domination should be permanently established by statute in the Panjab and Bengal, on the ground that the latter are a majority there, should also lead to the establishment of permanent Indian domination in the British Empire. But it is well known that, far from agreeing to make India the predominant partner in the British Empire, British imperialists and separatist Indian Moslems do not want India to have real self-rule—to be an equal partner of Great Britain.

As British imperialists and separatist Indian Moslems want permanent Moslem domination in Bengal and the Panjab, because the Musalmans form the majority of the population in these areas, it is necessary to name the religion which is professed by the majority of the inhabitants of the British Empire. According to *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1930, page 510, of the total population of the British Empire,

"Over 210,000,000 are Hindus, 100,000,000 Muhammadans, 80,000,000 Christians, 12,000,000 Buddhists, 12,000,000 Animists, 1,000,000 Sikhs, Jains and Parsees, 750,000 Jews, and the remainder Polytheists and Idol worshippers."

As according to the census of 1931 in India alone there are more than 238 millions of Hindus, the numbers of the followers of the other religions must at present be greater than that quoted above from Whitaker. But in spite of the increase of the latter in numbers, Hindus still far outnumber every other single religious group in the British Empire. But they do not on that ground contend that they ought to be made the permanent dominant religious group in the British Empire by a new constitution framed for the purpose.

All this will show that the principle of majority rule in Bengal and the Panjab, advocated by separatist Indian Moslems and "divide-and-rule" Imperialist Britishers, cannot be logically and consistently applied in the British Empire—whatever other value it may or may not possess.

These politicians may contend that, as in the whole of India, where Hindus are in a majority, and in the provinces in which Hindus are in a majority, they will be the predominant group, there should be no objection to Muslim predominance in the provinces in which Moslems are in a majority. But it should be borne in mind that Hindus

do not claim to be made the permanent dominant group anywhere by statute. In Bengal and the Panjab, where they are minority groups, they do not even claim reservation of seats according to proportion of population or weightage in addition. In India as a whole and in these provinces, Hindus depend on their capacity and public spirit for proportionate opportunities of serving the country and acquiring proportionate influence thereby. In the pre-British period, before Maratha ascendancy over a large part of India and Sikh ascendancy in the Panjab, there was Moslem ascendancy, and at that time Musalmans were a minority. This minority could rule the greater part of India, because it was superior to the majority in certain respects. In our days also, it is possible for the All-India Moslem minority and the Bengal and Panjab Moslem majorities to have political ascendancy by the acquisition of superiority in political capacity and public spirit. To the acquisition of such ascendancy by Moslems there cannot be any reasonable objection. If it has been possible for the small community of Parsis in India to acquire political and economic influence out of all proportion to their numbers, it is certainly not impossible for so numerous a group as the Moslems to acquire still greater influence. To be given a secure permanent ascendancy by statute is the surest way to the maintenance of inferiority and to decadence; whereas to be under the necessity of constantly endeavouring to acquire and maintain ascendancy is the surest way to become and remain powerful. The open door is best for all.

Minority Rule and the British Empire

From the figures given in the previous note it is clear that in the British Empire as a whole there is no majority rule. In fact, both from the point of view of race as well as of religion, there is minority rule in this Empire. The native inhabitants of Great Britain were estimated to number 44,692,000 in 1930. They are the predominant group in the British Empire, which contains a population of more than 500,000,000. The vast majority of the natives of Great Britain profess Christianity. So a minority of 45 millions of white men, professing Christianity, are the dominant group in an Empire containing 500 millions of inhabitants. It is true the series of

Imperial conferences have resulted in giving the self-governing Dominions a position of equality with Great Britain—at least in theory, for these Dominions are not yet in a position to defend themselves unaided by Britain. Assuming that the Dominions are equal partners with Britain, the total of the white Christian inhabitants of Great Britain and of these self-governing regions must be regarded as the dominant group in the British Empire. The numerical strength of this group does not exceed ninety millions. It is a small minority of the 500 million inhabitants of the British Empire.

It has been stated above that, though majority rule does not exist in the British Empire as a whole, British imperialists support the Moslem demand that there should be permanently fixed communal majority rule wherever in India Muslims are in a majority. But this does not mean that the Indian Muslims are blind to the fact that there is minority rule in the British Empire. They want to establish minority rule, too, over the whole of India by an indirect method. In fact, they want majority rule where it is advantageous to them, and minority rule where it would promote their group interest.

Both nationalist and separatist Moslems want one-third Moslem representation in the Central or Federal Legislature. Originally, the separatist Moslem demand of one-third representation related only to British India. But their latest demand includes one-third of the Indian States' representation also, with the additional proviso that if the States do not, cannot or will not provide the full quota, British India must make up the deficiency. Whether the nationalist Moslems concur with this claim of their separatist brethren has not yet been made clear. They have not yet said that they do not concur.

The separatist Muslims also want that minorities like the Depressed Classes, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, the Europeans, etc., should have special representation with weightage. If the demands of all these minorities were conceded, they in combination with the Moslems would occupy the majority of the seats in the Central or Federal Legislature, the Hindus being reduced to a minority therein. And as among the minority communities the Moslems are the biggest, they would then be in the ascendant.

Let us now look at the matter from another angle. The Princes have claimed half the seats in the upper chamber and one-third in the lower. Let us assume that they would get one-third in both. So they would get one-third, the Moslems one-third, and out of the remaining one-third the Depressed classes, the Anglo-Indians, the Europeans, the Indian Christians, etc., would get small fractions. What would then remain for the Hindus, who, taking those in British India alone (even *minus* the depressed classes), are the biggest group in India? Perhaps not even one-fourth of the total number of seats.

It is clear, therefore, that efforts are being made to establish minority rule in India. It may be that every minority group is not consciously and deliberately making or co-operating in such efforts. But it is probable that all or most of these groups want that the biggest groups in India, the Hindus, should be made powerless, at least weak.

It should be understood that it is to the interest of British imperialists to support these efforts. For, if these efforts succeed, it is not the combined minority groups or any one of them which will rule India, but the British imperialists will do so. For, except the Congress (in which nationalist Moslems, who have no influence with the British Government, are included) no other party wants complete independence. The other parties all agree to some powers (which would practically mean the final controlling power) being reserved in the hands of the British paramount authority.

The Congress, through its spokesman Mahatma Gandhi, who has been repeatedly laying stress upon the principle of Hindu surrender, is unintentionally playing into the hands of those who want minority rule.

Why There is Minority Rule in the British Empire

There is no racial or other inherent superiority in the British or other white man professing Christianity. The reason for the rule of the white Christian minority over the non-white non-Christian majority in the British Empire has to be sought elsewhere. The white British Christians are better organized than the non-white and non-Christian peoples of the Empire. There is greater solidarity among them because of the absence among them of hereditary caste distinctions and other similar dividing causes. They are better

educated and possess greater knowledge of theoretical and applied science and, hence, greater mechanical skill. This has enabled them to prepare and equip themselves with terribly destructive weapons and accessories of warfare. They are also greater experts in the use of Machiavellian policy than non-white non-Christian peoples. The imperialist policy is to enlist mercenary soldiers from the least educated and least politically conscious of the non-white non-Christian classes and leave the rest in an emasculated condition. It is part of that policy to restrict facilities for the education—particularly for the scientific and technological education—of subject races, to as great an extent as may be compatible with the semblance of enlightened rule.

As there is minority rule in the British Empire as a whole, it would not be strange if some Indian communalists had taken that as a hint for seeking to establish minority rule in Federated India. But it is not enough to wish to establish minority rule. The conditions must be fulfilled.

If any minority group in India had been superior to the majority group in this country in all those respects in which and to the extent that the white Christian minority in the British Empire is superior to the non-white non-Christian majority in that Empire, then it would have been possible for that Indian minority to acquire or maintain domination over the majority. But there is no such superiority, except perhaps in the skill to make use of a Machiavellian policy.

The Majority Rule We Want

In order to guard against any possible misconception, it is necessary to state that our ideal is not the establishment of Hindu communal majority rule in India or in any province of India. We want the rule, through wholly elected legislatures, of majorities of an entirely political or politico-economic character, consisting of men of all communities elected by mixed electorates. In such majorities, the proportion of men of different communities will vary from time to time. It is probable that, oftener than not, in the Federal or Central Legislature the majorities will consist of more Hindus than of men of other communities, though it is not beyond the range of possibility

for the majorities to sometimes consist of more men from the minority communities than from the Hindu community. In the provincial legislatures, it is probable that, more often than not, in the Moslem majority provinces the majorities will consist of more Moslems than others, and in the Hindu majority provinces they will consist of more Hindus than others. But sometimes in both these kinds of provinces the majorities in the legislatures may consist of more men from the minority groups than from the majority group.

For acquiring great political influence, it is not indispensably necessary to belong to a majority group. Though belonging to the very small Jewish community in Great Britain, Lord Beaconsfield enjoyed unchallenged political supremacy for a number of years. Lord Reading, belonging to the same small community, exercises great influence. In India, Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozshah Mehta, though belonging to the very small Parsi community, exercised great influence in their day.

Self-rule and Fixed Communal Majorities in Legislatures

In ancient times it was only in some small city states that the citizens themselves could meet in an assembly hall to make laws for themselves and transact other state business. So far as they were concerned, they were literally self-ruling. But in bigger states, ancient and modern, self-rule cannot possess that literal meaning. In them it means government by those who are elected by the people.

There has been a demand that in some provinces the majority of the seats in the legislatures should be reserved for Moslems and that these Moslem representatives should be elected by Moslem voters alone. Suppose, there were a similar demand made by Hindus for some other provinces. If both such demands were met, would there be self-rule in all these provinces?

It is clear that in such provinces, there would be always, or at least more often than not, government by the communal majorities in the legislatures. This cannot be called self-rule, but rather its opposite. For the minority communities in these provinces would be ruled by men with whose election they had nothing to do

Such communal majority rule would be a negation of self-rule, not only for the minority communities, but perhaps also for some men belonging to the majority group who might think that some persons not belonging to their religious communities would have been better representatives but for whom they were precluded from voting.

It is clear then that the reservation of the majority of seats for any particular community, to be filled by election by a separate electorate of that community, is a negation of self-rule for other communities and possibly also for some voters belonging to the majority communal group.

Let us now consider whether the reservation of the majority of seats for a particular community, to be filled by election by a mixed or joint electorate, can result in self-rule in a strict sense. It is, no doubt, better than the election of the communal majority in the legislature by a separate electorate of the majority community. But it, too, is not entitled to be called self-rule. For the voters in the joint electorate are deprived of freedom of choice: they cannot choose the best men from any community, but must pick out the majority of legislators from a particular religious community.

Even the reservation of some seats for particular minority communities, to be filled by election either by separate electorates of those communities or by a joint electorate of all communities, cannot be called self-rule in its full sense. For, if the election is by separate electorates of some communities, the other communities have nothing to do with the election of some legislators, who are therefore not their representatives. And if the election is by a joint electorate the voters are partly deprived of freedom of choice, as they are bound to elect a fixed number of men from a particular community and are thus, to that extent precluded from choosing the best men from any community.

Mr. R. Chatterjee's Cable to Dr. Moonje

Some dailies have published Mr. R. Chandra Chatterjee's cable to Dr. Moonje without printing at the same time the latter's cable to him, to which Mr. Chatterjee's cable was a reply. We print both in order to remove any possible misconception, the words in italics being supplied by us to

make the messages quite easy to understand.

The following cable reached Mr. Chatterjee on the 17th October:

"I am wholeheartedly co-operating with Mahatma and Malaviya in legitimate and reasonable concessions. But they, despite Congress mandate and other Liberal Hindus agreeable to conceding to Moslems fifty one per cent reservation in Panjab and Bengal, present weightage in Moslem minority provinces. One-third reservation in entire Federal Legislatures and residuary powers in provinces with separation of Sindh, and adequate representation of Moslems in services and Cabinets. Referendum of Moslem voters will choose either separate or joint electorates. I personally consider the proposal suicidal, but agree to impartial arbitration. Sikhs will be alienated and annoyed. Wire instructions.—Moonje."

It is to be understood that Dr. Moonje's cable represented the position of the communal parties on the day and hour he sent the message: for the situation has been changing from day to day and sometimes almost from hour to hour. (It is lucky that, up to the time of our correcting the proof of this paragraph, news of the capitulation of the two Indian leaders has not reached us, and it may be that Mr. Gandhi will not have to surrender, because of the non-fulfilment of his conditions by the Moslem separatists in London.) It is also to be understood that Mr. Chatterjee was asked to wire instructions as an honorary office-bearer of the Hindu Mahasabha. It is also necessary to state under what circumstances Dr. Moonje felt it necessary to cable to Mr. Chatterjee and to some other persons connected with the Hindu Mahasabha. We understood that a certain Indian gentleman in London sent a cable to a gentleman in Calcutta asking the latter to request Dr. Moonje to co-operate with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Calcutta gentleman must have sent such a request to Dr. Moonje, which was a brief hint that the Doctor should cry *ditto* to Mahatmaj and Malaviyaji in communal matters. Thereupon Dr. Moonje must have felt perplexed owing to conflict between his private judgment based on the Hindu Mahasabha's Delhi manifesto of March last and the above-mentioned request. He may also have thought that Mr. Chatterjee and some other persons were privy to that request, which, of course, they were not. Hence he cabled to them that he *was* "wholeheartedly co-operating with Mahatmaj and Malaviyaji in legitimate and reasonable

concessions but wanted in return about 100 to 200 concessions.

Mr. Kanananda Chatterjee's answering cable to Dr. Moonje ran as follows :

"Gandhi-ji and Malaviya-ji's surrender amounts to unintentional betrayal. Bengal Hindus are positively against statutory Moslem majority in Councils, separate electorates, residuary powers in provinces and service recruitment and cabinet construction on communal basis. Referendum rule. I agree to really impartial arbitration. I consider representative Moslems' demands to be camouflaged Imperialist demands."

As Mr. Chatterjee's authority for sending the message that he did may be questioned, it should be stated that he did not depend entirely on his private information relating to Bengali Hindu opinion regarding communal matters, but was guided also by the consensus of opinion of the conference held on the 11th October at the Indian Association Hall of "representatives of all sections of the Hindus of Bengal," which was conveyed by Dr. Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. Sir Nkratan Sircar, Mr. Kanananda Chatterjee, Mr. J. Chandhuri, Mr. Satyananda Bose, Mr. B. N. Sasmal, Dr. P. K. Acharya, Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu and Mr. Nihal Ranjan Sarker, and was guided in addition by the sense and unanimous resolution of a public meeting of the Hindus held at the Albert Hall on the 14th October. We are personally aware that some Congressmen in Bengal hold the opinions expressed in Mr. Chatterjee's cable.

In order to give an opportunity to the Hindus of Bengal, within and outside the Congress fold, to criticize or repudiate the views embodied in Mr. Chatterjee's message, he released both Dr. Moonje's and his cables for publication. But we have not so far come across any such criticism or repudiation, though the messages were published in both Congress and non-party newspapers in Calcutta.

Mr. Chatterjee holds, of course, that Mahatma-ji and Malaviyaji are incapable of intentional or conscious disloyalty to the national cause, but as they are not infallible, some of their decisions taken with the best of intentions may sometimes result in serious injury to it. Hence the use of the word "unintentional."

Communalism and Communal Organizations

Every communal organization is not necessarily guilty of communalism. The Hindu Mahasabha is undoubtedly a communal organization. But in our opinion it is not guilty of communalism in politics. Muslims do not like it, and those of them who claim to be nationalists accuse the Mahasabha of communalism. That is because the Mahasabha opposes the unreasonable, undemocratic and anti-national demands of Muslims. But some Hindu nationalists also, particularly of the Congress school, consider it guilty of communalism. They class it with the Moslem organizations of which separatist Muslims are members. This they do, perhaps because they have not taken pains to acquaint themselves with what the Mahasabha stands for in politics, or perhaps because in their anxiety to appear impartial and neutral they throw equal blame on the Moslem communal organizations and the Mahasabha. Yet it is a fact which nobody has yet been able to controvert that the Mahasabha's manifesto on the coming constitutional reforms, issued from Delhi in the fourth week of March last, is entirely free from communalism—far more free from it than the Congress Working Committee's communal settlement.

We have read in a Moslem paper an accusation to the effect that it is to gain communal ends that many Hindus pose as nationalists. It means perhaps that Hindu nationalism like that which has found expression in the Hindu Mahasabha's manifesto is communalism in disguise. We are not sure that we have been able to fully grasp the meaning of this accusation. It may mean that Hindus pose as nationalists pure and simple, because they know that being a majority in India they are sure to have political ascendancy in all-India affairs. This is undoubtedly an irrefutable argument! For the Hindus in India are certainly guilty of being a majority community like the Turks in Turkey, the Persians in Persia, the Afghans in Afghanistan, the British Christians in Britain, etc. Hindu nationalism is communalism in disguise like Turkish, Persian, Afghan and British nationalism. If, for example, the Christian communities in Turkey, the Christians, Jews, Parsis and Bahais in Persia, the Hindus in Afghanistan and the Jews in Great Britain had made demands like

"Let those amongst us who wish to do so, proceed with agitation in England, against the already decided question of the partition of Bengal, though I for one do not believe that any good will result from it in the existing state of affairs.—Hem Chandra Sarkar's *Ananda Mohan Bose*, p. 186.

What then was his programme of constructive work in lieu of agitation in England? He wrote in the same letter:

"Let us resolve, so far as may be done, by every means in our power, to avoid all English goods, and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods, by introducing manufactures and industries in our country."—*Ibid.*, p. 187.

This passage is followed by an evident note of *ahimsa*:

"It ought perhaps to be noted that the object is not to injure Manchester or any English manufactures. Let their trade extend and expand. All that we aim at is to give resolute and earnest vent to our patriotic feelings, further our indigenous industries, and draw the attention of English people to our sad grievances."—*Ibid.*, p. 188.

As regards Government service, he wrote in his third letter:

"Business, industrial, manufacturing and otherwise, and not Government service, must be our hope in future. Let us remember that it cannot be by foreigners, but by ourselves, that our true salvation must be wrought."—*Ibid.*, p. 190.

The spirit of non-violence and revengeless suffering found full vent in Mr Ananda Mohan Bose's 'Federation Hall' speech, delivered on October 16, 1905. Said he:

"Let us all specially see to it, that no lawlessness characterize or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims, if need be, never the perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant, misinformed or perverse authority, or of a too often unscrupulous police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No *naina* is complete without sacrifice, and this is the teaching of all Scriptures. Let us be prepared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Mother land; for, from the thorns we shall tread, will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us birth."—*Ibid.*, pp. 89-90, Appendix.

or less to India's political demands. There are Reuter's messages, Free Press messages, special cables of correspondents of several newspapers and despatches sent by air mail by some correspondents. The same issue of a daily contains different items of news, often bearing the same London date, without any indication of the chronological order of their despatch from London or their receipt in India. And as the situation in London often changes several times in the course of a day or a night, it becomes difficult to determine which is the earlier and which the later development. By the time this issue of our Review is published and reaches its readers, the situation may change greatly. So any detailed comments on our part on the proceedings of the R. T. C. would be futile and out of date. And as we appear before the public at intervals of a month, we do not possess the daily paper's opportunity of correcting, amending or bringing up to date to-morrow what we write to-day.

Even the wisest, best informed and most apposite comments of our dailies are of no use so far as the deliberations of the R. T. C. "delegates" are concerned, though they undoubtedly serve to enlighten and entertain their readers. We say this, because the latest issues of our dailies reach London 16 days from the date of their despatch, by which time their comments become ancient history, the situation having changed in the meantime. Moreover, the "delegates" have little time to read both fresh British newspapers and old Indian ones. If any news agency could telegraph the comments of our papers to London, that would have been of some use. But this is rarely, if ever, done. All this was anticipated. And for this and other reasons we expressed the opinion, long before the first R. T. C. met, that, *to serve any useful Indian purpose*, a real R. T. C. should hold its sessions in India.

Mahatma Gandhi and the R. T. C.

Mahatma Gandhi took the earliest available opportunity to insist on the British Government laying their cards on the table and stating to what extent they were prepared to agree to the demands of the people of India. It is mere delaying tactics and waste of time to discuss details when the main thing, that is to say, whether India is

The Round Table Conference

The daily newspapers publish every day summarized accounts of the formal discussions in the different Sub-committees of the so-called Round Table Conference, and of the informal talks of different "delegates" among themselves and reports of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and talks relating more

to get freedom or not, has not been settled. But Mr. Gandhi's request has not, up to the time of this writing, been complied with.

In and outside the Conference he has stated India's case plainly and in an uncompromising manner. Except in his attitude towards the Hindu-Moslem problem and, to a lesser extent, his attitude to the Princes and their subjects, we generally agree with the views he has expressed.

It is not necessary to repeat the reasons for our inability to subscribe to his policy or principle of surrender to Moslems. We shall here make only two observations.

At the first session of the R. T. C. Sir Mohammad Shafi was satisfied with claiming for the Bengal Moslems 46 per cent of the seats in the Bengal council to be filled by separate communal election. Probably on account of Mahatmaji's repeated declarations of readiness to surrender, and as the result of British die-hard wire-pulling, that demand has mounted up to 51 per cent. At the first R. T. C. session Moslem "delegates" wanted one-third of the seats in the Federal Legislature from British India. Now they demand one-third of the States' quota of the seats, too, with the proviso that if the States or their rulers cannot or will not give so many, the deficiency is to be made good from British India seats! The Moslem communalists' appetite has been growing, both on account of Mahatmaji's oft-repeated promise of surrender and of British imperialists' instigation and wire-pulling.

Mahatma-ji is opposed to Christian proselytization—particularly through the instrumentality of secular advantages. But we do not know whether he feels that the concession to Moslems of all the special privileges claimed by them would amount to offering inducements to non-Musalman to become Musalmans. If Musalmans were to practically become permanent rulers of some provinces, if it became easier for Musalmans to enter Legislatures, become Ministers and get jobs, would not that indirectly promote Moslem proselytization? Where then would remain the religious neutrality of the State?

As regards the Princes and their subjects, Mahatmaji was originally reported to have left it to the pleasure of the former as to whether the latter would have the right to elect the States' representatives in the Federal Legislature, and other rights. Mr. Mahadev Desa has to some extent succeeded in

removing this impression by publishing a report of Mr. Gandhi's speech about that topic in *Young India*. Mr. Sadanand, the Free Press "commissioner," has also by a special cable produced the impression that Mr. Gandhi's informal talks with the Princes relating to their subjects' rights have been satisfactory from the people's point of view.

Mr. Gandhi is reported to have used words to the effect that the Princes having "generously" agreed to come into the Federation, he could not lay down any conditions on which they were to enter the Federation so far as the conditions related to such internal matters as the rights of their peoples, etc. We do not think that the Princes were led by generosity to propose to join the Federation. Self-interest led them to do so. This can be proved from a document of princely origin which was not meant for publication but got published. As for laying down conditions, "British Indians" cannot obviously think of compelling the Princes to enter the Federation on any conditions. But they also cannot compel us to enter a Federation of which autocratically governed States are to be some of the units. We are certainly entitled to say that we will federate only with States of which the people have representative responsible government. Otherwise, let British India alone have freedom, leaving the States to decide for themselves. We certainly desire that the whole of India should be free. And it is very doubtful if one part of India can become or long remain fully free whilst the other part is in bondage.

Humiliation at Break-down of Communal Negotiations

We do not share with Mahatmaji the feeling of humiliation to the extent to which he and some other prominent "delegates" gave expression to it at the break-down of the informal communal negotiations. It is certainly not a thing to be proud of that India has some groups and some men who, either of their own accord or under instigation, have taken up an unreasonable and irreconcilable attitude. But that no agreement could be arrived at with the particular knot of men, purposely nominated by British bureaucrats and an official Musalman communalist, is not a thing of which we need be ashamed.

After his expression of humiliation in language of unconscious exaggeration due to

those made by Musalmans in India and if the Turks, Persians, Afghans and Britishers had acceded to those demands, then Turkish, Persian, Afghan and British nationalism, instead of being suspect, would have been free from the charge of being communalism in disguise! But as nothing like this has happened, Hindus must plead guilty to the charge of being as communalistic under the guise of nationalism as the Turks, Persians, Afghans and Britishers are.

If it be admitted that the Hindus are nationalistic because, being an all-India majority, it pays them to be nationalists, how is it to be explained that, though the Bengali Hindus are a minority in Bengal and though several District Board and Municipal elections have shown that they cannot secure even a number of seats in proportion to their population—how is it to be explained, we ask, that even under such circumstances Bengali Hindus still cling to nationalism pure and simple and do not ask for reservation of seats and weightage, as claimed by Moslem minorities everywhere? Is that also some sort of communalism or other sinister "ism" in disguise?

We do not hold any brief for every utterance or manifesto of every Hindu leader. But we do assert again that the authorized political manifesto of the Hindu Mahasabha is nationalistic and democratic and more free from communalism than the Congress Working Committee's communal settlement.

Prison Conditions in Tsarist Russia

The following passage occurs in a review of a book named "Hidden Springs of the Russian Revolution: Personal Memoirs of Katerina Breshkovskaya" in *The New Republic*:

When she was arrested, she was not only fed with stinking soup served in filthy wooden vessels, but also denied any facilities for keeping her body clean. The regulations provided for clean linen every week and a bath every fortnight, and when after three months she finally protested, she was promised her due: "The officials assured ~~me~~ that I should have a bath, asked if I had anything else to say, and sent me back. It was late, the moon was shining, the young soldiers were joking, and I walked happily on, looking forward to the bath and clean linen. I got neither." Finally, by refusing to move until clean, she got her bath. On the way out to Siberia the

exiles were half-starved by their cruel and corrupt guardians. She describes the Siberian prisons as "individual republics, full of violence, abuses, theft, dirt, infection and disorder," and "later we lived for years on tea and potatoes. At Kama a third of the prisoners had died of tuberculosis, and typhoid fever every spring. By our time the total number of deaths was only one-fourth the total number of convicts. . . . Flogging, cold and hunger were their daily portion. Some perished there, like poisoned black beetles. The humiliation, the violence to women, the moral dissoluteness of the authorities, cannot be described in words. The hatred of the convicts was so great that they at times opened the coffins of recently buried officials and drove wooden stakes into the corpses."

To get her due, the authoress had only to refuse to move, but not to hungerstrike for days and weeks. She does not mention any shooting of prisoners. However, British prisons and detention camps in India can on the whole give a somewhat better account of themselves than Czarist Russian prisons, though this may not be very high praise.

Indian Cultural Influence in Asia

In the course of an article on the International Colonial Exhibition in Paris contributed to the *Asiatic Review* by Sir Aurel Stein, that famous explorer refers to its Indian section and says that

"there is probably at the present day no other place to be found where the powerful influence exercised by the old civilization and art of India over great regions of Asia outside its own limits is presented to the eye in more impressive a fashion."

The vast extension of Indian cultural influences from Central Asia in the north to tropical Indonesia in the south, and from the border lands of Persia to China and Japan, has been fully revealed to the world at large only during the last seventy years or so and almost entirely through the researches of Western scholars. They have shown that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilization which by its religious thought, its art and literature was destined since two thousand years ago to leave its deep mark on races wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia. Yet India herself may be considered to have remained until quite recently unconscious of this its great rôle in the past. This curious fact can largely be attributed to the peculiar features of traditional Indian mentality. These *inter alia* account for the fact that amidst the vast stores of Indian classical literature there are to be found but very scanty relics of what may be properly classed as written historical records."

Western scholars deserve great praise for their indological researches. Some modern Indian scholars have done creditable work in this direction. Like other ancient and

modern peoples the ancient Indians had some defects. The defect to which Dr Stein calls attention was that they did great things but failed or did not care to record by name who did them and how and when it was a defect, no doubt; but it was a more pardonable one than if they had failed to do anything great.

The Castes of Majorities and Minorities in India

The majority and minority communal groups in India seem to be in one respect like caste groups. Taking the whole of India as one unit, Hindus are a majority group and Moslems a minority group. Hence, if the rights of minorities are to be safe-guarded in any way, the case of the Moslem minority certainly deserves to be considered by the Minorities Sub-committee of the Round Table Conference, so far as the Central or Federal Legislature is concerned. But so far as provincial legislatures are concerned, it is only the minorities in particular provinces whose cases should be considered by that Sub-committee. Hence, because Moslems are an all-India minority, that is no reason why in provinces like Bengal and the Panjab, where they are in a majority, their cases should be specially considered by that Sub-committee. Such consideration can be explained on the assumption that Moslems belong to the Caste of Minorities, and hence even where they are the majority, their case is to be given the special consideration meant only for minorities. On the same kind of assumption, Hindus belong to the Majority Caste, and hence even where they are in a minority the Minorities Sub-committee do not give their cases any special consideration.

Briefly then it comes to this: As Brahmans are considered Brahmans everywhere and under all circumstances irrespective of their character, occupation and intellectual and educational standing, so people belonging to the biggest all-India minority group are to be treated as a minority group deserving of special consideration even in provinces where they constitute the majority, and people belonging to the all-India majority group are not to receive the special consideration meant for minority groups in every province where they are a minority.

As its name implies the Minorities Sub-committee is meant to consider the case of minority groups. Hence, in Bengal and in the Panjab, it should enquire what kind of arrangement is wanted for the Hindu, Sikh and other provincial minority groups. If it busies itself to satisfy the majority group in these provinces and does not care for the demands and desires of the minority groups there, its name becomes a misnomer.

Change of Government in Great Britain

It is absolutely certain now that, on the result of the recent general election in Great Britain, the Conservatives will come into power. Whether a Conservative Government will be able to remedy the state of things which led to the dissolution of parliament, may well be doubted. But it would be best to judge that Government by its work. The defeat of Labour is a setback to world democracy, though no remarkable achievement stands to the credit of the Labour Government.

So far as India is concerned, if Labour had continued to be in office, it could not and would not have agreed to India becoming free. The chance of India becoming free under a Conservative Government would not certainly be greater. Even with Labour in office, there would most probably have been a renewal of the struggle for freedom under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership and the consequent repression. A similar struggle with the resulting repression would seem to be inevitable now. The only difference seems to be that, under a Tory Government, repression may be sterner and more undisguised.

Teaching of 'Ahimsa' and Swadeshism in Bengal

As a renewal of the struggle for freedom seems very likely, as a vigorous Swadeshi movement must form an essential part of it, and as in consequence much suffering will have to be borne without any thought of retaliation, it is only proper to remind ourselves of Mr Ananda Mohan Bose's advice to his Bengali countrymen in 1905 with reference to the partition of Bengal and the consequent agitation. He contributed three letters to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. He wrote on the 7th August, 1905:

"Let those amongst us who wish to do so, proceed with agitation in England, against the already decided question of the partition of Bengal, though I for one do not believe that any good will result from it in the existing state of affairs."—Hem Chandra Sarker's *Ananda Mohan Bose*, p. 186.

What then was his programme of constructive work in lieu of agitation in England? He wrote in the same letter—

"Let us resolve, so far as may be done, by every means in our power, to avoid all English goods, and to use those of Indian manufacture instead. Efforts should be made at the same time to make it possible to use Indian goods, by introducing manufactures and industries in our country."—*Ibid.*, p. 187.

This passage is followed by an evident note of *ahimsa* :

"It ought perhaps to be noted that the object is not to injure Manchester or any English manufactures. Let their trade extend and expand. All that we aim at is to give resolute and earnest vent to our patriotic feelings, further our indigenous industries, and draw the attention of English people to our sad grievances."—*Ibid.*, p. 188.

As regards Government service, he wrote in his third letter—

"Business,—industrial, manufacturing and otherwise,—and not Government service, must be our hope in future. Let us remember that it cannot be by foreigners, but by ourselves, that our true salvation must be wrought." *Ibid.*, p. 190.

The spirit of non violence and revengeless suffering found full vent in Mr Ananda Mohan Bose's 'Federation Hall' speech, delivered on October 16, 1905. Said he :

"Let us all specially see to it, that no lawlessness characterize or even tinge our proceedings. Let us be the victims, if need be, never the perpetrators of wrong—the victims it may be of ignorant, misinformed or perverse authority, or of a too often unscrupulous police. We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No *najwa* is complete without sacrifice; and this is the teaching of all Scriptures. Let us be prepared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland; for, from the thorns we shall tread, will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us birth."—*Ibid.*, pp. 80-90, Appendix.

The Round Table Conference

The daily newspapers publish every day summarized accounts of the formal discussions in the different Sub-committees of the so-called Round Table Conference, and of the informal talks of different "delegates" among themselves and reports of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and talks relating more

or less to India's political demands. There are Reuters's messages, Free Press messages, special cables of correspondents of several newspapers and despatches sent by air mail by some correspondents. The same issue of a daily contains different items of news often bearing the same London date, without any indication of the chronological order of their despatch from London or their receipt in India. And as the situation in London often changes several times in the course of a day or a night, it becomes difficult to determine which is the earlier and which the later development. By the time this issue of our Review is published and reaches its readers, the situation may change greatly. So any detailed comments on our part on the proceedings of the R. T. C. would be futile and out of date. And as we appear before the public at intervals of a month, we do not possess the daily papers opportunity of correcting, amending or bringing up to date to-morrow what we write to-day.

Even the wisest, best informed and most apposite comments of our dailies are of no use so far as the deliberations of the R. T. C. "delegates" are concerned, though they undoubtedly serve to enlighten and entertain their readers. We say this, because the latest issues of our dailies reach London 16 days from the date of their despatch, by which time their comments become ancient history, the situation having changed in the meantime. Moreover, the "delegates" have little time to read both fresh British newspapers and old Indian ones. If any news agency could telegraph the comments of our papers to London, that would have been of some use. But this is rarely, if ever, done. All this was anticipated. And for this and other reasons we expressed the opinion, long before the first R. T. C. met, that, *to serve any useful Indian purpose*, a real R. T. C. should hold its sessions in India.

Mahatma Gandhi and the R. T. C.

Mahatma Gandhi took the earliest available opportunity to insist on the British Government laying their cards on the table and stating to what extent they were prepared to agree to the demands of the people of India. It is mere delaying tactics and waste of time to discuss details when the main thing, that is to say, whether India is

to get freedom or not, has not been settled. But Mr. Gandhi's request has not, up to the time of this writing, been complied with.

In and outside the Conference he has stated India's case plainly and in an uncompromising manner. Except in his attitude towards the Hindu-Moslem problem and, to a lesser extent, his attitude to the Princes and their subjects, we generally agree with the views he has expressed.

It is not necessary to repeat the reasons for our inability to subscribe to his policy or principle of surrender to Moslems. We shall here make only two observations.

At the first session of the R. T. C. Sir Mohammad Shafi was satisfied with claiming for the Bengal Moslems 46 per cent of the seats in the Bengal council to be filled by separate communal election. Probably on account of Mahatmaji's repeated declarations of readiness to surrender, and as the result of British die-hard wire-pulling, that demand has mounted up to 51 per cent. At the first R. T. C. session Moslem "delegates" wanted one-third of the seats in the Federal Legislature from British India. Now they demand one-third of the States' quota of the seats, too, with the proviso that if the States or their rulers cannot or will not give so many, the deficiency is to be made good from British India seats! The Moslem communalists' appetite has been growing, both on account of Gandhiji's oft-repeated promise of surrender and of British imperialists' instigation and wire-pulling.

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After his expression of humiliation in language of unconscious exaggeration due to

humbled and wounded patriotic pride, Mahatma has correctly stated the causes of the break-down. His description of the Indian "delegation" as unrepresentative on the whole, is correct. It may be that some of the "delegates" would have been elected by some groups if given the right to choose, but others would not have been. But, even if it be true that all the Government nominees would have been elected by some group or other, the present R. T. C. would not have been representative of India. Government chose not only the men but also the groups or organizations from which the so-called delegates were to be selected and in addition Government fixed the number to be taken from each such group. It is the height of absurdity to assume that all the other groups singly or taken together have the same weight or representative character as the Congress, or that those groups have the relative importance assigned to them by Government. It is a transparent trick to drown the voice of the Congress in the noise made by nonentities and creatures of British die-hards. Mahatma's assertion that these men are being instigated by British wirepullers is quite correct. They are simply human gramophones reproducing their masters' instructions in disguised voices. He is also quite right in stating that the British Government is like a wedge between the different communities in India preventing their coming together and agreeing, and that, if they were left to themselves, agreement would be far easier to accomplish.

Mr. Gandhi and the Depressed Classes

We agree with Mahatma Gandhi in refusing to allow the depressed classes of the Hindus to have separate representation. There are many reasons why they should not be recognized as a separate group. They should, in their own interest, remain part of the entire Hindu society, for then the work of reform leading to their rising in the social scale would be easier. It should not be forgotten that even before Congress came into the field of action with its anti-un-touchability programme, reforming bodies like the Brahmo Samaj, the Theosophical Society and the Arya Samaj had been doing uplift work. The Congress has given a great stimulus to the movement. Education and political exigency have been powerful

forces acting against untouchability. Hence it is certain that within a measurable distance of time, the gradually dwindling number of the groups called the depressed, will cease to be separately thought of or treated as submerged classes. Mahatma has promised that some depressed class men will be returned to the Councils by private arrangement and convention and that under Swaraj there will be penal legislation against discriminating treatment of the depressed classes to their prejudice and disadvantage.

But if now the depressed classes are stereotyped, so to say, by being treated as a separate group, their gradual absorption in the so-called higher social ranks of Hindu society would be prevented—at least retarded.

It must be apparent to thinking members of the depressed classes that it is humiliating—it goes against one's self-respect—to permanently consider oneself and be thought of as "depressed" and on that ground to clamour and be given a so-called right. And what can a few depressed class representatives do for them without the help of the representatives of bigger groups? In our opinion, the depressed class people can exercise greater influence and apply greater pressure for their own welfare through adult suffrage and joint electorates than through the reservation of a few seats for them.

That Musalman leaders advocate the separate representation of the depressed classes is presumably due to a desire to lessen the power and influence of solid Hindu votes, to a desire to disintegrate further the little Hindu social solidarity which exists and to a desire to promote indirectly Moslem proselytization.

Assuming that some seats are to be reserved for the depressed classes, to members of what castes in what provinces will these be given? There is no authoritative list of depressed classes. Are we going to witness a shameful scramble for being classed as "depressed"? For some years past many castes have been claiming to be Vaishyas, Kshatriyas and Brahmins. Many are being invested with the "sacred thread" of the twice-born. Many aboriginal people have been invested with the sacred thread as Kshatriyas and call themselves "Singh." Is this upward movement to be replaced by a downward one?

Number of the Depressed Castes

Let us come to grip with facts. Let us take the lists of castes given in the Appendix to the Census of India Report for 1901, prepared by Risley and Gait. There are no such lists in subsequent census reports. We will not mention the names of the castes. That may give offence.

In Ajmeer-Merwara, Rajputana, the Panjab, and Kashmir, the castes from whose *lots* the twice-born will not take water, mentioned by name, number sixteen; and then there are others. Castes untouchable, mentioned separately by name, number seven; and there are others.

In Bombay, Baroda and Coorg, the depressed class, whose touch is supposed to pollute, consists of eleven castes, besides others.

In Madras Presidency, Mysore, Hyderabad Travancore and Cochin, castes of Sudras who habitually employ Brahmans as priests and whose touch is supposed to pollute number ten, besides others. Castes of Sudras who occasionally employ Brahman priests, but whose touch does pollute number fifteen, besides others. Castes of Sudras who do not employ Brahman priests and whose touch pollutes number five, besides others. Castes which pollute even without touching, but do not eat beef number seven, besides others. Castes eating beef number three, besides others. Castes eating beef and polluting without touching number five, besides others.

In Chota-Nagpur and States of Orissa, there are more than eight inferior Sudra castes, more than twenty unclean Sudra castes, and more than seven castes of scavengers and filth-eaters.

In the Central Provinces and Berar there are more than three lower cultivating castes from whom a Brahman will not take water, more than ten castes of lower artisans from whom a Brahman will not take water, more than ten low Dravidian tribes and more than seventeen castes who cannot be touched.

In the United Provinces, castes from whom some of the twice-born take water while others would not, number more than six. There are besides more than nine castes from whose hands the twice-born cannot take water, but who are not untouchable, more than six castes that are

untouchable but do not eat beef and more than three castes eating beef and vermin.

In Bihar there are more than thirteen inferior Sudra castes, more than ten unclean castes, and several castes of scavengers and filth-eaters.

In Bengal there are more than six castes whose water is not taken, more than fourteen low castes abstaining from beef, pork and fowls, more than six castes of unclean feeders and two castes of scavengers.

In Orissa there are more than two unclean sudra castes, more than four castes whose touch defiles, more than five castes eating fowls and drinking spirits and several castes of scavengers and beef-eaters.

In Assam there are more than seven castes from whose hands Brahmans will not take water.

The descriptions of the castes are taken from the 1901 census report. The lists in that report were drawn up thirty years ago. In the meantime caste restrictions have become much less rigorous than before. From our experience in Bengal we know that water is freely taken now from castes which have been given degrading descriptions in the aforesaid lists. Supposing, however, the lists hold good even to-day, we would ask Dr Ambedkar and men of his ilk to say which of the numerous castes mentioned therein, they will satisfy with a few reserved seats? Some provinces have more depressed castes, some less, with varying numbers of members. Which castes of which provinces would they satisfy? Such questions do not arise in the case of the "higher" castes, as they are not so mutually exclusive as the lower ones.

A Handbill Inciting to Violence

Advance calls attention to the following handbill, which we have also seen:

"Congress Terrorism must be Crushed

Bengal Outrages

MURDERED !!!

Lowman Simpson Peddie

Mukherjee Garlick Ashanulla

WOUNDED !!!

Hotson (?) Nelson Cassels

Donovan sent home for Safety !

Yesterday—Durno

This morning—Villiers

WE WANT ACTION

ROYALISTS

Printed for the Royalists, by W. H. Armour
Ganges Printing Co., Ltd., Sibpur, Howrah."

and asks.

Can anyone doubt what is meant by the words "we want action"? May we ask the Government if it falls within the mischief of the provisions of the Penal Code?

There is little doubt that if any organization of Indians had issued a similar handbill, official and non-official Europeans in India would have understood the word "action" to mean "violent retaliatory action," and the handbill would have fallen within the mischief not only of the Penal Code but of the recently enacted Press Act. Any Indian organization issuing such a handbill would have been classed as a terrorist organization and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 would have been set in motion against its members according to Ordinance No. 9 promulgated on the 29th October last by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The expression "Congress Terrorism" is a libel. The Congress stands between the Government and violent revolutionary outbreaks. The supreme leader of the Congress Mahatma Gandhi, has again and again denounced terrorist violence and has thereby incurred the openly expressed displeasure of those who are in favour of violent action. If any European opponent of his doubts his sincerity, that man is, to say the least, fit for a mental hospital. Even those Congressmen who are not thoroughgoing ahimsaists like Mr. Gandhi, sincerely and firmly believe that freedom cannot be won by the outrages denounced in the handbill. Besides, there is no reason why every attack on any official or non-official European and on any official Indian should be considered, without clear proof, to have a political motive, though every such outrage, whether political or not, must be dealt with according to the law.

Some Indian Scholars Abroad

In the sphere of international cultural co-operation, some Indian scholars have been doing good work abroad. The activities of these men and women in foreign lands have great importance in removing misconception about the ability of the youth of India and their aspirations.

Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar of Calcutta University has been one of these representatives of Young India. He is

leaving for India after his two years' stay in Europe. During this period he was the first Guest Professor of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie to lecture on Indian social and economic problems in the Engineering University of Munich. Prof. Sarkar not only taught his subjects in German but he went to various culture-centres of Germany to deliver lectures on India. He also lectured in the Austrian Universities of Vienna and Innsbruck. Later on he lectured in the Italian Universities of Padua, Milan and Rome in Italian. He lectured in the International Congress on Population Problems held in Rome in September 1931. During his stay in Geneva he lectured on India.

Dr. Kahi Pada Basu of Dacca was one of the young Indian scholars who were awarded scholarships by India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie in 1929-1930 for a year. His original research in Bio-chemistry was so promising that the authorities of Die Deutsche Akademie renewed his scholarship for the academic year of 1930-1931. During the period of his study in the University of Munich Dr. Basu published several original papers and was, in last July, awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with the highest honour, "Summa cum laude." Dr. Basu has returned to Dacca University to teach.

Indians generally do not get the opportunity to represent India internationally. It is a matter of great satisfaction that Dr. Subodh Ch. Mitra, M. B. (Cal), M. D. (Berlin) and F. R. C. S. (Edinburgh) of the Chitta Ranjan Siva Sadan Hospital of Calcutta, through his initiative represented the Indian medical world in the International Radiological Congress held in Paris in July last. Dr. Mitra read before this Congress an original paper embodying results of his research and it was highly appreciated. After visiting various hospitals and medical institutions of France Dr. Mitra went to Geneva to get in touch with the Health Section of the League of Nations. On September 1, Dr. Mitra delivered a lecture in German on "Ancient and Modern Midwifery and Gynaecology in India" in Strassman Women's Hospital, Berlin. Gehemrat Prof. Dr. Strassman was in the chair. Professors of different Gynaecological Hospitals were present. The lecture was followed by a discussion. Dr. Mitra was entertained by Gehemrat Prof. Dr. Friedrich von Muller, the President

of Die Deutsche Akademie at a dinner attended by many professors.

India's best men from all professions should participate in international congresses. They should go to foreign universities to carry on research work as well as to exchange ideas with great scientists and professors. This will break up India's cultural isolation and create new consciousness about Indian ability and efficiency. Only India's best and most serious-minded scholars should come out for higher studies in foreign lands. Those who wish to spend a few months in Germany should plan their visit during the period when the Universities are in session; and possibly the months of April, May, June and July are best suited for study-tour in German culture-centres when the professors are expected to be in the Universities.

T D.

Wider Powers of Arrest and Detention in Bengal

"The Viceroy and Governor-General of India has promulgated an Ordinance, widening the scope of the existing Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, with a view to enabling the local Government to arrest and detain, not only persons concerned in committing offences or about to commit them, but also those who are members of terrorist associations or help such associations.

"The penal provisions have also been widened by bringing the offences committed under the Ordinance within the meaning of the sections relating to waging war against the King or harbouring the King's enemies."

This is Ordinance No 9. There is a vicious circle. The future historian will have to determine to what extent terrorism was the cause of the "lawless laws," given the name of Ordinances, and to what extent the "lawless laws" gave rise to terrorism.

When the ordinary criminal law is administered, in the ordinary way, that is, when accused persons are tried in open court according to the ordinary processes of the law, conviction is not obtained in a considerable number of cases. Let us try to have some idea of the percentage of convictions. Those who are arrested and detained without trial, according to the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 and Ordinance 9 of 1931, are suspected of having committed, or aided and abetted, serious crimes. If tried according to the ordinary law, persons accused of such offences are usually committed to the sessions

So the latest annual Bengal Police Administration Report (for 1930) should be consulted to find out the percentage of convictions in sessions cases. This is given on page 22 of the Report, as follows:

"The total number of persons tried was 4,663 against 3,992, and 48.9 per cent, against 49.6 in 1929, were convicted. In 71 cases, against 78 in 1929, Judges disagreed with the verdict of jurors and made references to the High Court. Of these 30 ended in conviction, 24 in acquittal and 17 were pending at the close of the year."

So, though more than half the accused were acquitted, let us say that only 50 per cent of the accused, in round numbers, were innocent. It was stated some time ago that 800 persons in round numbers were then in detention without trial in Bengal. And then number has recently increased. The present number of detenus is not the first batch. For a number of years hundreds of men in Bengal have been arrested and deprived of their liberty for indefinite periods. So altogether, many hundreds, exceeding perhaps a thousand or two, have been punished in this way. From what happens in sessions cases, as quoted above, one is warranted in asserting that at least half of the persons arrested are innocent. We say "at least," because in sessions cases the official prosecutors, knowing that the cases would be subjected to open scrutiny by trained lawyers and the accused would be defended by such lawyers, take some care to send up cases for trial. But in the case of arrests and detentions without trial, there being no such fear of exposure of unwarranted prosecutions, no such care is likely to be taken. Hence among detenus without trial, it is almost demonstrably true that the percentage of the innocent is most probably much higher than 50. Thus we are driven to the conclusion that for years in Bengal hundreds of innocent, young men have been punished without trial.

This is not the kind of thing which can produce that atmosphere which is destructive of the terroristic spirit.

The Condition of Detenus

Almost every day one finds in the Indian-owned dailies of Bengal woeful accounts of the sad plight of many detenus as regards their health and supply of necessities, and the helpless condition of some families whose sole bread winners have been taken away

without any or adequate provision being made for the maintenance of the former. The tale of hunger-strikes is also unending.

House Searches without or with Arrests

Some weeks ago there was in Bengal an epidemic of searches of houses without anything incriminating being found in most of them and without any inmates of most of them being arrested. Subsequently the proportion of arrests increased: and now that Ordinance No. 9 has been added to the armoury of the Executive and the Police that proportion has increased still further.

Official High Enquiry Committee's Report

The Official High Enquiry Committee's Report does not give entire credence to the evidence of the detenus, not necessarily because of deliberate untruthfulness on their part in all cases, but on account of other circumstances, some of which are mentioned in course of the discussion of the evidence. In the opinion of the committee "the detenus were by no means all non-violent." The Report, however, nowhere states or suggests that any detenu's violence was likely to be fatal to anybody. But in spite of this finding and in spite of the committee finding some parts of the evidence of the detenus unreliable, with what justification we will not now discuss, they have recorded this very damaging finding against the sepoys:

We have recorded our findings as to what took place in the evening of the 16th September. Having regard to our findings on the question of the alarm raised, and also on the question whether the alarm was pre-arranged or not, we hold that the entry of the sepoys into the compound after the alarm had been given was justified. But there was, in our opinion, no justification whatever for the indiscriminate firing (some 29 rounds were found to have been fired) of the sepoys upon the building itself, resulting in the death of two of the detenus and the infliction of injuries on several others. There was no justification either for some of the sepoys going into the building itself and causing casualties of various kinds to some others of the detenus.

Among the facts about which, according to the Committee, "there is no dispute," are the following:

Twenty [detenus] altogether received injuries, and in some cases the injuries were of a severe nature necessitating in one case—the case of detenu Babu Gobinda Pada Dutt—the amputation

of the left arm. It is undenied also that the sentries and some of the constables who entered the compound after the alarm was given were armed with smooth bore Martin-Henry muskets with triangular bayonets, that those who fired seem to have used ball and buckshot indiscriminately and that some of the injuries on the detenus were gunshot wounds, some were stab such as a bayonet might have caused and some lacerations that might have been due to blows from a "lathi" or the butt of a musket.

The Committee's indictment of the veracity of the sepoys is far more serious than the doubts they have cast on some parts of the evidence on the detenus, as, for example, the following sentences in the Report will suffice to show.

Sirajul's story of his bayonet having been snatched away from his rifle seems to us to be extremely doubtful. To begin with, Sirajul made no mention of this fact to Mr. Baker. Then the bayonet which Sirajul had attached to his musket could not be wrenched off. Anyone who took it off would have to know the way in which it has to be turned before it can be removed.

As regards what actually took place after the constables had gone in through the inner gate, the story which the sepoys gave us, will not in our opinion bear a moment's scrutiny.

Among the discreditable arrangements which made such a criminal outrage possible, the Committee mention the following:

The High Detention Camp is a pretty big place, the number of detenus detained there being between 170 and 180. There is a Commandant and also an Assistant Commandant. But both of them live at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile from the camp itself. Inspector Marshall, who is in immediate charge of the guard, has his residence at least three-quarters of a mile further off, and at night time there remains no one but the guard constables in charge of Havildars to look after the camp. The Commandant, the Assistant Commandant and Inspector Marshall are in no doubt in telephonic connection with the guard. But important orders, such as orders to open fire, cannot ordinarily be given by an officer on the telephone and unless the officer sees for him: if what the situation really is. From the distance where the Commandant, the Assistant Commandant and Inspector Marshall live one cannot ordinarily come to the camp in less than four or five minutes. On that particular night the Assistant Commandant, Rai Sahib Anand Bandhu Chakravarti, was lying ill at his house and there was no one acting for him at the time. The fact that there was no responsible officer present on the spot was in our opinion, indirectly responsible for the most deplorable and tragic affair that took place on the night of the 16th September last.

The Committee would have been guilty of culpable leniency even if their report implied only mild censure of the high officers. But there is no blame at all thrown on them either directly or by implication. On

the contrary there seems to be an indirect attempt at justifying their conduct

We appreciate the Committee's unequivocal and clear finding that there was no justification whatever for the firing. But they ought to have discussed how one of the sentries came to think that the butt-end of a musket, being Government property, was more valuable than the lives of the detenus and how all the sentries came to think that the detenus could be shot down and bayoneted with impunity, if, as the Committee think, the shooting was not a pre-arranged affair and the high European officials had nothing to do with it. We are not quite satisfied with all the arguments contained in the Report to disprove the allegation of pre-arrangement.

Mr. Baker's complete innocence was perhaps a foregone conclusion, as even before the conclusion of the Committee's enquiry he was given leave to go home. The public will wait to see whether all others concerned, high or low, will be similarly punished.

Falsity of some Government Communiques

Though we have pointed out a few defects in the report of the official Hijli enquiry committee, it is certainly entitled to praise in certain other respects, as will have been clear from the greater part of our previous note. It also contains material for convincing one of the falsity of official communiques on the Hijli outrages.

The Bengal Government's communique of the 17th September contained the following passage :

Shortly after 9 p. m. on Wednesday the 16th September determined attacks were made on four sentries by hands of detenus or Hijli Detention Camp, Midnapore. One sentry had the bayonet pulled off his musket by his assailants and another sentry was with difficulty saved by the timely approach of a patrol. The position of the sentries was undoubtedly grave and fire was ordered to extricate them and restore control of the Camp.

One finds from a perusal of the Committee's report that all the statements contained in the above passage are false. The evidence of Commandant Baker, I. C. S., before the Committee shows how these incorrect statements came to be made. He admitted having written a letter to detenu Bibhuti Babu in which he told him :

You do me an injustice when you say that the first communique issued by the Government was mine. As a matter of fact, it was drawn up by

the Deputy Secretary, Political Department, based on the version of the constables only.

As it was rather surprising that in I. C. S.-ridden India an I. C. S. officer should prefer "native" constables' version to that of a brother I. C. S. officer, Mr Nisith Sen, Counsel for the detenus, asked Mr. Baker :

"Do you mean to suggest that, although you are the man on the spot your version of the incident was not taken into consideration before issuing the communique?"

To this Mr. Baker's reply was, "No, it was not taken."

The Bengal Government's communique of the 21st September contained the following contradiction :

The statements which appeared in the Press to the effect that the detenus and assaults on unarmed and defenceless took place inside the main building are untrue.

This official contradiction is found to be itself absolutely without foundation when one reads the following passage, already quoted above, in the official committee's report :

There was, in our opinion, no justification whatever for the indiscriminate firing (some 20 rounds were found to have been fired) of the sepoys upon the building itself, resulting in the death of two of the detenus and the infliction of injuries on several others. There was no justification either for some of the sepoys going into the building itself and causing casualties of various kinds to some others of the detenus.

The Government communique of the 21st September from which we have quoted a sentence above included some "facts" said to have been ascertained by the District Magistrate by investigation on the spot. The "facts" were :

Investigation goes to show that few if any serious injuries were inflicted on the detenus outside the main building. The gun-shot cases appear to have occurred among persons who were standing in the verandahs overlooking the affray, the fire of the constables being towards the main building. There is nothing to indicate that any of the guards entered the building or that fire was specifically aimed at persons on the verandahs.

But the official committee say in their report :

On a consideration of the evidence as we have before us we are clearly of opinion that some of the sepoys did not go into the building and were responsible for some casualties that took place in the eastern portion thereof.

The Anglo-Indian Press and Hijli

We believe the facts given above are sufficient proof that there was a deliberate

attempt on the part of some of the officials at any rate to suppress the truth about Hijli, and but for the determined stand taken by the Indian public and Press this attempt would certainly have succeeded.

That the Indian section of the Press was not had the co-operation or the sympathy of the European Press and public in this championship of truth and fairness, is not the most amazing part of the story. The Indian Press has, on the contrary, been subjected for its pains to gross and scurrilous attacks on their part. When after the issue of what has been demonstrated by the judicial enquiry to be an extremely unreliable version of the happenings at Hijli, the Indian section of the Press still dared to publish reports about the incident, the *Englishman*, confident of the discriminatory application of repressive laws in India, did not hesitate to call for drastic curtailment of the liberties of the Indian press.

Additional proof, it wrote, of the urgent need of powers for the better control of the Press has been afforded by the scurrilous reports of the deplorable "fear" at Hijli detention camp published by Congress newspapers and their comment thereon. The official *communiqué* is not the day after the occurrence made it clear that shooting followed continued attacks on four sentries by bands of detenus, that the position of the entrenches was ruthlessly gained, and that fire was opened to exterminate them and restore control of the camp. The rival version of the incident as published in the extremist Press describes in lurid detail "indiscriminate firing without warning on wounded detenus inside their rooms and in the hospital"; "men attending to the wounded themselves wounded by bullets and bayonets, batons and butt-ends of rifles"; "men injured by brick-bats lying on the floor groaning in agony lacerated and lacerated by the separs." Needless to say the stories of these "bloody atrocities" telegraphed by the Congress newspapers' "own correspondents" at Khurda are accepted as the gospel truth, and the Government *communiqué* is dismissed as containing "nothing which a man in his senses would believe."

The comments on these shameful inventions are as voluminous as the reports themselves, one paper going the length of suggesting that the two detenus killed during the disturbance were "victims of a ruthless and vicious policy of reprisals and of summary vengeance." Is there no limit to the licence the Government are prepared to allow the gutter Press of Bengal?

Unfortunately for the Olympian Press of Calcutta, the report of the judicial enquiry committee proves that it was the gutter Press of Bengal which was substantially right and the "shameful inventions" were by the Olympians.

The Royalists

No less unequivocal was the position taken up by some of the European political organizations in Calcutta. We have referred to an inflammatory handbill issued by the "Royalists" of Calcutta. That, however, was not the first exercise in silliness of that romantically inclined body. Before coming on the stage with that haunting appeal (we do not recall whether we have mentioned that the handbill is printed on scarlet paper), it had already written two excited and, strangely enough, crass letters to the *Calcutta Statesman* on the Hijli incident. The correspondence columns of the *Statesman* serve the same useful purpose of a safety valve for super-heated European opinion in India as those of the *Times* do for the disgruntled ones in England. Naturally, one does not look for much sense there. Yet excited people are not usually uninteresting. That is, however, more than we can say for the Committees "B" and "C" of the Royalists who wrote the letters to the *Statesman*.

Who are the Royalists our readers will perhaps ask that we should take so much notice of them? We are sure we know no more about them than do our interlocutors. But we have heard that there are among them some triple blues from Oxford who have not considered themselves too good for Clive Street. We cannot tell whether there is any truth in this report. But we should not be surprised if it were true. The Royalists have the authentic ring of King Charles's men, only recast in a commercial mould for a commercial age. And by their goings-on they seem determined to prove that in India, as well as in England, Oxford ought to be the last refuge of lost causes.

Our First Comments on Hijli

Before we have done with Hijli, we should like to observe incidentally that the findings of the Government Committee tally in many respects with the conclusions put forward by us in last month's Notes. In them, we pointed out the extreme improbability of the story of snatching away the bayonet and concluded that the happenings were inexplicable on the facts given by Government. We find that on both these points the official enquiry bears out our contentions. It also substantiates the

hypothesis we had tentatively put forward as a possible explanation of the events. We had said :

From the point of view of the Government, the detenus are not easy people to deal with, and the police are very unpopular everywhere. The wholesale white-washing of the police by the Government has not convinced people, because it is done as a matter of course. If the police are insulted and hated outside the camp, they must be much more hated and insulted inside it. Now, supposing the police have been listening every day to a stream of abuse and insult from the detenus, their tempers must have been roused. Now it is possible that the detenus made some remark to the sentry which aroused him and he therefore called out the guard, and then events occurred before anyone could gain control. Alternatively the police may have been waiting for an opportunity for getting even with the detenus and took the chance which seemed to offer itself. This would explain their eagerness to open fire. No reasonable person will dispute that this is a possible explanation, and if it is true, the Government would gain nothing by pretending that there has been no blunder. The more the Government does this and tries to explain away matters, the more will one remember the old proverb, "qui se excuse, s'accuse."

The Commission's conclusions with regard to the general trend of events are on the same lines, though they are not expressed in the same words. We do not share the conclusions of the Commission in respect of the responsibility of the higher authorities in the camp and in spite of the official enquiry, we do not perhaps yet know the whole truth about the incident. But so far as it goes, we believe that the report gives a not improbable account of what really happened at Hijli.

Congress Working Committee on Hijli and Chittagang Atrocities

Better late than never. At its recent meeting the Congress Working Committee has passed a proper resolution on the Chittagang and Hijli atrocities.

When Sardar Patel said some time ago that nothing was done till then because the Congress authorities in Bengal had not given him information about those terrible events (though the Bombay and other dailies must have published news relating thereto), his words sounded like many replies of the Secretary of State for India in Parliament that "he had no official information."

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh's Application

Mr. Kishori Lal Ghosh, M. A., B. L., of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* editorial staff, who is

one of the gentlemen undergoing trial at Meerut for 26 months has applied to the proper authority for permission to contribute to the Press as a journalist, as he requires at least Rs. 250 per mensem to maintain himself and family. Considering the length of the trial, this is an entirely reasonable request.

Big Boon to India—Dyarchy at the Centre

When some days ago Sir Samuel Hoare said that British troops would not take orders from Indian officers (They used to before the Mutiny.—Editor, *Modern Review*), and that it was the British authorities in Britain who would determine the number of the British troops to be reduced or kept in India, and other similar things, he only confirmed Indian anticipations. His speech at the Federal Structure Sub-committee meeting on the 28th October supplies further confirmation of Indian anticipations of the futility of the so-called Round Table Conference. One has only to read the following cable dated London, October 28, to find that the British Government are going to give us the big boon of Dyarchy at the centre :

A request to Government to indicate its policy with regard to Central responsibility was made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at this morning's meeting of the Federal Structure Sub-committee.

He said that now that Britain had National Government he was entitled to expect that it would have a national and broad outlook on this question. Time had come for Government to give the lead. Indians had frankly disclosed their views. Whether they agreed or not among themselves, they should receive a satisfactory response from Government this week or next. Sir Tej remarked that he admired Mr. Gandhi for observing his weekly silence, but did not admire Government for keeping silence every day of the week.

Sir Samuel Hoare replying, remarked that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru seemed to think that Government were under a perpetual vow of silence and were following Mr. Gandhi's example so sympathetically that they were silent every day. Sir Samuel assured the Committee that Government had undertaken no such obligation and so the implied criticism was not altogether justified. Sir Samuel accepted that some time or other Government would have to state their views, but to ask them to do so in the course of next two or three days when the new Government was scarcely formed and when the Federal Structure Sub-committee itself had not even reached the question of Central responsibility was making rather an extreme demand. If Government tried to do so to-day they would be out of order and moreover the opportunity had not arisen.

Sir Samuel expressed the opinion that many matters could be best settled in the actual working of the constitution, and referring to the big

mation of distinction between representatives of Crown subjects and other Ministers (which the Federal Structure Sub-committee had been discussing), expressed the view that it would be better in the transitional period frankly to recognize the existence of the distinction. He pointed out that the representatives of the Crown subjects would be under the directions of the Governor-General whereas the Ministers would be advising him. That constituted a very definite distinction. He suggested that it would be better to keep facts in mind than gloss over them and make it appear that collective responsibility existed when such was not the fact. —“Reuter.”

According to a Free Press Beam Service message, dated London, October 28,

Considerable importance is attached to the speech made by Sir Samuel Hoare at the Federal Structure Committee in reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's charge about the silence of the Government. The speech is regarded as indicative of:—

(1) That the Government would outline their attitude on the broad issues next week.

(2) That the Governor-General and official Ministers in charge of the Army, Foreign Affairs etc. will be wholly unamenable to the control of the Indian legislature.

(3) That as regards the vital issues as to whether the Cabinet is to resign on the adverse vote of a bare or substantial majority in the Legislature or whether it is responsible to the single house or to both houses of the Legislature, the Government is likely to favour the view that it should be left entirely to developments after the introduction of the Reforms and that the Government must be empowered to make rules according to the situation ensuring that the Constitution will be responsive to Indian opinion or arbitrary as the Government for the period decides.

The underlying object of such an arrangement is to enable the Government entirely to dominate the Constitution through Rule-making powers in case the Congress decides to boycott the reforms and to obstruct. On the other hand, if the Congress decides to enter the Legislatures, the Government would depend upon the Muslims, the Princes and the smaller minorities for the purpose of counterbalancing the voting strength of the Congress.

In the Note in this issue on Minority Rule and the British Empire, written on the 26th October, it was in effect anticipated that the British imperialists wanted to continue to rule India through the minorities and the Princes.

Relief of Distress Caused by Floods in Bengal

We invite the attention of the public to Prof. Rabatimohan Lahiri's article in this issue. He is actually engaged in administering relief to those who are in distress owing to the floods in Bengal. When, therefore, he says that the work of relief is to be continued till March next year the public

should continue to give what they can. There are different relief organizations, and givers will naturally send their help to those which they consider most trustworthy and efficient. Mr Lahiri and some other gentlemen are working on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha relief committee. Though it is an organization of Hindus, which almost all the other relief organizations also in Bengal practically are, relief is given at its centres to Hindu and Moslem alike. Those who may like to help the Hindu Sabha relief committee of which the editor of this Review is the chairman, should send their contributions to its treasurer, whose address is given below.

Babu Sarat Kumar Roy Chaudhuri
Treasurer, Hindu Sabha Relief Committee,
9, Williams Lane,
Scaldah, Calcutta

Edison

Thomas Alva Edison, the famous American inventor, whose death was announced last month, was born on the 11th February, 1847 at Milan, Ohio, U. S. A. His father was of Dutch, and his mother of Scottish descent. The latter having been a teacher, gave him what schooling he received. At the age of twelve he began life as a newsboy. His subsequent eminence as a scientist and inventor was due entirely to his genius and industry. The number of his patents runs into thousands. He lived and died a worker.

Agitation against the Maharaja of Kashmir

Like the people of other Indian States generally, the people of Kashmir, professing different religions, have their grievances. The approved method of obtaining redress of these grievances is for the people of different faiths to make joint non-violent efforts in the cause of reform. As Kashmir has a Hindu ruler with Musalmans as the majority of his subjects, so Hyderabad has a Musalman ruler with Hindus as the majority of his subjects. Recently, the Musalmans and Hindus of Hyderabad combined to hold a conference to make known their grievances and desires. The people of Kashmir ought to have done the same thing and followed it up with persistent joint endeavours. Instead of this, there has been for months past, a violent agitation against the Maharaja of Kashmir, fomented and directed from outside that State, under the auspices of a Moslem organization

call it itself the Kashmir Reform Society helped by Anglo-Indian newspapers. There have been sanguinary riots in that State in consequence. The Maharaja has been subjected to a campaign of lies. He has throughout acted with great forbearance and statesmanship, and has introduced many reforms, before, during and after the anti-Kashmir agitation. He could have been firm also, but for the unholy alliance between the communalist Moslems outside Kashmir and the Anglo-Indians. It is surmised that some Anglo-Indian officials are also interested in this agitation, as the Princes' Protection Act could and should have been set in motion, but has not. In fact, the Anglo-Indian papers wanted that some of their kindred should get fat jobs in Kashmir. That object has been partly gained. Even in the last century, it was discovered that Kashmir could be made a white man's land.

As soon as or even before one agitation against Kashmir dies down, another is set on foot. Some of the latest Moslem demands are extremely unreasonable and bear a family resemblance to some demands made by communalist Moslems in British India. For example, the establishment of schools specially for the benefit of Musalmans, giving of foreign-study scholarships specially to Musalmans,

"communal apportionment of High Court judgeships, and the demand that in state employment a Muslim matriculate should be preferred to a Hindu B.A. The interests of the British Indian Muslim agitators are sought to be safeguarded by the demand that if no Kashmir Muslim is available for a job, a Muslim from outside might be imported."

Destructive Floods in Champaran and Vizagapatam

Recently there have been devastating floods in Champaran (Bihar) and in the Vizagapatam district in Andhradesha. We extend our sincere sympathy to the sufferers.

U. P. Agrarian Situation

The latest developments in the U. P. agrarian situation can be understood from the telegrams printed below.

New Delhi, Oct. 29.

The following is the text of the resolution, adopted by the Congress Working Committee regarding the agrarian situation in Allahabad district:

"This Committee has considered the statements of the presidents of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee and Allahabad District

Congress Committee asking for permission to offer satyagraha against the present agrarian policy of the United Provinces Government and in particular the oppressive collection of rent and revenue at a time when the agriculturists of the United Provinces have been subjected to a great deal of hardship and oppression, particularly in the course of the past five months, and they have now to face a grave crisis. The Committee feels that it is the duty of the Congress to assist them in every possible way in removing the economic hardships they suffer from.

In the opinion of the Committee, however, the question of defensive action should first be considered by the Provincial Congress Committee. The Committee, therefore, refers the application to the United Provinces Congress Committee and in the event of the Provincial Congress Committee being of opinion that it is a fit case for defensive satyagraha on the part of the agriculturists in terms of the Simla agreement, dated the 27th August, the Committee authorizes the president of the Indian National Congress to consider the application and give such decision on it as he may consider necessary."—Associated Press.

Associated Press of India

Lucknow, Oct. 30

The Council of United Provincial Congress Committee will meet to-morrow and discuss the desirability or otherwise of starting a no-rent campaign in certain district of U. P. This question will also be referred to the Provincial Congress Committee, which will meet on Sunday. Chances are remote that a definite decision will be arrived at either to-morrow or the day after.

As at present arranged Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will meet certain revenue officials at Allahabad on the 3rd November and it is not likely that the Provincial Congress Committee will commit itself to any definite line of action until the Allahabad meeting is over.

Constitution of an Orissa Province

We have all along supported the demand of our Oriya brethren that there should be a separate Orissa province. We are glad a non-partisan committee has been appointed to report on the subject. To help the committee some gentlemen have been nominated from the provinces from which Oriya-speaking parts have been suggested to be taken for the formation of the Orissa province. But no one has been chosen from Bengal, though the Oriyas have suggested that south Midnapur should form part of Orissa. This ignoring of Bengal is not surprising, but it is wrong all the same—and significant, too.

Unification of Bengali-speaking Areas

When new provinces are being proposed to be constituted on linguistic bases and provincial boundaries readjusted, it is but just that all Bengal speaking areas should

be re-united with Bengal and that the southern part of Midaapur should not be cut off from Bengal against the wishes of its inhabitants Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara in Assam, and Manbhum and other Bengali-speaking areas in Chota-Nagpur and Bihar should again form part of Bengal.

Consecration of a New Vihara at Sarnath

It is a matter for rejoicing that after eight centuries the sacred site where Buddha preached his first discourse, known as Isapattana, is going to have a new Buddhist *Vihara*. It became consecrated ground 2500 years ago. A ruthless invader devastated it 800 years ago. The chamber in which Buddha resided in this place was known as the "Gandhakuti" or "perfumed chamber." The new *Vihara* has been named *Malagandhakuti Vihara* after it. The persevering labours and enthusiasm of the Venerable Sri Devanatta Bhainapala have been crowned with success mainly owing to the munificence of the late Mary Elizabeth Foster. Buddhists of most countries have contributed to the erection of the *Vihara* and the Government of India have rendered valuable assistance. It will be consecrated on the 11th of this month, and the celebrations will last for three days. Buddhists will congregate from many parts of the world. It is hoped that Sarnath will henceforth become and remain for countless years a centre of attraction for men and women of all races.

Mr. Broughton of the London Maha Bodhi Society has volunteered to defray the expenses of the frescoes which are to decorate the *Vihara* and has thereby deserved the thanks of the public. But we do not think it was necessary for him to stimulate or suggest (we do not know which) that the work should be done only by Japanese artists. We have nothing to say against them—particularly as we do not know which Japanese artists have been given the commission. Some Japanese and other artists have visited Santiniketan to be acquainted with the way fresco work is done by the artists there.

As the *Vihara* is in India, as it is an institution for the promotion of the cause of a religion born in India, and as competent Indian artists are available for fresco work, we should have been pleased if Mr. Broughton had tried to secure the services of Indian artists. Indian artists were requisitioned from far-off London to decorate

the walls of the new India Office. Their work has given general satisfaction and has earned the commendation of so high an authority as Principal Sir William Rothenstein of the College of Arts, South Kensington. There are other competent artists at Santiniketan. We are not thinking at all of who will get the money by doing the work. What hurts us is that people from abroad (and even Indians) visiting the *Vihara* will in future carry away the wrong impression that India had no artists, hence Japanese artists had to be imported.

Panjab Nationalist Muslim Conference

A commendable resolution was adopted at the Panjab Nationalist Muslim Conference declaring the determination of the Nationalist Muslims to achieve complete independence and accept no constitution which would not give control over army, finance and foreign relations and fiscal and economic policy of India. The conference also supported joint electorates. The other proposals supported by the Conference are substantially the same as those on which communalist Musalmans take their stand.

Dr. Annie Besant's Birthday

We congratulate Dr. Annie Besant on her completing the 81th year of her life last month. Hers has been a life of great and varied public activity for more than half a century. She has been distinguished throughout for her oratory, intellectual vigour, organizing capacity, idealism, personal magnetism, and courage and power to offer battle for the cause she loves. She has been a great educational and political worker in India and has done much to promote and make known and respected Indian ideals, according to her lights, in India and abroad.

Mr. Gandhi's Patient Sojourn in England

It has been asked, perhaps rather impatiently, why Mahatma Gandhi continues to stay in England when it is plain the R. T. C. cannot bring freedom to India.

Before he started, we anticipated the futility of the R. T. C. and yet supported his going to London on other grounds.

His stay in England has not been useless. It has given him a platform from which India and he can be heard all over the world. Moreover the British people directly and

other Western peoples indirectly have now come to know that it is not ancient India alone which produced men but modern India also continues to do so—men who can stand up to any other specimens of humanity. Of course, this, though pre-eminently due to Mahatma Gandhi's visit, is also due to the presence in England of some other distinguished Indians.

Indian Military College Committee's Report

The Indian Military College Committee's Report has not had a good press, perhaps because of pre-occupation with the R. T. C. and, in Bengal, with the official measures and acts of repression. Probably also people are not interested in a scheme for "Indianizing" the Indian army, goodness knows in how many decades, generations or centuries.

Nevertheless the Report deserves to be read, if only to know how Indians were proposed to be duped. For that object the separate minutes of some of the members should receive particular attention, specially those of Dr. B. S. Moonje and of Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and Major-General Rao Raja Garpat Rao Raghunath Rajwade.

Dr. Moonje calls "the artificial distinction of martial and non-martial classes" a "myth," and quotes authority for this view. As Bengalis are officially considered the least fit for the army, he specially controverts that view. The whole paragraph in which he does it should be read (pp. 51-52). It concludes thus:

"In short, if honourable openings for the fervour of patriotism can be devised, Bengali intellect will not fail to make its mark particularly in the scientific departments of the Army, while taking their due share on the battlefields along with officers of other classes of Indians."

The futility and mockery of annually training only 60 Indians for officership in the Army will be obvious from some figures given by Dr. Moonje. He writes:

The figures supplied to us in this Committee are as follows—

(a) 120 annual total wastage.

(b) 3,200 total number of officers with King's Commissions in the Indian Army.

As against the figure of 120 for annual wastage, I quote below the opinion of Colonel Brownrigg, Deputy Director of Staff Duties, War Office, London, who expressed the opinion as the representative of the War Office, London:—

"In conclusion Colonel Brownrigg confirmed the Sub-Committee's view that 180 was an approximately accurate estimate of the annual

wastage among officers serving with Indian units."

(Skeen Committee's Report, Volume No. 1, p. 41.)

Now, against the figure of 3,200 which, we are told in this Committee, represents the total number of officers holding King's Commissions in the Indian Army, I have to mention three different figures—one of 3,141 as given in the Report of the Defence Sub-Committee, p. 88; the second of 3,600 given by the Skeen Committee and the third of 6,864 mentioned by the Shea Committee as will be evident from the following quotation from the Report of the Shea Committee, p. 14 paragraph 4:—

"The Committee direct attention to the fact—vide Appendix I (C) of their main report—that the grand total of King's Commissions to be granted completely to Indians in the Army in 42 years (on reconsideration reduced to 30 years, would be 6,864."

Now, the question is—which is the correct figure 3,141, as given in the Report of the Defence Sub-Committee; 3,600 as given to us in this Committee or 3,600, as given by the Skeen Committee; or 6,864, given by the Shea Committee?

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer and General Rajwade write in their Minute with reference to the Simon Commission's remarks on martial and non-martial classes:

The fact that the Simon Commission have endorsed this theory of the Military Authorities furnishes no proof of its correctness. Internal evidence shows that their remarks are an uncritical reproduction of some official memorandum. The soundness of this theory of martial and non-martial classes has been the subject of an elaborate and critical study by Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, who has contributed a series of very able and illuminating articles to the *Modern Review* (See the numbers for July and September 1930, January and February 1931.) It would be useful to give a summary of the facts gathered from an impartial study of the history of recruitment of the British Indian Army.

The New India Assurance Co., Ltd.

We have received a copy of the Balance Sheet of the above Company and note with pleasure its sound position and remarkable progress. It is the largest of all Indian Composite Insurance Companies and has on its Board of Directors men of world-wide business reputation like Sir Lalubhai Samaldas, Kt., C.I.E.; The Hon'ble Sir Pheroze Sethna, Kt., O.B.E.; S. N. Pochkhanwala, Esqr., Ambalal Sarabhai, Esqr.; Sir Chunilal V. Mehta K. C. S. L., and others.

The Company at first did not do any life insurance work but engaged solely in fire, marine and other general insurance work. In 1929, however, the New India Assurance Company started its life department and established a record during the two years that have passed since that time

Compared to any of the British Companies working in India, New India shows a position which is 100 per cent stronger.

During the year under review the Company shows a fall in expenses and losses and an all-round increase in Reserves. The Life Department has made a mark by completing Rs. 71,93,500 worth of business in its second year of existence. This is a record, as no Indian Company has so far been able to do this. The Life Fund increased from Rs. 31,197 in the first year to Rs. 1,28,950 in the second year.

Among the General Branches of the Company the Calcutta Branch has done exceedingly good work, being credited with 1/3 of the entire business of the Life Department.

We hope the Company will make every effort to keep up its present rate of progress, so that, very soon it may vie for honour with the greatest Insurance Institutions of the world.

Case Against Separation of Burma

The Reverend Bhikku Ottama of Burma has broadcast a powerful and well-reasoned plea against the separation of Burma from India, in the shape of a pamphlet entitled the "Case against the Separation of Burma from India." He has shown that Burma's connection with India is heavy with age and that her culture, religion and traditions have been moulded by the Indian contact more than by any other single factor. We are convinced that his, with that of every comrade of his, is the true voice of Burma. And he tells the public that the mass of the people of Burma are against the separation. By being separated from India, Burma is sure to be a loser politically, economically and culturally. Let Burma and India be mistress in their own households first, and then they would be in the best position to judge whether to separate or remain united.

The public should read Bhikku Ottama's pamphlet from the first line to the last. It is printed at Sri Gaaranga Press, 71-1 Mirzapur Street, Calcutta.

No Surprise in Simla

The *Civil and Military Gazette* has told its readers that the break-down of the communal deliberations in London occasioned no surprise in Simla.

Why should it? People are not surprised when things happen exactly as pre-arranged.

Gandhi's Prophecy Turns True in Advance!

At a reception by the Indian Students' Union, Gandhi is reported to have said.

Manifestations of goodwill by the people in England had convinced him that the English people would never again tolerate repression in India.

How true Mahatma's anticipations are may be judged by the recent history of Bengal, both before and after he uttered these words on the 13th October last.

Punishment to Precede Trial

In the course of the press legislation debate in the Assembly Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the officiating Law Member, was reported to have observed

"The amendment proposed to judicialise initial proceedings, which must, as in a summons case, retard speedy actions. But once speedy action was ensured, the provisions of the Bill, taken together, actually converted the High Court for the purpose of scrutiny of proceedings into a trial court."

This in plain language means that punishment should precede trial. Or as the homely Hindi adage goes, "Agé láth pichhé hat," "administer the kick first, the wordy part of the business may follow afterwards."

Einstein and others demand M. N. Roy's Release

The *Bombay Chronicle* of the 32nd October last published the following letter from a Berlin correspondent:

Berlin (mail week).

A large public mass meeting was called in Hamburg under the auspices of the Communist Party of Germany which voted unanimously in favour of a resolution against the arrest of M. N. Roy. The resolution took the form of a letter addressed to the British Consulate in Hamburg demanding Mr. Roy's release.

The resolution was introduced by a representative of the German Communist Opposition. The speaker of the evening, Mr. Jaddash, a Communist member of the Reichstag, endorsed the resolution which was adopted.

EINSTEIN'S PROTEST

Many famous persons of Germany, among them the world-famed scientist Einstein, have sent protests and appeals to the Round Table Conference for M. N. Roy's release.

Resolutions demanding the release of M. N. Roy are pouring in from all parts of Germany, Sweden, Alsace, Czecho-Slovakia, U. S. A. and other countries.